

A COMPLETE
COLLECTION

Of the Genuine

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

Faithfully TRANSLATED from the

Original *G R E E K*.

CONTAINING,

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. The Life of <i>JOSEPHUS</i> ,
written by himself. | IV. The Wars of the <i>Jews</i> with the
<i>Romans</i> . In Seven Books. |
| II. The Antiquities of the <i>Jews</i> .
In Twenty Books. | V. The Martyrdom of the <i>Macca-</i>
<i>bees</i> ; And, |
| III. <i>JOSEPHUS</i> 's Book against
<i>Apion</i> , in Defence of the Antiqui-
ties of the <i>Jews</i> . In Two Parts. | VI. <i>Philo</i> 's Embassy from the <i>Jews</i>
of <i>Alexandria</i> , to <i>Caius Cali-</i>
<i>gula</i> . |

With Explanatory Notes, and Marginal References.

To which are Prefix'd,

Several Remarks and Observations upon the Writings of
JOSEPHUS.

By *H. JACKSON*, Gent.

The Whole illustrated with Maps and Cuts, curiously engraven on Copper-
Plates, with an Addition of a new Plate of the Elevation of the
Tower of *Babel*, taken from *Calmet*.

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AT THE CHANCERY IN OBERLIN

CONVICTION

IN THE COURT OF

An Alphabetical LIST OF THE Subscribers NAMES.

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 Bishop John, *Wood's-Close.*
 Blizzard William, *Lambeth.*
 Blogg Samuel, *Norwich.*
 Bloheld Thomas, *Norwich.*
 Boreman Thomas, *Ludgate-Hill, 7 Books.*
 Boucher — *Little-Minories.*
 Bowen — *Bartlett-Court, Clerkenwell.*
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 Bowles Thomas, *Ditto.*
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 Bridges Thomas, *Maiden-Lane.*

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 Ellis William, *Norwich.*
 Ellis Robert, *Bartholomew-Close.*
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 Maverly Bazel, *Ditto.*
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 Nowland Terence, *Bond-street.*

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Q.

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A LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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 Record Henry, *St. Giles's in the Fields*.
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 Rogers Martha, *Ditto*.
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 Rutter — *East-Smithfield*.

S.

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 Scott — *Whitefryers*.
 Scriven — *Plough-street*.
 Seerah — *Prescot-street*.
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 Short James, *Norwich*.
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 Siffon Abigail, *Snow-Hill*.
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 Spendelow — *Blackfryers*.
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 Swithin — *Silver-street*.
 Sybbal — *Poultry*.
 Sydenham — *Redlyon-street*.
 Symonds Henry, *Phumtree-street*.
 Symonds — *Battersea*.

T.

Taylor Christopher, *Drury-Lane*.
 Taylor Ann, *Kensington*.
 Tew — *Whitcross-street*.
 Thatcher Isaac, *Blackfryers*.
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 Tucker Moses, *Chandois-street*.
 Tuffin Joseph, *Nottingham*.
 Turner — *Seething-Lane*.
 Turner — *Camamile-street*.

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 Underwood — *St. Catherines*.

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 Winter William, *Drury-Lane*.
 Wits — *Addle-street*.
 Wood — *Greek-street, Soko*.
 Woodhouse John, *Lambeth*.

X.

Ximenez Isaac, *Camamile-street*.

Y.

Yockins Benjamin, *Broad-street*.



T H E P u b l i s h e r s P R E F A C E .



T would be needless to trespass upon our reader's patience with a long previous account of the particulars contain'd in the following history, being fully convinced, that they are such as will afford a profitable entertainment to most of our readers.

IT is necessary, however, that we should say something of the order in which we have placed this history, and the reason why we have varied in that particular from all the other editions of the works of this learned author, which have yet appear'd in print.

IT has hitherto been a custom to place the life of F. JOSEPHUS, (which was written by himself in the fifty sixth year of his age,) sometimes after his antiquities, and sometimes after his wars; for which we think no sufficient reason can be assign'd, because 'tis contrary to modern custom to place the life of an author (though writ by himself) in the middle of his works; and therefore as critics cannot easily determine whether his *Wars of the Jews*, or his *Antiquities*, were writ first, we think the most natural method is to place the *Life of the author* before both. An account of the birth, education, and religion of an author (especially when penn'd by himself) carefully read, serves as a comment to the rest of his works, which it in some sort illustrates, by insensibly conveying into the mind of the reader, a just idea of his temper, genius, stile, and way of thinking, and therefore, we think, deservedly claims precedence of order, that people thereby may be able to

B

form

The Publiſhers P R E F A C E.

form ſome judgment of his worth and abilities, before they proceed to read his other works: this ſeemed to us moſt natural, and conſequently is the method we have followed.

WE have likewiſe in this edition placed the defence of the Antiquities immediately after the Antiquities; and the martyrdom of the Maccabees immediately after the Wars; and the ſame argument will ſerve for this tranſpoſition, as was uſed for the former, viz. That it appeared to us the moſt conſiſtent; and thus much for the order of the work.

AND now we will proceed to ſhew ſome of the reaſons which induced us to publiſh the works of this author.

WE aſſure the publick, that it is with no mercenary view to our own private intereſt that we have attempted to publiſh this new edition, but only with a deſign to render the works of that learned Jew, Flavius Joſephus, of univerſal uſe to all degrees of men, by giving the world a fair and juſt tranſlation of the moſt curious pieces of hiſtory and antiquity, that ever were writ by any author, either ancient or modern.

To which end, we have indeed taken a great deal of pains, to render it more compleat than any other tranſlation yet extant, by adding a great many uſeful notes to explain the moſt difficult paſſages throughout the whole book; and we have likewiſe been at a great expence, by engraving Maps and curious Sculptures for the better illuſtration of the hiſtory.

A GREAT deal more might be urged in favour of this new tranſlation, but as it might ſeem impertinent in us to be too vain of our own performance; and as we have no deſign to raiſe our reputation by undervaluing the labours of others, we leave the work to recommend itſelf; and as it is found to prove either good or bad, ſo we expect to be encouraged or diſcouraged, and no otherwiſe.

AND therefore we intreat, that every one of our ſubſcribers would carefully examine the ſubject of the following ſheets, that they themſelves may be able to judge of the merit of the undertaking.

S O M E



SOME
OBSERVATIONS
Upon the WRITINGS of
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
IN TWO
DISCOURSES.

DISCOURSE I.

Wherein the Life and Religion of Josephus is briefly examined, and an Account given of that famous Passage relating to our blessed Lord and Saviour.



IN this preliminary discourse I shall chiefly enquire into the life and religion of Josephus; a right understanding of which will explain some obscurities in him, and remove the objections that have been made against that memorable passage concerning our Saviour.

HE has given us the history of his own life, writ by himself at the age of fifty six; wherein he tells us he was of the stock and lineage of Aaron, and by his mother's side, a descendant of the Maccabees, and of the course of Jojarib, the first of the twenty four orders of the priests. He saith that he was born in the first year of Caligula's reign, A. D. 37. He made trial of the three famous sects that were then among the Jews; Pharisees, Sadduces, and Essenes: and leaving them at the age of sixteen, he spent three years in the wilderness of Judea, under the instructions of a famous master nam'd Bani. Serrarius took this Bani for an Essene, Drusius and the author of Juchasin for a Pharisee; but they are all mistaken; since Josephus in that very place distinguisheth him from the three sects he had before made trial of. It is more likely, that he was one of the disciples of St. John Baptist, or our Saviour. The Talmud makes mention of one of Christ's disciples, by the name of Bani, or Buni. But whoever he was, at the end of three years Josephus left him also; and being now nineteen years old, return'd to Jerusalem, where having spent seven years, he went to Rome, being twenty six years old; and there contracted an acquaintance with Nicanor, (who was afterwards a colonel in Vespasian's army) and with Alityrus, one of Nero's minions, and by his means with the empress Poppea, from whom he receiv'd many favours. After two years abode at Rome, he revisited his own country, the war being now ready to break out; in which war Josephus, being thirty years old, and a governor in Galilee, opposed the Romans, till at last being over-powered, he yielded (or in the language of his enemies, revolted) to them. At this time he told Vespasian, that he should become emperor of the Romans; and when Josephus saw his prophecy fulfill'd, and the whole nation of the Jews subdued by him, he took him for the Messiah and king

king of the Jews, foretold by the prophets. Upon these accounts he was highly valued by Vespasian and Titus, and from them took the name of Flavius. And because this is so remarkable a part of the life of Josephus, it may not be amiss to quote it in his own words. "Nothing so much stirr'd up the minds of the Jews to the present wars, as a doubtful prophecy found in their sacred books; that about that time there should arise in their country, one who should become ruler of the whole world. — By this oracle the empire of Vespasian was predicted, which began in Judea." Also chap. xiv. he saith, "That God revealed to him in a dream the destruction of the Jews, and their conquest by the Romans, and what should befall the Roman emperors." For being a priest, he knew how to explain the sacred books of the prophets, and to interpret dreams. He often declared to the Jews, that God had left them, and was gone over to the Romans; that the Jews in resisting, not only fought against the Romans, but God also; and that the writings of the prophets manifestly pointed out the destruction of Jerusalem about that time; and that God had long since ordained it. From the waters of Siloam being dried up, when in the power of the Jews, and flowing plentifully when in possession of the Romans, he infer'd, that God had deserted the Jews, and was gone over to the Romans. When the war was ended, and all things had fallen out according to Josephus's predictions, he determin'd to publish the history of it; which he did first in his mother tongue, the Hebrew, for the use of the eastern nations (a book long since lost,) and afterwards coming to Rome with Titus, he there published these books in Greek, which are now extant. But this was not done upon his very first coming thither; for the triumph of Vespasian and Titus over the Jews was first past, which Josephus describes in those books. There were also false accounts of that war publish'd by many, before he publish'd his; and it was after the fourth year of Vespasian's reign, which he makes express mention of in his seventh book of the wars of the Jews; and after the building of the temple of Peace at Rome, which he also takes notice of, and which, as Dion informs us, was dedicated A.D. 75. that is, five years after the finishing of the war; and yet it was before the death of Agrippa, who highly approv'd of it, and writ several letters in its commendation. Agrippa came to Rome, and had several new honours conferr'd upon him by Vespasian, that very year that the temple of Peace was dedicated (as appears from Dion,) besides the concurrent testimony of several coins. Eusebius in his chronicle, and the author of the Paschalion say, That he reign'd twenty six years, that is, till the seventh year of Vespasian; all which I rather recount, because two very learned men of the last age have fixed his death in the third year of Vespasian. From hence it is manifest, that Josephus publish'd his book of the wars of the Jews betwixt the fifth year of Vespasian, when the temple of Peace was dedicated, and the seventh year of Vespasian, in which Agrippa dy'd.

It was out of respect to the Romans, among whom he liv'd, that he wrote these books, and from whom he had receiv'd many honours; for he was made free of Rome by Vespasian, lived in the palace, and had a yearly pension allow'd him by the emperor; and having presented his books of the Jewish war to Vespasian and Titus, the first ordered a statue to be erected to him at Rome, the latter sign'd his approbation of them with his own hand, and gave orders for them to be kept in all the publick libraries. As the Romans extoll'd him, so he constantly magnifieth and flatters the Romans, and gives very indifferent characters of the Jews; for which they generally condemn his writings. Abarbanel saith, that he falsified the truth to magnify the Romans, whose displeasure he was afraid of, and wrote to please them. And though these censures of the Jews are false and groundless, yet I cannot but remark, that he so far complied with the rites and customs of the Romans, that Minucius Felix in the very next age after took him for a Roman; "De Judæis scripta eorum relege; vel, si Romanis magis gaudes, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani de Judæis require, i. e. Concerning the Jews, either read their own writers, or if you would rather read Romans, inquire for Josephus or Antonius Julianus." This latter was without doubt the same Antonius Julianus that was procurator of Judea in the very time of the war, and is mentioned by Josephus. He was by birth a Spaniard, a man very eloquent and learned, and one who publickly taught rhetorick at Rome. When Josephus therefore wrote his books of the wars of the Jews, he was of opinion, that God had forsaken their nation, and was gone over to the Romans. He had seen his country laid waste by a war that had exhausted above 1100000 people, the whole city levelled, and God's temple so utterly destroyed, as that there was scarcely one stone left upon another; the sacred books of Moses, and the holy vessels of God's house, first made part of the Roman triumph, and afterwards prophan'd to furnish the temples of Jupiter Capitolinus, and that of Peace; and the very shekels which were formerly paid by the Jews all the world over to the temple at Jerusalem, were now paid to Jupiter Capitolinus. By which and other circumstances, Josephus was thoroughly confirm'd in his opinion, that God had forsaken the Jews, and was become the God and favourer of the Romans, and that Vespasian was the promised Messiah. His opinion about government was, that no one could be promoted to a throne, but by God's special favour, and he makes king Agrippa thus address the Jews: "It's plain that God is now gone over to the Romans; for it's impossible that so great an empire should be established without God." For these reasons Josephus conceived favourably of the religion of the Romans, and was pleased that many of the Jewish opinions agreed with theirs. The prodigies that he recounteth before the destruction of Jerusalem, would better become Livy or Tacitus, than a Jewish historian; and he could not tell whether he should ascribe his great deliverance at Jotapata to chance or providence. And when Judas, an Essene, foretold the death of Antigonus at Strato's tower, the prophecy was not fulfill'd at the famous Cæsarea, so

so called by way of eminence, but at another obscure place of that name; which seems copied from the fable of the death of Alexander king of Epirus at Pandofia, as it is recorded by Livy and others. And what he relates of the apples of Sodom and the Sabbatical river, is more like a romance, invented to divert his reader, than with any regard to truth; and the ridiculous story of the root Baras seems borrow'd from the Moly of Homer, or Circea of Dioscorides and Theophrastus. The four colours of the veil of the temple at Jerusalem, he makes to be an imitation of the four elements, and the seven candlesticks a Resemblance of the seven planets. The flying open of the great brazen gate of the temple, is such a like circumstance as happen'd at Thebes just before the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, when the great gates of Hercules's temple open'd of themselves without any one's touching of them. [Cic. de Divinat.] I omit many other things of the like nature; from whence it's manifest, that Josephus endeavour'd to grece, and shape the history of the Jews as like as he could to those of the Greeks and Romans.

AND thus I have given a succinct account of his sentiments when he wrote the wars of the Jews; but his books of antiquities were not writ till the thirteenth year of Domitian the emperor, after the death of his three great patrons, two emperors, and a king; and now he betook himself to the patronage of Epaphroditus, to whom he dedicates his twenty books of antiquities, his own life, and two books against Apion. He had now seen his supposed Messiah die, without advancing the Jewish interest, or answering the characters given him by the prophets; by which means he seems to have altered his opinion, with respect to revealed religion, and to be grown very loose in his sentiments about its mysteries; a great latitudinarian, and chiefly adhering to the general notions of the excellency of virtue and goodness, and the agreeableness of moral religion to the nature of God, and such other like sentiments; wherein the wisest of the Jews, Heathens, and Christians were agreed, without any religious veneration to such things as had been reveal'd to the Jews by Moses and the Prophets; and of this it may be proper to give some instances. Circumcision was one of the most sacred rites of the Jews, which God gave Abraham, and by which they were known to be his seed; and yet when Josephus is speaking of the antiquity of it, he leaveth the matter undecided betwixt Herodotus and Moses, whether the Egyptians learn'd it from the Jews, or the Jews from them. He does not scruple to say, that one might worship God without circumcision, so that he resolv'd to observe the Jewish laws: that this was far better than circumcision, and that God would easily pardon one that did omit it for fear of persecution. And in this it is evident, that Josephus complied with the bad circumstances the Jews were in under the emperor Domitian, by reason of their circumcision, of which Suetonius hath these words: "*Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est. Interfuisse me memini, cum à procuratore frequentissimo concilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset, i. e.*" "The Jewish tribute was most rigorously exacted. I remember that I was present when an old man of ninety years of age was in a great assembly inspected by the procurator, whether he was circumcised or not." When Josephus relates the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, he adds with an air of diffidence, That he tells every thing as it was in the holy books, and doubts whether the sea went back of its own accord, or by God's special command, and seems inclin'd to think it such a circumstance as happen'd to Alexander's army at Pamphylia. In conclusion he adds, That every one might think of it as he pleaseth. When he mentioneth God's coming down to mount Sinai, he saith, Let every one believe of it as he pleaseth, but he related no more than he found in the holy books. When he saith, That God was the author of the law of Moses, he adds, But let every one think of these things as he pleaseth. And the like reflections he makes upon Jonas's being swallowed by a great fish, and Nebuchadnezzar living seven years in the wilderness with the beasts. In his second book against Apion, he saith, "That Moses from his justice and piety might easily think that he had God for his guide; and when he was once possessed with such notions himself, he did well to persuade the people to think so too; just as the Greeks to gain a sanction to their laws, pretended they were given by Apollo, whether they really thought so, or thought that the best way to make them receiv'd of the people." He saith, "That the Jews observe their own law, and never censure others, and do not rally, or rail against those that are thought Gods by others." Of which place Grotius remarks, that he undoubtedly flatter'd the Romans; and long before him Philostorgius made the like observation, that Josephus was afraid to offend the Gentiles, and took great care in his books not to displease them.

Now the disesteeming the rites and ceremonies of the law of Moses, and paying so great a regard to the precepts of morality, are two considerable steps that Josephus made towards the doctrine of christianity; and whereas of all the sects of the Jews, Josephus gives the best character of, and seems to have the highest value for the Essenes, so it is observable, that of all the sects of the Jews, they approach'd nearest to the christians. The Essenes were forbidden to keep any changes of coats or shoes, as Christ also forbid his disciples, Matth. x. 10. The Essenes were forbidden to swear, as Christ also forbid the christians. The Essenes excommunicated persons that liv'd unbecoming their profession; and of such it was observ'd by them, that they usually came to some untimely end: just as St. Paul observes of those who prophan'd the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in those purest times of christianity, that it often happen'd, that they were deliver'd to Satan. The Essenes never troubled themselves with sacrifices, but fasted often, and readily became martyrs for their religion; all which things comport with the precepts of the gospel. Of the Essenes, Josephus particularly observes, that they were endowed with the gift of prophecy, and could foretel things to come; to which may be added of them, in the last place, that though Christ vehemently

cenfures the pharifees and fadduces, yet he never once inveighs againft the Effenes. And when Jofephus, at the end of his fecond book againft Apion, makes the Jewish religion to confift in piety, juftice, concord, and obferving God and his providence, he comes very near the defcription of chriftianity.

AND having thus far taken notice of Jofephus's fentiments in religious matters, when he wrote his antiquities; let us fee in the laft place, whether there is any thing in that remarkable account he gives of our Saviour, that is not very agreeable to Jofephus, and the time when he wrote. The place is Antiq. B. XVIII. chap. 4. "There was about that time one Jefus a wife man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man: he was a worker of ftrange miracles, a teacher of fuch men as would readily embrace the truth, and had many followers both of Hebrews and Hellenifts, (i. e. Jews and profelytes.) This was the famous Chrift, who upon the accusation of the chief men among the Jews was crucified by Pontius Pilate; and yet thofe who firft lov'd him, did not forfake him; for he appear'd to them the third day alive again. Their holy writers have declar'd thefe and many thoufand other wonderful things of him. The feet of chriftians, which are fo call'd from him, remain to this day." In all which I fee nothing but what may agree to a Jew, giving an hiftorical account of the affairs of his own nation to the heathens; efpecially what may agree to Jofephus, who often tells his reader, that he did not aver the truth of every thing he related, but faithfully tranfcrib'd what he found in their books; and fo indifferently related the opinions of the Pharifees, Sadduces, Effenes, and of the followers of Judas Galilæus, and gives a particular account of St. John Baptift, and St. James the brother of Chrift; fo that it would have been very ftrange if Jofephus fhould have pafs'd by Chrift and the chriftians in filence; efpecially at the thirteenth year of Domitian, when they were grown fo very numerous. At the end of Nero's reign, Hermas, Clement, Tacitus, Lactantius, and Sulpitius Severus call them a great multitude; but at the end of Domitian's reign, moft nations abounded with chriftians. Orofius calls the chriftian church at that time, *Confirmatiffimam toto Orbe Ecclefiam*, a church firmly eftablifh'd in all the world. Pliny not long after fhews that Pontus and Bithynia were full of chriftians; and even at Rome they were fo numerous, that Domitian was jealous of them, and their fetting up of Chrift's kingdom; and for that reason rais'd a perfecution againft them. But becaufe fo many learned men have employ'd their pens in cenfuring the authenticknefs of this paragraph in Jofephus, I will examine it yet more particularly.

THERE was about that time one Jefus (*Ἰησοῦς τις*.) This is the proper language of the Jews ufed by Tryphon in Juftin Martyr, (where Chrift is call'd Jefus, *Ἰησοῦς τις*) and by Jofephus upon other occasions, as in his wars of the Jews, lib. vii. cap. 11. and 12. *Ἰησοῦς τις*; and even of Zenodorus a Tetrarch, Ant. lib. xv. cap. 13. *Ζηνοδόρος τις*. He calls Banus, *τίνα Βανόν*; alfo Hyrcanus, lib. xviii. cap. 8. Theudas, lib. xx. cap. 4.

A WISE man (*σοφὸς ἀνὴρ*) the old appellation of a philofopher; and no more than what the fame Jofephus faith of St. John Baptift, who is call'd by him a good man (*ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ*.)

IF he ought to be call'd a man who was a worker of miracles, (*εἶχε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρεῖν*.) Jofephus means that he feem'd fuperior to a common man. So when Pilate wrote to Tiberius, it was *de Chrifto Deo*. Tertullian and Pliny, that the chriftians fang Chrifto *quasi Deo*. i. e. concerning the God Chrift, i. e. to Chrift as a God. That he did miracles, is what the Jews own'd, John xi. 47. They faid, what do we? for this man doth many miracles. In Juftin Martyr's dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, the Jews own that fuch miracles feem'd to have been done, but imputed them to magick; and both Celfus and Porphyry, though bitter enemies to the chriftians, confefs'd that Chrift did miracles. Phlegon acknowledges that Chrift foreknew future things. Pilate gave the emperor Tiberius Nero an account of our Saviour's miracles, as Tertullian and Eufebius affure us. And from that account he underftood, that he was a wife man, and doer of miracles (*φιλόσοφος καὶ θαύματα ποιῶν*.)

A TEACHER of fuch men as would with pleafure embrace the truth. (*διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ τ' εὐληδῆς δεχομένων*.) Porphyry quotes many oracles in the praife of Chrift, that declare him to be religious and immortal. To which Porphyry adds, that Chrift was good, and carried to Heaven, and yet blames the chriftians.

TRYPHO, a Jew, extolled the holy lives of chriftians; and Galen, an heathen, faith of the chriftians, "That they were chafte, much addicted to prayer and fafting, abftain'd from injuries, &c." Nor is it a lefs advantagious character that Pliny gives of them in his epiftle to Trajan; and Jofephus alfo in giving an account of the martyrdom of St. James highly commends him, and thofe that took his part, as men moft juft and exact about the obfervance of the law.

THIS was the famous Chrift, (*ὁ Χριστὸς ἑστὸς ἡν*), viz. He that was the author of chriftianity; for Jofephus wrote thofe books to inform Epaphroditus and the heathens, who knew him beft by the name of Chrift; for fo he is call'd by Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny, and they fay exprefly that the chriftians were fo denominated from him. It's beyond the fense and design of Jofephus to expound thefe words of true and faving Faith in Chrift; for Jofephus was (*τῶν ἀπίστων Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστοῦ*) among thofe that did not believe Jefus to be the true Meffias, as we are told by Origen: But Jofephus meant no more than only to let us know, that this Jefus was the fame that was ufually call'd Chrift, and was the author of Chriftianity: Thus elfewhere he tells us that St. James was Brother *τῷ λεγόμενῳ Χριστῷ*, of him that is call'd Chrift.

HE was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate. This is a plain hiftorical truth recorded alfo by Tacitus, and the Acts of Pilate: The truth is, that Tacitus's account of Chrift agrees pretty much with this of Jofephus: *Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui per Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat*. i. e. Chrift who was crucify'd by

by Pontius Pilate was the author of the sect of christians. And since it's evident that Tacitus had read Josephus, (for in his history lib. v. he saith, *Expansæ repentè delubri fores, & audita major humanâ vox excedere Deos, i. e. "on a sudden the doors of the temple flew open, and a voice louder than human was heard to say that the Gods were departing the place,"* which is taken from Josephus, lib. i. cap. 6. *μεταδιδόντων ἐν τεύχεσιν, &c.*) it is more likely he had his account from Josephus than from the gospel; and so he will be an early evidence of the authority and great antiquity of this paragraph in Josephus.

He appear'd to them the third day alive again. Josephus here doth not relate his own but the christians faith; and this information he might get, not only from their gospels, but even from the letter which Pilate sent to Tiberius, and is in part extant in Justin, Tertullian, and Orosius; in which we have an express narrative of Christ's resurrection from the dead on the third day; besides Celsus testifies, that Christ appear'd to his followers after his death.

THEIR holy writers have declar'd these and many thousand wonderful things of him (*τῶν δὲ ἁγίων περὶ τούτων ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μύρια πλεονεκτήματα αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια ἐξηκόντων.*) These words having reference to them, i. e. the christians in the former sentence, ought properly to be understood of the writings of the prophets. Thus Josephus reckons the books of Maccabees among the Jewish prophets, and the holy books of the Essenes he calls *περὶ τῶν ἀποδείξεων*, i. e. the doctrine of their prophets; and this sense is here much confirm'd by the word *ἐξηκόντων*, which hath no relation to the foretelling future things, but properly signifieth, historically declaring: thus Eustathius upon Homer explains *ἐρῶ* by *ἀγγέλλω*, from whence cometh the word evangelist; and since the books of the gospels were now generally receiv'd in the christian churches, it does not seem at all improbable, but that Josephus might have seen some of them. Tryphon, the Jew, tells Justin Martyr, that he had read them; and so the modern Jews do now. It is plain that he useth the christian, and New Testament language in other places, as when he calls St. John the Baptist, St. James the brother of Christ.

So that I see nothing in all this account of Christ but what may be allow'd to come from Josephus; and indeed it would be more strange, if such an accurate historian, and one that speaks so fully of St. John Baptist and St. James, should not say a word of Christ himself; and when afterwards he calls James the brother of Christ, it may very well be supposed, that he had given some account of Christ before. And, lastly, we may make this probable conjecture, that at the writing of his antiquities, he began to have a good opinion of the christians. He commends St. John Baptist and St. James as well as Christ, whom in his wars of the Jews he never mention'd; and never so much as once speaks of Vespasian, whom he had before magnified as the Messiah. He thought formerly, that the murder of Ananus and Jesus were the real cause of God's anger against the Jews, and the destruction of Jerusalem. But in his antiquities he makes the murder of St. James the apostle to have been the cause of it; if we may believe Origen and Eusebius. It cannot seem strange, that Josephus should say so of St. James, when Maimonides himself declares, that this Jesus who was put to death by the Sanhedrim, was the cause of the destruction of the nation of the Jews, and was prophesied of by Daniel. Now whereas Christ is term'd by the christians, the stone cut out without hands, from Dan. ii. 45. (a place which many Jews, and particularly Tryphon in Justin Martyr, confess'd to relate to the Messiah) Josephus, when he comes to give the meaning of it, expressly owns, that it was such as he had no mind to publish, and so tacitly acknowledges Jesus to be the Messiah, though he would not openly confess it. But be this as it will, it is certain that though Josephus often condemns the Sadducees, taxeth Theudas, Judas, and others, that set up for prophets to draw people after them, yet he never once accuseth Christ or the christians.

UPON the whole, there does not appear to me to be the least reason to believe this passage spurious or interpolated; it is quoted in the very same words by Eusebius, St. Jerome, Isidorus Pelusiota, Sozomen, Rufinus, Sophronius, Cedrenus, Freulphus, Suidas, Joan. Sarisb. Hegesippus, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and many other antient writers; it is extant in all copies and MSS. of Josephus in the world, and in all translations; particularly that of St. Ambrose, which goeth under the name of Hegesippus, hath it at large twice, viz. in the second book, and again in the Anacephalæosis; so that Tanaquil Faber, the great opposer of this passage of Josephus, seems very assuming, when he says of this Hegesippus, that "Josephus eo accusat nomine quod resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi non meminerit, i. e. Hegesippus accuseth Josephus, for not mentioning the resurrection of Christ," which is not only weak, upon the account that Hegesippus is nothing else but a corruption of the word Josephus, and that book a free translation of it; but also that this passage about our Saviour occurs in two different places at large. Ludovicus Vives was the first I met with who discover'd St. Ambrose to have been the true author of the translation that goes under the name of Hegesippus: his words in his book *De Tradenda Disciplina* are these: "Hegesippus Latinus factus ab Ambrosio Mediolanensi Antistite, i. e. The Latin Hegesippus was made by St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan." The old Latin version of his antiquities made by the care of Cassiodorus recites this place also. This version hath been falsely father'd upon Rufinus, and though the old copy at Milan hath been by some learned men thought as old as Rufinus, if not the very same copy; yet it is plain from Cassiodorus, that it was not at all translated into Latin till one hundred and fifty years after Rufinus, by Epiphanius Scholasticus. And, lastly, the Hebrew version of some parts of Josephus, commonly publish'd under the name of Ben Gorion, hath this passage of Josephus about our Saviour; for though it be not in the imperfect edition of Munster, which is but part of that work, yet it is certain that

it was in the compleat copies of that book. P. Fagius in his edition of the Tisby of Elias Levita, at the word *ושך*, puts down the whole paragraph with this preface to it. "Ego Paulus Fagius interpretes hujus li-
" belli, in honorem Christi & redemptoris nostri, huc referam quæ scripta inveniuntur in libro Josephi filii
" Gorion, cujus hæc sunt verba: fuit iisdem temporibus Jesus, &c. i. e. I Paul Fagius, interpreter of this
" book, will relate here, for the honour of Christ and our redeemer, what is found written in a book of
" Josephus, the son of Gorion, in these words; There was at that time one Jesus, &c." and there sets
down this whole passage as it is in the Greek Josephus. Baronius mentions an old Hebrew copy of
Josephus, in which this passage appear'd to have been inserted, but was erased; and even our old English
translation of that book by P. Morisyn hath this paragraph at large; and moreover Giraldus Cambrensis tells
us, that Robertus Canutus (the frier of St. Frideswide, who lived about the year 1171. and was well
skilled in Hebrew) declar'd that he found this testimony concerning our Saviour in two Hebrew copies of
Josephus; and that it was erased in others, as he made it appear to some Jews then living in Ox-
ford.

So that in short, there seems as much evidence for the authority of this place in Josephus, as of any other
in all his works; and it would have been a far greater wonder, if in his circumstances, and at the time
when he wrote, he should have said nothing of Christ, than that he saith what he doth; yet if any one
desires fuller satisfaction in this particular, let him consult Andreas Bosius's Exercitationes Histor. Critic.
Chr. Arnoldus's collection of letters concerning the testimony of Josephus. Vossius's Chronologia Sacra,
cap. xvii. Huetius's Demonstratio Evangel. prop. 3. Bishop Parker's demonstration of the divine authority
of the law of nature and the christian religion, p. 222, &c. and Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, Part II,
p. 17, &c.

DISCOURSE II.

By Way of Enquiry into the Chronology of Josephus in his Antiquities.

SINCE the copies of Josephus have been alter'd and corrupted, the best method that I can propose to
discover his chronology, is, to make an exact collection of such passages of Josephus, as were quoted
from him within two or three hundred years after he wrote, and in those books remain'd unalter'd; toge-
ther with a careful perusal of his other works, which, being written upon other subjects, and not contain-
ing the history of the bible, are less likely to have undergone alterations in favour of either version. In
pursuance of this method, the first place that I shall pitch upon is that of Eusebius in his history, lib. iii.
cap. 10. where he cites a large paragraph out of Josephus's first book against Apion, which asserts, that from
the beginning of the world to the death of Moses was almost three thousand years; his words are *ἔτος ὁ χε-
νθ' ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἔτων*, i. e. This space of time falls but little short of three thousand years. These
words, Valefius observes, are in all his old MSS. of Eusebius. The same words are also quoted by Nicepho-
rus, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. p. 162. and are at this day to be read in all the versions and manuscripts of Josephus:
nor was this alter'd to comply with Greek and Hebrew chronology; since it manifestly departs from both.
Our present Latin Josephus turns these words thus, Hoc tempus de tribus millibus annorum paululum minus
est, i. e. This space of time is something less than three thousand years. In the translation used by Bede
and Hermannus Contractus, and which was probably the same that Epiphanius made, they are translated
thus; Qui paulo minus ad tria millia annorum continentiam gerunt, i. e. Which contains the space of near
three thousand years. The word continentia is used after the same manner by Epiphanius in the Preface
to the Antiquities. These same words of Josephus are twice quoted by Bede in his book de Ratione tempo-
rum, and his Apologetick Epistle, and also are in Hermannus Contractus A. M. 2493. From all which we
are well ascertain'd that this was the genuine text of Josephus, and our belief herein is farther confirmed
from Josephus himself in other parts of his works. In the preface to his Antiquities he saith, That the ho-
ly books of the Jews contain'd the history of five thousand years; and that he would have this to be under-
stood from the beginning of the world to his time, is apparent, partly from the conclusion of his Antiqui-
ties, where he saith of his whole history, that it was taken from the sacred writings; and more fully from
the beginning of his first book against Apion, where he saith, That his books of Antiquities contain'd
the history of five thousand years. And to take away all doubt, Josephus in three distinct places, where
all copies agree, computes two thousand years from Moses to his time, as Philo doth likewise. Now if
these two thousand years from Moses to his time be added to the almost three thousand years from Adam
to Moses, it makes up the sum of near five thousand years from Adam to the time of Josephus. Origen
also saith, That from Adam to the seventieth year of Christ's oeconomy was four thousand nine hundred
years; and tho' he doth not there quote Josephus, yet it is plain that he had it from him. For First,
That number widely differs from the Hebrew and Septuagint, but agreeth with Josephus. Secondly, In
that

that same homily he twice quotes the history of the Jews, and the wars of the Jews; by which he undoubtedly meant those of Josephus. Thirdly, the seventieth year of Christ's œconomy is the exact time when Josephus's books end. And to shew that that number in Origen is right, he adds in the same place, that it was four thousand eight hundred and thirty years from Adam to Christ; from all which it seems evident, that Josephus computed almost three thousand years from Adam to the death of Moses, and almost five thousand years from Adam to his own time.

THE next place that falls under my consideration, is in the same book of Origen, Hom. x. p. 25. where he observes, that it was as long from Adam to Noah, i. e. the flood, as from Moses to Christ. Now, if with Origen we assign four thousand eight hundred and thirty years from Adam to Christ; and if according to the Hebrew we reckon one thousand six hundred and fifty six years to the flood, we shall find just so many years in Josephus to Christ. And because I would not as yet urge the authority of the present copies of Josephus, we may take this period out of Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 250. where he quotes Josephus from a yet elder author, who flourished under Antoninus Pius, and so near to Josephus's time, viz. that from Moses, i. e. the coming out of Egypt, to David, was * five hundred and eighty five years, from David to the second of Vespasian one thousand one hundred and seventy nine years, both together one thousand seven hundred and sixty four years. Now if from that sum we take the forty years that Moses was in the wilderness, and seventy years of Christ's œconomy, there will remain one thousand six hundred and fifty seven years from Moses's death to Christ's birth; which he thus takes from Josephus, and which plainly shews that in the time of Origen, Josephus before the flood agreed with the Hebrew. And if we subtract twice 1656. i. e. 3312 out of 4830, there will remain for the space betwixt the flood and the death of Moses, 1518, which comes very near to what we now read for that period; and if we put all this together, the chronology of Josephus will stand thus:

FROM Adam to the flood one thousand six hundred and fifty six years, to the death of Moses one thousand five hundred and eighteen; to the birth of Christ one thousand six hundred and fifty six, to the twelfth of Nero seventy years; in all four thousand and nine hundred years: or according to Josephus, almost five thousand years from Adam to his own time, at the thirteenth year of Domitian.

BEFORE I proceed to a more distinct consideration of particulars, it will be requisite to shew what evidence may be produced out of the present copies and manuscripts of Josephus, that he followed the Hebrew before the flood, and the Greek after it.

THE period before the flood agreeth with the Hebrew. First, in the age of Lamech's begetting Noah, the Hebrew is 182, and the Greek 188, the difference only in the last figure. Now all copies, versions, and manuscripts of Josephus read two in the last place, according to the Hebrew, and not eight according to the Greek. Secondly, in the age that Enoch begat at, the Hebrew is sixty five, the Greek 165. Now the copies and manuscripts of Josephus are herein also alike to the Hebrew, and contrary to the Greek. Thirdly, the Hebrew computes to the flood 1656, the Greek 2242 years. Now there are no copies of Josephus consonant to the Greek; but they have either 2656, or else 1-56, the number of hundreds being omitted; and either way there are plain marks of agreement with the Hebrew. Lastly, Josephus saith of this period, that he transcrib'd the years from the holy books with even a religious exactness, where by holy books he meant the Hebrew; and so in his preface to his antiquities, though the LXX translated the books of Moses, yet there are many more things in the holy writing, i. e. the Hebrew, which he intended to explain. And against Apion, Book I. he saith, that he compiled his history in Greek from the holy books, i. e. the Hebrew books; and again he saith, that he translated his Antiquities from the holy books, as thereby meaning those letters, i. e. the Hebrew books and letters.

THE period next after the flood agreeth with the Greek. For first, most of the Greek extant here follow the LXX. Secondly, the old Greek copy of Epiphanius here certainly followed the LXX; for so Freulphus about A. D. 800. in Chron. T. I. l. i. cap. 35. "De numero annorum à diluvio usque ad nativitatem Abraham aliter Josephus atque LXX interpretes & Eusebius sentiunt quam in Hebraica veritate continetur, i. e. Concerning the number of years from the flood to the birth of Abraham, Josephus, the Septuagint, and Eusebius dissent from the testimony contained in the holy books of the Hebrews;" and afterwards adds, that the Hebrew has two hundred and ninety two years, the LXX and Eusebius nine hundred and forty two years, "A quibus Josephus non longe exorbitat, i. e. from whom Josephus departs but a little." Thirdly, Josephus saith that Phaleg was born about the time that the division of tongues happened. But those who follow the Hebrew say, that wonderful event did not come to pass till the death of Phaleg; finding a hundred years too few for the peopling of the world. Fourthly, they who follow the Hebrew, make Sem to be Melchisedech, as living in the days of Abraham, according to their chronology: but Josephus calls him a Chanaanitish king, and gives us not the least hint of a thing so strange, as that Abraham's great grandfather's great grandfather Sem should be then alive to bless him. Fifthly, since Jocktan in Josephus is elder brother of Phaleg, and had thirteen sons at the building of Babel, who gave names to countries, it is impossible that Phaleg should be born in the thirtieth year of Heber, but must, according to the LXX, be born at least in the hundred and thirty fourth year of his father.

D

* In the first sum is a small mistake of 6 for 8, five for eight, and then both will be 1767.

father. And lastly, in this period of time Josephus hath no where intimated that he took his years from the Hebrew, as he has of the period before the flood. From all which it is highly probable, that he followed the Hebrew before the flood, and the LXX after it. Yet he seems to have departed both from the Hebrew and Greek in one instance before the flood, and one after it. In the period before the flood he departs from the Hebrew in the age of Jared's begetting Enoch, and adheres to the Samaritan writing sixty two, instead of one hundred and sixty two; and thereby making that number more suitable to the rest, as may be seen by this table.

	Samaritan	Hebrew	Septuagint
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enos	90	90	190
Kainan	70	70	170
Maleleel	65	65	165
Jared	62	162	162
Enoch	65	65	165

IN this table the Samaritan and Hebrew are alike in all but the age of Jared's begetting Enoch; the Septuagint exceed the Hebrew by an hundred years, in every one but in that of Jared; so that in the Hebrew copies which they used, it was sixty two. Josephus here made Jared's begetting at sixty five, proportionable to that of his son after him; his father's at sixty five; his grandfather's at seventy; and his great grandfather's at ninety: and that this was really the meaning of Josephus, will appear, First, from the adjusting the particulars to the general sums I have laid down, and making them to the death of Moses to be almost three thousand years. Secondly, from Jos. Antiq. Book x. Chap. 11. where it is said that the temple was destroyed 1950 years after the flood, and 3513 years after Adam. Deducting, therefore, the first sum from the second, we shall find 1556 years to remain betwixt Adam and the flood, that is, one hundred less than the Hebrew. And in these numbers there is a wonderful harmony among the Greek and Latin copies; so Zonaras read the Greek in his time, and so Freculphus read the Latin in his time; and the numbers, though wrong, yet are proportionable, and have just five hundred wanting in each of them. Thirdly, all the Greek manuscripts of Josephus, even those that follow the Septuagint, attribute but sixty five years to the age, at which Enoch begun to begat. They have left out one hundred years from Enoch, which should have been taken from his father Jared, as in the ages after the flood in almost all manuscripts of Josephus; and the years of Ragau and Saruch are interchang'd, who are the sixth and seventh patriarchs after the flood, as Jared and Enoch are the sixth and seventh before the flood.

IN the period next after the flood, Josephus no where departs from the LXX, unless only in the age of Nachor's begetting Terah; and here is so great a variety and disagreement in the manuscripts and printed editions, that it is very difficult to tell what to trust to.

Some editions of the LXX, as that of Complutum and Rome, have	179
Other editions of the LXX have only	79
Theophilus ad Autolycum	75
The Hebrew	29
The Samaritan	79
The vulgar Latin, and some copies of Josephus have	28
The usual Greek copies of Josephus	120
As corrected by Vossius	129
Freculphus Lexov. read in Josephus some number above	79
Origen in the place above cited	109

FOR since Origen accounted fifteen hundred and eighteen years from the flood to the death of Moses, and exclusively of the year wherein Moses died, fifteen hundred and seventeen years, and the LXX leaving out Chanaan II. (as Josephus did) account only fourteen hundred and eighty seven to that space, it is evident that in Origen's copy of Josephus he read forty years more than the LXX, and instead of seventy nine read *ἑννατὸν καὶ ἑκατοσὸν*, one hundred and nine. Amidst this great variety and uncertainty, if we admit a small alteration, and instead of Origen's *ἑννατὸν καὶ ἑκατοσὸν*, read in this one place, *ἑννατὸν καὶ εἰκοσὸν*, twenty nine, which is consonant to the Hebrew, Josephus will agree exactly with all the observations I have made; and from Adam to the death of Moses will be two thousand nine hundred and ninety three years, i. e. almost three thousand years.

THESE things being thus adjusted, the chronology of Josephus before and after the flood will stand thus:

Adam	130	Sem	2	To the promise	} 75
Seth	105	Arphaxad	135	made to Abraham,	
Enos	90	Sala	130	To the coming out	} 430
Kainan	70	Heber	134	of Egypt,	
Maleleel	65	Phaleg	130	To the death of	} 40
Jared	62	Ragau	132	Moses,	
Enoch	65	Saruch	130		} 545
Mathufelah	187	Nachor	29		
Lamech	182	Terah	70		} 892
Noah	600				
	1559				

ALL three sums together 2993, and so according to Josephus, *ἕως ὃ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τριχίλιον ὀλίγον ἐτῶν*, i. e. This period of time falls but a little short of three thousand years. The sums of the four first books (commonly printed at the beginning of Josephus) have 3093. Now if we cast away one hundred from the age of Jared, which seems to have crept into the text even before Origen's time, we have this very sum of two thousand nine hundred and ninety three years.

SEVERAL reasons may be assign'd why Josephus chose to follow the Hebrew before the flood, and the LXX after it, (which, though an affected way of writing chronology, has, however, been practised by St. Austin, De Civ. Dei, lib. xv. cap. 13. very probably in conformity to Josephus's method.) The principal are these:

FIRST that he being well skill'd in Hebrew and Greek, and highly esteeming both editions of the Bible, did indifferently make use of both, sometimes following one, and sometimes the other.

SECONDLY, Hebrew was his mother tongue: he first wrote his history of the Jewish wars in that language, and address'd the Jews, his countrymen, in several eloquent Hebrew speeches, to persuade them to surrender; and in many places (where all copies agree) followeth the Hebrew Bible, where it differs from the Septuagint. As First, Josephus and the Hebrew omit the second Chanaan, son of Arphaxad, who is in the LXX. Secondly, Gen. xvi. 22. Josephus and the Hebrew have fourteen, the LXX eighteen. Thirdly, Gen. xlvii. 27. Josephus and the Hebrew have seventy, the LXX have seventy five, and so are quoted by St. Luke, Acts vii. 14, 15. Fourthly, Gen. xxii. 2. Josephus and the Hebrew have the land of Moreah, the LXX have *τὴν γῆν ὁψηλὴν*, i. e. the hill-country. Fifthly, Numb. iv. 3. Josephus and the Hebrew have thirty years old, the LXX twenty five years old. Sixthly, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13. Josephus and the Hebrew have seven years famine, the LXX three years. Seventhly, 1 Sam. iv. 18. Josephus and the Hebrew have Eli govern'd forty years, the LXX have twenty years, as observ'd formerly by Syncellus, p. 176. Eighthly, 1 Kings iv. 32. Josephus and the Hebrew have one thousand and five, the LXX five thousand. Ninthly, 1 Kings xv. 2. Josephus and the Hebrew have three years, the LXX six years. Tenthly, Esther i. 5. Josephus and the Hebrew have seven days, the LXX six days. Eleventhly, Esther ix. 16. Josephus and the Hebrew have seventy six thousand, the LXX fifteen thousand.

THIRDLY, he understood Greek also, had a great veneration for the version of the LXX, and relates its whole history from Aristæas, frequently making use of it in his Antiquities. As First, Gen. vii. 11. Josephus and the LXX have the twenty-seventh day, the Hebrew and the Samaritan the seventeenth day. Secondly, Exod. xii. 40. Josephus and the LXX have the Israelites in Chanaan and Egypt four hundred and thirty years, the Hebrew in Egypt four hundred and thirty years. Thirdly, 1 Sam. xi. 8. Josephus and the LXX have Judah seventy thousand, the Hebrew Judah thirty thousand. Fourthly, 1 Sam. xv. 4. Josephus and the LXX have Gilgal, the Hebrew Telaim. Fifthly, 1 Sam. xv. 4. Josephus and the LXX have Israel four hundred thousand, the Hebrew Israel two hundred thousand. Sixthly, 1 Sam. xv. 4. Josephus and the LXX have Judah thirty thousand, the Hebrew Judah ten thousand. Seventhly, 1 Sam. xxii. 18. Josephus and the LXX have three hundred and five priests, the Hebrew eighty five priests, observ'd by St. Hierom, Tom. III. p. 71. Eighthly, 2 Sam. viii. 13. Josephus and the LXX have Idumæans, the Hebrew Syrians. Ninthly, 2 Sam. xxv. 15. Josephus and the LXX have till dinner time, the Hebrew till the time appointed. Tenthly, Esther ix. 26. Josephus and the LXX have *φεῦραι*, the Hebrew Purim. Eleventhly, Josephus relates the contention of the Jews before Darius about what is the strongest, which is not at all in the Hebrew, but Greek Esdras.

FOURTHLY, Josephus many times departed from them both: As first, Gen. xiii. 18. the Hebrew has the plain of Mambré, the LXX the Oak of Mamre; but Josephus the Oak of Ogyges. Secondly, Gen. xxxv. 28. the Hebrew and LXX say Isaac dy'd one hundred eighty years old; Josephus, but Isaac dy'd one hundred eighty five years old. Thirdly, Numbers iii. 39. the Hebrew and the LXX have twenty two thousand, Josephus twenty two thousand eight hundred and eighty. Fourthly, 1 Sam. xviii. 25. the Hebrew and the LXX have one hundred foreskins, Josephus six hundred, not foreskins, but heads, *κεφαλαις*. He thus alter'd it to make it more compliable to the way of the Romans. Fifthly, 2 Sam. iii. 14. the Hebrew and the LXX have one hundred, Josephus six hundred. Sixthly, 2 Sam. xv. 7. the Hebrew and the LXX have forty years, Josephus four years. Seventhly, 1 Kings vi. 1. the Hebrew and the LXX have four hundred eighty,

or four hundred forty, Josephus five hundred ninety two. Eighthly, 1 Kings xii. 33. the Hebrew and the LXX the eighth month, Josephus the seventh. Ninthly, 1 Chron. xxii. 14. the Hebrew and the LXX have one hundred thousand talents of gold, Josephus ten thousand talents of gold. Tenthly, 1 Chron. xxii. 14. the Hebrew and the LXX have one million of talents in silver, Josephus one hundred thousand talents of silver. Eleventhly, Neh. ii. 1. the Hebrew and the LXX have the twentieth of Artaxerxes, Josephus the twenty fifth year of Xerxes. Twelfthly, Neh. xiii. 6. the Hebrew and LXX have the thirty second year of Artaxerxes, Josephus the thirty eighth year of Xerxes. Not to mention his making Solomon reign eighty years, and is therein follow'd by Theodoret on 1 Kings ix. 37. and Procopius on the same place, &c.

FIFTHLY, To reconcile numbers that were different, he took a middle proportion. As 2 Sam. viii. 4. the Hebrew has seven hundred horsemen, the LXX seven thousand horsemen, in Josephus five thousand horsemen. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. the Hebrew and the LXX have Israel eight hundred thousand, but 1 Chron. xxi. 5. the Hebrew and the LXX have one million one hundred thousand, Josephus hath Israel nine hundred thousand.

FROM all which it is evident that in compiling of his history, he made use of the original Hebrew, as well as Septuagint version of the old Testament alternately, as occasion offer'd: nor scrupled, when he thought there was reason, to recede from both.

THE next considerable period is, from the death of Moses to the laying the foundation of Solomon's temple in the fourth year of Solomon, five hundred fifty two years: To which add the forty years in the wilderness, and it will be five hundred ninety two years from the coming out of Egypt: And so Josephus hath it expressly in B. vii. of his Antiquities, and Chap. 2. Again, from Joshua to David's taking Jerusalem are five hundred fifteen years, Antiq. B. vii. Chap. 3. add thirty three of David and four of Solomon, and we have five hundred fifty two years. Add the forty in the wilderness, and they make five hundred ninety two, as before. Again Antiq. B. x. C. 11. Nebuchadnezzar burnt the temple in the year four hundred seventy after its building by Solomon, and in the year one thousand sixty two after the coming out of Egypt. Take the first number out of the second, and there will remain five hundred ninety two from the coming out of Egypt to Solomon's temple. Again, the sum of the fifth book is four hundred seventy six, of the sixth book thirty two, of the seventh book forty, and four years of Solomon. All which make five hundred fifty two. So that if we add forty in the wilderness, the whole will be five hundred and ninety two. Clem. Alex. in Strom. i. p. 250. quotes Josephus for saying that from Moses, i. e. the coming out of Egypt, to David are five hundred eighty eight years. Add the four years of Solomon, and you have again five hundred ninety two years. Sulpicius Severus, omitting the four years, hath for that period only five hundred eighty eight years.

Now to make all this more evident, I will insert the particulars thus:

Moses in the wilderness	40		
Joshua	26		
Othoniel	40		
Ahod	80		
Deborah and Barach	40		
Gideon	40		
Abimelech	3		
Thola	23		
Jair	22		
Jephthe	6		
Ibsan	7		
Elon	10		
Abdon	8		
Sampson	20		
Eli	40		
Samuel and Saul	32		
David	40		
Solomon	3		
In all	480		
		Servitudes under	
		Cushan	8
		The Moabites	18
		Jabin and Chanaanites	20
		Midianites	7
		Ammonites	18
		Philistines	40
		In all	111
		The fourth year of Solomon	1
		To which add	480
		And the whole will be	592

THE Greek copies of Josephus say that Saul reign'd twenty two years after Samuel, and so Zonaras read it; but Epiphanius and the Latin versions have only two. Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i. p. 238. saith, That Saul dy'd two years after Samuel; and Theophilus ad Autol. giveth Samuel twelve, and Saul twenty, together thirty two years, according to Josephus. The Jews in Seder Olam and other books give Saul only two years, that is, after the Death of Samuel. That Saul reign'd in all but twenty years is express'd in Josephus, Antiq. B. x. C. 11.

SOME few things may be objected against this number of years for this period, which must be consider'd. I. 'Tis objected, that after the death of Joshua they were eighteen years without a prince. Jos. Antiq. B. vi. C. 6.

It may be answer'd, that it ought to be read only eight years; and is to be understood of their servitude under Cushan.

H. 'Tis objected, that according to Josephus (Antiq. B. xx. chap. 8.) from the coming out of Egypt to Solomon's temple are six hundred and twelve years; and just so it is read in Photius and Hegefippus, B. ii. c. 13.

I answer, Josephus here gives an account of the time from the coming out of Egypt to the dedication of the temple, and the first priests that serv'd in it and left off the tabernacle. Now that was just twenty years from the foundation of it laid by Solomon. (Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. and 2 Chron. viii. 1. and the Septuagint 1 Kings viii. 1.) so that if to the five hundred and ninety two years to the laying the foundation of Solomon's temple we add twenty, we have this very sum of six hundred and twelve years; so also Sulpitius Severus, p. 187. "Coepum templi opus vigesimo anno explicuit, i. e. The temple was finished in the twentieth year after it was begun to be built."

THE next period is from the foundation of the temple to its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, viz. four hundred seventy years, six months, and ten days. Josephus is express as to this, Antiq. B. x. c. 11. in which place also from the children of Israel's going out of Egypt to the destruction of the temple, are one thousand and sixty two years. Take out thence the space to the building of the temple, five hundred and ninety two years, and there will remain for the duration of the temple four hundred and seventy years; and the reading of that place is confirm'd by Zonaras and Freculphus. Again, Antiq. B. x. c. 11. the kings of the race of David reign'd five hundred fourteen years, six months, and ten days; from which number take away forty of David, and four of Solomon, and there will remain four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days. Again, Antiq. B. xi. c. 4. the kings reign'd five hundred and thirty three years. Take away from Saul twenty, David forty, and Solomon four, there will remain from the foundation of the temple to the captivity, four hundred seventy years, six months, and ten days. There is, I confess, a small difference in the Latin edition, and in that of Freculphus, and the Greek of Zonaras, p. 126. who have but five hundred thirty two years, six months, and ten days.

THE particulars of this sum we may easily collect from several parts of Josephus thus:

From Solomon's laying the foundation of the temple to his death, Jos. B. viii. c. 2, 3. } 77 years.

From Rehoboam to the captivity of the ten tribes, B. ix. c. 14. } 260 years, as it should be read.

From thence to the captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, B. x. c. 11. } 133 years, corrected so by Vossius.

In all 470 Years.

IN most of the present copies of Josephus, B. ix. c. 14. there is two hundred and forty, instead of two hundred and sixty; and in B. x. c. 11. we have one hundred and thirty, instead of one hundred and thirty three.

Again the sum of the eighth book 163 years }
of the ninth book 177 years } So Vossius, { the Greek 182.
of the tenth book 203 years } { the Latin 230.

In all 543

Take away three years of Solomon, and }
seventy years of the captivity, } 73

There remains from the building to the }
ruin of the temple, } 470 years.

It may be objected, that Antiq. B. xx. c. 8. we have from Solomon's temple built, to its destruction, four hundred and sixty six years.

To which is answer'd, that the translation by Ambrose had in this place of Josephus four hundred and sixty years, six months, and ten days. It should be four hundred and fifty years, six months, and ten days, and there are to be accounted from the dedication of the temple six hundred and twelve years after the coming out of Egypt.

It is observable, that whensoever Josephus gives the time of the burning of the temple, whether from Solomon's building it, from the flood, or from Adam, yet still he adds to the sum six months and ten days; whereas it is certain that the temple was burnt the tenth day of the month Ab, which is the fifth month. Josephus therefore is to be understood according to the order of the months among the Romans, for whose sake he wrote, and so calls Adar March, Nisan April, Jiar May, Sivan June, Tamuz July, Ab August, or Sextilis, the sixth month among the Romans; and therefore in his wars of the Jews, B. vii. c. 9. he saith the temple was burnt August 10. and in his wars with the Jews April is Nisan.

IN Josephus, B. x. c. 11. the Greek and Latin copies say, that from David, twenty one kings reign'd to the captivity, five hundred and fourteen years, six months, and ten days. Take away forty four for David and Solomon, and there are four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days.

Vossius, p. 129. saith, that the old Paris manuscript of Josephus, hath from Adam to the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, four thousand years. According to my account it comes to four thousand and fifteen, and perhaps the odd fifteen may be in the manuscript, though omitted by Vossius.

FROM the burning of the temple, to the first of Cyrus, Josephus hath seventy years; for

FIRST, Antiq. B. xi. c. 1. The first of Cyrus is the seventieth year from the beginning of the captivity. Now the captivity began at the burning of the temple; for (B. x. c. 11.) the twenty third year of Nebuchadnezzar is the fifth year of Israel's captivity.

SECONDLY, Antiq. B. xi. c. 1. Seventy years after the burning of the temple they return'd from Babylon, and that undoubtedly was the first year of Cyrus.

THIRDLY, Antiq. B. x. c. 11. From Isaiah to the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, one hundred and forty years. From Isaiah to the first of Cyrus, two hundred and ten years; therefore from the burning of the temple to the first of Cyrus are seventy years.

FOURTHLY, B. xi. c. 1. From the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar to the first of Cyrus, when the Jews return'd from captivity, are seventy years.

FIFTHLY, B. xi. c. 1. The temple lay desolate seventy years, and they ended the first of Cyrus.

SIXTHLY, Josephus (Antiq. B. x. c. 12.) hath the particulars thus:

NEBUCHADNEZZAR forty three years; Evilmerodoch eighteen years; Niricolassar, or Egreffarius forty years; Labofadarchus nine months; Balthasar, or Nabonidus, seventeen years; Cyrus one; in all one hundred and nineteen years and nine months; so that if we take out seventeen years of Nebuchadnezzar, there will be left for the captivity, one hundred two years, and nine months, which is certainly wrong, and should be thus: Nebuchadnezzar forty three years; Evilmerodoch twelve years; Niricolassar fourteen years; Labofadarchus nine months; Nabonidus seventeen years; Cyrus one year; in all eighty seven years and nine months. If we then take out seventeen years of Nebuchadnezzar, there will remain seventy years and nine months; so that the first year of Cyrus was the seventieth of the captivity; and this account, though false, yet agreeth with Josephus, and was taken thence by that anonymous author whom Sulpicius Severus, B. ii. c. 31. hath transcrib'd thus: Nebuchadnezzar forty three; Evilmerodoch twelve; Belthasar fourteen; Darius Medus eighteen; Cyrus one; in all eighty eight.

FROM the first year of Cyrus to the conquest of Darius by Alexander (i. e. the whole space of the Persian monarchy) Josephus hath two hundred and forty six years. So Antiq. B. x. c. 12. from the prophecy of Daniel in the first year of Darius, who with Cyrus took Babylon, to the destruction of the temple by Antiochus, are four hundred and eight years, as 'tis quoted by Cedrenus, p. 191. Now that prophanation by Antiochus was in the hundred and forty fifth year of Seleucus, (Antiq. B. xii. c. 15.) which Æra began the eighteenth year after Alexander's conquest of Darius. If we therefore take one hundred and forty four, and eighteen (i. e. one hundred and sixty two,) from four hundred and eight, there will remain two hundred and forty six years for the duration of the Persian monarchy.

SECONDLY, Antiq. B. xx. c. 8. From the first of Cyrus to Antiochus Eupator, are four hundred and fourteen years; which words are cited from Josephus by Photius and Hegefippus. Now Josephus saith of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he, dying in the hundred and forty ninth year of Seleucus, left the kingdom to Eupator, Antiq. B. xii. c. 14. and Eupator's first year was the one hundredth and fiftieth of Seleucus, to which add eighteen from the conquest of Alexander over Darius (i. e. in all one hundred and sixty eight) and subtract that from four hundred and fourteen, there will remain for the Persian monarchy, two hundred and forty six years.

THIRDLY, the sum of book xi. is two hundred and fifty three years, and contains the space from the first of Cyrus to the death of Alexander. Now from Alexander's conquering Darius, and putting an end to the Persian monarchy, were seven years; if therefore we take seven from two hundred and fifty three years, there will remain for the Persian monarchy two hundred and forty six years.

Now it is certain that the duration of the Persian monarchy was not so long; but Josephus, mistaking him for Xerxes, in whose time Nehemiah came to Jerusalem, and built the walls of it, (making Nehemiah cup-bearer to Xerxes,) it was necessary for him to assign to his reign above thirty two years; which we find mention'd Neh. xiii. 6. Josephus speaks of the ninth month of the thirty eighth year of his reign, and added twenty years to his reign, as he did forty to Solomon's. The chronology of Josephus, as to those Persian kings, seems to have been thus:

Cyrus	30	Artaxerxes	46
Cambyfes	6	Ochus	21
Magi	1	Arfes	2
Darius	36	Darius	4
Xerxes	41		
Artaxerxes	41		
Darius	19		
			In all 247

ALL these agree with the Canon Ptolemaicus, except one year wanting to Cambyfes and the Magi, and twenty added to Xerxes; so that if we cast away the first of Cyrus, which was accounted to the seventy years captivity, there were just two hundred and forty six years.

SOME old authors make the empire of the Persians to last two hundred and forty eight years, including the first of Cyrus; and so Euseb. Dem. Ev. p. 393. but they were to be understood of the whole space, from the first of Cyrus, to the first of Seleucus, or the * Æra Seleuci.

FROM Alexander's conquering Darius to his own death, are seven years; for if we deduct two hundred and forty six (the duration of the Persian monarchy) out of two hundred and fifty three, (the number of years from Cyrus to the death of Alexander, as in the sum of book xi.) there will remain seven for the number of years betwixt the end of the Persian monarchy and the death of Alexander.

FROM Alexander's death, to the beginning of the Æra Seleuci, are eleven years, as is evident thus: Josephus allows from the first of Cyrus to Antiochus Eupator, four hundred and fourteen years, and his first year was the hundredth and fiftieth year of Seleucus. Now if we take the one hundred and fifty, and two hundred and fifty three (from the first of Cyrus to the death of Alexander) out of four hundred and fourteen, there will remain eleven years betwixt the death of Alexander and the beginning of the Æra Seleuci.

FROM the Æra Seleuci to the Maccabees, one hundred and forty six years; for so we read in Antiq. B. xii. c. 7, & 8. that Matthias and Judas Maccabæus began to prevail in the year of Seleucus, 146.

FROM the Æra Maccab. in the year of Seleucus, 146. to the beginning of Herod, are one hundred and twenty six years, as Antiq. B. xiv. at the end; or if the Æra of the Maccabees began the year following, i. e. in the year of Seleucus 147. then Josephus assigns them but one hundred and twenty five years, as B. xviii. c. 8. which therefore must end in the year of Seleucus 272. for Herod was made king at Rome in the year of Seleucus 273. and yet Josephus makes these end at the death of Antigonus, in the year of Seleucus 276. and so accounts three or four years short, as is evident to any one that shall add the particulars.

ARISTOBULUS (Joseph. Antiq. B. xiii. c. 19.) began to put on a regal diadem four hundred and seventy one years after the return from the captivity; so likewise in his wars of the Jews, lib. i. In Freculphus it is falsely read four hundred and seventy five, in the present Greek and Latin copies four hundred and eighty. But the four hundred and seventy one years are thus made out, viz.

From the first of Cyrus to the Æra Seleuci	264 years.
Thence to Jonathan's high-priesthood	160 years.
To Simon's high-priesthood	10 years.
Simon's high-priesthood	7 years.
Hyrceanus's	29 years.

In all 470

Aristobulus began in the year

471

FROM the beginning of Herod, after the death of Antigonus, to the destruction of the temple, in the second year of Vespasian, are one hundred and seven years, Jos. Antiq. B. xx. c. 8.

These last sums put together stand thus:

From the first of Cyrus to the Æra Seleuci	264 years.
From the Æra Seleuci to the Maccabees	146 years.
The duration of the Maccabees	126 years.
The duration of the Herods to the second of Vespasian	107 years.

In all 643 years.

The sums of the ten last books are thus:

	y.	m.	d.		y.	m.	d.
Book xi.	253	5	0	Book xvii.	14		
Book xii.	170			Book xviii.	32		
Book xiii.	82			Book xix.	3	6	10
Book xiv.	32			Book xx.	22		
Book xv.	18						
Book xvi.	12						
From the twelfth of Nero to the second of Vespasian				In all	638	11	10
							4 complete years.

The whole sum 642 11 10.

THE

* An Æra is a reckoning of time from some memorable event, as from the creation of the world, Noah's flood, the Israelites coming out of Egypt, &c. The famous Æra of Seleucus began in the reign of Seleucus, first founder of the Syrian kingdom, soon after the expiration of the Grecian monarchy, eighteen years after the end of the Persian monarchy, according to Josephus; and in the year of the world, 3636. before the birth of J. C. 312. according to other chronologers.



AN APPENDIX TO THE Two Preceding Discourses.

BESIDES the reason already adduced, many others may be alledged that make the chronology of the Septuagint in the ages after the flood more probable than the Hebrew.

FIRST, It seems absurd and preposterous, that the seven first patriarchs after the flood, who liv'd three hundred, and four hundred years, should beget at thirty, or thereabouts, as the present Hebrew says; and yet the succeeding patriarchs, who did not live half so long, should not beget their first-born till they were twice as old; Terah at seventy, Abraham at eighty seven, Isaac at sixty, Jacob at eighty four, Levi, Chaath, and Amram, at about sixty each of them; for from the birth of Levi, to the birth of Moses, the son of Amram, were about one hundred and eighty years.

SECONDLY, It is not likely that Noah, who liv'd six hundred years before the flood, should see ten generations succeed each other after the flood, and live till the fifty eighth year of Abraham; that Sem should see nine generations after him successively die, and survive Abraham many years, the ninth person lineally descended from him; who yet died in a good old age, an old man, Gen. xxv. 8. That Sala should outlive Phaleg, Ragau, Lamech, Nachor, Terah, and Abraham, for six generations, lineally descended from him; and even the last of them liv'd to be an old man; that Heber should outlive Phaleg, Ragau, Lamech, Nachor, Terah, Abraham, and Isaac, seven successive generations that descended from him; and yet Abraham and Isaac should both live to be old men, Gen. xxv. 7. and xxxv. 29.

THIRDLY, It is not possible that Jocktan should have thirteen sons when Phaleg was born, at the division of tongues, if Phaleg was born at the thirty fourth year of Heber, as it is in the Hebrew; and to fancy Phaleg first call'd so at the time of his death is ridiculous, and expressly contrary to Josephus. At the division of tongues we are told, that Mizraim, Chanaan, Sidon, Elam, Assur, Aram, &c. gave names to countries, and yet they died before Phaleg. Sem, Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, &c. according to the Hebrew, were living when God instituted circumcision; and yet none of them order'd to be circumcised, which was then the sign of being in covenant with God.

BUT how evidently so ever preferable to the Hebrew in this period the LXX may seem in the judgment of most, yet I foresee several things that may be objected, and which it may not be improper to consider.

FIRST, 'Tis objected, that it is not probable that the ante-diluvian patriarchs, who lived to be nine hundred years old, should beget their first-born at sixty or seventy years old, as is affirm'd in the Hebrew and Josephus; and yet those after the flood, who did not live half so long, should not beget their first-born till about one hundred and thirty years old.

TO which I answer, that could we be certain these mentioned after the flood were the first-born, the objection would be very weighty and material. But it is much more probable that they were not; for Sem was younger than Japhet, Gen. x. 27. and therefore Japhet is placed first in the genealogies, Gen. x. 2. and 1 Chron. i. 5. Arphaxad younger than Elam or Assur, 1 Chron. i. 5. Gen. x. 2. vi. 21. Phaleg younger than Jocktan, who at Phaleg's birth had thirteen children, Gen. x. 25, 26, &c. Abraham

younger than Haran, Haran born at the seventh, and Abraham at the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah, Gen. xi. 27, 28, 29, 32. Acts vii. 4. and Abraham married Haran's daughter.

It is very probable that it was so also in the other patriarchs, (though we cannot prove it from scripture, where the history we have of them is very short,) because God continued this method afterwards. Isaac was younger than Ishmael, Jacob than Esau, Judah than Reuben, of whom it is observ'd, 1 Chron. v. 1. Now the sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel, (for he was the first-born, but because he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph, and the genealogy is not to be reckon'd after the birthright, &c.) St. Austin de Civ. Dei, lib. xv. c. 15. observes of the patriarchs after the flood, that "Magis credibile est non hic primogenitos commemoratos, sed eos per quos successionis ordo ducetur, i. e. It seems more probable to believe, that they who are here reckon'd up, were not the first-born, but they by whom the order of succession was to be derived."

SECONDLY, 'Tis objected, that the Jews were such faithful transcribers of the law, that if ever the Hebrew had agreed with the Samaritan and Septuagint, they would not have alter'd it.

I ANSWER, that the words of Philo (in Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. viii.) and of Tryphon (in Justin Mart.) are certainly to be understood of the Septuagint, and not of the Hebrew; and what Josephus saith to the same purpose, must either be understood of the Septuagint, or else in so large a sense, as that according to him the LXX translators were prophets, and did not make any alterations in any thing; and indeed whatever is to be met with in other books to this purpose, is taken from Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32. and must be understood of their not adding to or diminishing the precepts of the law of Moses; and it is manifest, that the version of the Septuagint, the Targum of the Onkelos, the books of Irenæus, Eusebius's chronicle, and Rufinus, had solemn adjurations added to them not to change or interpolate any thing; and yet it is certain, that they have been much corrupted. The Rabbies mention thirteen places alter'd by the LXX interpreters, but not one of them that relates to the chronology of the patriarchs. The present Hebrew bibles in twenty six places leave a space to shew that something is wanting, which is supplied by the LXX. The marginal readings vary from the text in eight hundred and forty eight places, and they are generally reckoned the truest. Ezra vii. wants one whole verse, which is in 1 Chron. vi. though the genealogy, Neh. vii. is only a transcript of that we find in Ezra ii. yet it is very different from it. And in Psal. cv. betwixt Ver. 13 and 14, is the omission of a whole verse, as appears by the alphabet in that psalm, which was in the text when the LXX translated it; so that it is plain that there are corruptions of the Hebrew text of the bible, and many of them since the time that the LXX translated it. And since it is evident, that in the time of * Origen, when he compiled his Hexapla, the Hebrew text was the same as now, it is certain that the alterations therein were made before that time; and as it seems most probable, about the reign of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. The Hebrew of the bible was at, and after the time of our Saviour, a dead language, not understood by any but scholars; the common language of the Jews being at that time a mixture of Syriack and Chaldee; and the Jews wondered how Christ understood letters, having never learn'd, John vii. 15. And Luke x. 26. Christ said to one of the scribes, as being his peculiar skill, How readest thou? And the reading of the law in Hebrew was not usual in the synagogues, without an explanation of it, which they read also. Now their scholars and bibles were generally destroyed by the persecutions they suffered in the ages after the apostles. Vespasian destroyed four hundred and sixty synagogues; and Trajan forbid the Jews the reading of their law; and in his time R. Ananias was burnt, and the book of the law with him. R. Akiba had two thousand and four hundred scholars kill'd by Adrian, in the rebellion of Cochab; and R. Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, had two hundred and fifty thousand scholars slain, and not one left. And the very reading of the law had been utterly lost, had not R. Judah, the son of Baba, with the expence of his own life, preserv'd five copies, by hiding them; for Adrian made a law, by which it was death to ordain doctors, and keep up their schools; and learning was at the same time brought to so low an ebb at Babylon, that two of Juda's scholars were sent thither to instruct them; and the very reason why R. Judah collected the traditions into the book of the Misna, was, that learning was likely to be abolished, and the law made void. Most of the Mosaic rites ended with the temple, and thereby the book of the law was less esteemed, and the Jewish learning was become little else than a multitude of idle traditions. R. Judah took great care, that in all the cities of the land of Israel there should be such as taught traditions. Alting. tells us, that "Tanta fuit Misnæ auctoritas, etiam vivo auctore, ut sepositis codicibus prophetis, in hoc uno explicando & interpretando omnem operam collocaverint, i. e. The authority of the Misna became so great, even in the author's life time, that neglecting the books of the prophets, they [the Jews] spent all their pains in explaining and interpreting this only." So that here was a very fair opportunity for those few scholars that were left to alter the Hebrew text as they pleas'd, and for the few Hebrew copies that were then extant to suffer corruption. The Jews in their dispersions for the most part learn'd Greek, and in their synagogues used Aquila's version; so that the Hebrew was in a great measure neglected. And to make all this plain, I will give some instances of the

* Origen died in the 69th year of his age, in the reign of Gallus and Volusianus, according to some; or as others, of Valerian and Gallienus, A. D. 253. so that his Hexapla must have been compiled betwixt the beginning and middle of the third century.

the Jews altering the text and changing their opinions, as to the matters I am speaking of, after the destruction of the temple, and before the composing of the Misna in the time of Antoninus Pius; or at least before Origen publish'd the Hebrew.

FIRST, Gen. ii. 24. the Samaritan and Septuagint have the word Two, and Mat. xix. 5, 6. our Saviour urgeth the Pharisees with the force of that word; and they, though well skill'd in Hebrew, were unable to answer the force of the argument; whence it appears, it was then in the Hebrew, though not now; and probably left out by R. Akiba, in the age I am speaking of, who allow'd the Jews to marry any woman they saw fairer than their own wife.

SECONDLY, Psal. xxii. 16. They pierc'd my hands; so the Septuagint, Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick, and some few manuscripts of the Hebrew. Aquila likewise read it so; for he translates it by a verb; but the Rabbins, to evade such a plain prophecy of our Saviour's crucifixion, alter the word of the text, and read, As a lion.

THIRDLY, Josh. xv. 59, &c. there are two verses in the LXX, which shew Bethlehem to be in the tribe of Judah, wanting in the Hebrew. St. Jerom, on Micah v. thinks them erased by the Jews, since the time of our Saviour, that it might not appear that Bethlehem was in the tribe of Judah.

FOURTHLY, After the destruction of Jerusalem, and before the Seder Olam Rabbah was made by R. Jose in the days of Adrian, the Jews so curtail'd the Persian monarchy, as to make Daniel's weeks to begin with the Babylonish captivity, and end at the destruction of the temple. Josephus knew of no such chronology in his time, and it could not be chance, but a contrivance of the Jews after the second of Vespasian, that with the loss of two hundred years made Daniel's four hundred and ninety years exactly end at that time.

FIFTHLY, The great disagreement of the opinions of the Jews before and after the destruction of the temple. Before that time the version of the LXX was held in great esteem by Philo and the Egyptians, (who kept a feast yearly in memory of it) and by the Jews in all the Greek dispersion, and at Nazareth, Luke iv. 16, 17, 18, 19. and by those of Jerusalem, as appears by Josephus, who magnifieth it, and the account given by Aristas. In Adrian's time the LXX were rail'd at by the Jews, and the Jews kept a fast upon the day it was translated, viz. Tebeth the eighth, and made another Greek version to oppose it, and deliver'd it as a tradition, that darkness overspread the world for three days after the version of the LXX was made, and that it was as unlucky a day to the Jews, as when the golden calf was made.

SIXTHLY, Phaleg was born at the division of tongues, saith Josephus, according to the opinion of the Jews that then prevail'd; but the Rabbins who have lived since tell us, that he died at that time.

SEVENTHLY, Melchisedech was a Canaanitish king, saith Josephus, according to the opinion of the Jews in his age, and 'tis agreeable to St. Paul; but the succeeding Jews supposed him to be Sem.

EIGHTHLY, Daniel's weeks, according to Josephus, ended at the desolation of the temple by Antiochus, which was according to him four hundred and eight years, from the first year of Darius; to which add the seventy years from the burning of the temple, and it comes very near to Daniel's number; but the following Jews curtail the Persian monarchy; and though they begin the weeks at the beginning of the Babylonish captivity, yet they end them at the second of Vespasian.

SOME will object, what end or design should the Jews have in shortening the period betwixt the flood and the birth of Abraham.

FIRST, It may be answer'd, that it might be for the easier bringing down their pretended traditions from Adam, Noah, &c. for so the Jews boast, in Seder Olam Rabbah, that seven men measure the world, Adam, Methuselah, Sem, Jacob, Amram, Ahaja Salonites, and Elias, who is still alive; when as, according to the chronology of the Samaritan Septuagint, and Josephus, there must be added at least Heber, Saruch, and Abraham, betwixt Sem and Jacob; and even so Saruch would be but eight years old at the death of Heber, and Jacob but fifteen years old at the death of Abraham; so that there would be need of two more persons to be inserted for carrying on their traditions, and so from Sem to Jacob would be as many persons as they made in all the world. Secondly, That it might be done to obviate the prophecy of the house of Elias, that Christ should come at the beginning of the fifth millenary. Now since the fourth millenary, according to the present account of the Jews, ended A. D. 242. it is evident that this curtailing their chronology was long before that time, in which they expected the Messiah. But when they found themselves mistaken also in the account, they took up that saying, Cursed is he that numbereth the times. Thirdly, that it might be done to baffle the argument that St. Paul pushed the Hebrews with, that Melchisedech's priesthood was above Aaron's; which we find urged also by Justin Martyr against Tryphon, by Tertullian, and other early Christians. For if Melchisedech be Sem, then Aaron, who was lineally descended from him, inherited his priesthood also; and so the argument of St. Paul and the christians of a superior priesthood to the Aaronitical, would be destroy'd. And here it is probable, that as the old Rabbies talk'd much of the schools of Sem and Heber, and that Jacob studied in them; so at first they designed Heber to be Melchisedech, and cut off the years only of the patriarchs after him; for the present Hebrew saith, that he lived after he begat Phaleg four hundred and thirty years, where the Samaritan and Septuagint agree in the number of two hundred and seventy years; and if after Heber we follow the present Hebrew, Heber lived to the hundred and fifth year of Abraham; and to this agreeth what Epiphanius tells us in the heresy of the Melchisedechians, that some Hebrew copies from the birth of

of Sem to the time that Melchisedech met Abraham in the eighth or ninth year of Abraham, have about six hundred and twenty eight years, thus:

Sem	102	Ragau	32
Arphaxad	100	Saruch	30
Sala	100	Nachor	29
Heber	150	Terah	70
Phaleg	30	Abraham	85

In all 628

BUT this project not taking, they chose rather yet to shorten this period, and make Sem to be Melchisedech; for since the Chaldee paraphrase saith that Rebecca consulted the schools of Sem, and the Rabbies added that Jacob studied in the schools of Sem, they the easier concluded that Sem was alive in the time of Jacob. Now that this was contrived after the destruction of the second temple, appears from hence, that not only Josephus tells us that he was a Canaanitish king, but that it is impossible for the Samaritan or Septuagint, or such as used either of those pentateuchs, to take him for Sem. Indeed all the early fathers who mention him (Irenæus, Hippolytus, Theophilus, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Theodoret, &c.) assent to Josephus, and make him a Canaanitish king; and St. Paul, when he wrote to the Hebrews, seems an intire stranger to any such extravagant fancy as that of making Melchisedech to be Sem, but all along takes it as a settled confirm'd opinion, and a thing universally agreed on, that he was not concerned in the genealogy of Aaron; and so according to the laws of the Jews could have no right to the priesthood.

SOME others of the Jews endeavour'd to evade St. Paul's argument, by making Melchisedech an angel; an opinion that Origen and Didymus borrow'd from them, and which St. Ambrose, De Fide, lib. iii. cap. 5. calls *Judaicum Ludibrium*, i. e. a ridiculous Jewish notion.

BUT the subterfuge, which chiefly prevail'd among them, was the curtailing the period of the post-diluvian patriarchs, and making Sem to be Melchisedech, and then Aaron lineally descending from him to inherit his priesthood also; and to make this probable, it may not be improper to observe, how industrious the Jews have been to pervert the history of Melchisedech, and answer St. Paul's argument taken from him.

FIRST, They tell us that Melchisedech was a bastard; and because his name was not to be found in the genealogies, therefore said to be without father, &c. (See Epiphanius of the heresy of the Melchisedechians, p. 7.) But how this will agree with his being Sem, I cannot conceive.

SECONDLY, They denied Melchisedech's priesthood, and translated כֹּהֵן prince, contrary to the opinions of the seventy Jews that translated it *ιερευς*, to Eupolemus in Eusebius's Præp. Ev. lib. xix. c. 17. to Philo the Jew in his book of Abraham, to Josephus in Antiq. lib. i. c. 7. to several Jews in Epiphanius. T. i. p. 473. and to St. Paul in his epistle to them, c. 7.

THIRDLY, they make Sem elder than Japhet, and to inherit the priesthood by right of primogeniture, contrary to the LXX, Gen. x. 21. and to Josephus, Antiq. B. i. c. 7. who calls Sem the third son of Noah.

FOURTHLY, They give a different exposition of the text, so as to make Melchisedech pay tithes to Abraham, contrary to the Septuagint, to Josephus, Antiq. B. i. c. 11. to Philo, and St. Paul, Heb. vii. 2.

FIFTHLY, They corrupted the text, Psal. cx. 4. where by adding a jod, they apply it to David, contrary to the Septuagint, to St. Paul, Heb. v. 6. and vii. 17. and to the Scribes and Pharisees, who expounded that psalm of the Messiah, Matth. xxii. 42, 43.

UPON all which accounts it may not seem improbable, that as * Aquila made his version of the bible in the time of † Adrian, to oppose christianity, and depreciate the version of the Septuagint, which was used by the Christians; so the few learned Jews that lived about that time, did agree to make some alterations in the Hebrew also, in order to oppose the Christians, and to magnify their traditions; and then the true chronology of the Hebrew will be that preserv'd by Josephus in his Antiquities, which followeth the shorter account before the flood, and the longer after it.

* This Aquila was a man of unsettled principles; first a judicial astrologer, then a christian, and after that, upon some disgust or other, he turn'd Jew, and was circumcised, and became a bitter enemy to the christian religion. Whoever has a mind to know more of him, may consult Epiph. in l. de Mens. & Ponderib.

† Adrian begun his reign A.D. 117. and died A.D. 138.



THE LIFE of JOSEPHUS,

Written Originally by Himself.

Josephus's
extraction.

Joseph the
son of Mat-
thias.

Josephus had
three sons,
Hyrcanus,
Justus, and
Agrippa.

AS different nations set a value on dignity of birth and illustrious extraction, according to their several conceptions and notions of honour; so with us nothing more ennobles a family, than the discharge of the sacerdotal function; upon which account I may look upon myself by birth, sufficiently distinguished from the vulgar, as I am descended not only from holy progenitors, who bore the sacred office, but from priests of the first course of the * Four and twenty, amongst which there are different degrees of distinction. By my mother's side I am related to royal blood; for the Asamonean family, from whom the derived her descent, successively bore the office of king and priest in our nation for a great many generations. I shall set down the succession in order. Simon, surnam'd Psellus, was my great grandfather's grandfather, who lived when Hyrcanus, the son of Simon the high-priest, and first of that name, held the pontificate. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, Matthias for one, otherwise called Aphlias, who took to wife the daughter of Jonathan the high-priest, by whom, in the first year of the reign of Hyrcanus, he had a son called Matthias Curtus; to whom, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, was born Joseph; and to him Matthias in the tenth year of king Archelaus; and to Matthias in the first year of the reign of † Caius Cæsar, I myself, who have three sons also; Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian Cæsar; Justus in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth; and this account of my family I

have set down as I find it upon record, little regarding the malice of my enemies, who may endeavour to traduce my family, and calumniate my character.

My father Matthias was highly respected all over Jerusalem by persons of all degrees and conditions, not only for his noble birth and extraction, but much more also for his integrity and justice. I had an own brother of my father's name, and he and I were educated at school together from children. Now being endued with a tolerable good understanding and memory, by the age of fourteen I had acquired such a reputation for learning, that the chief priests and rulers would frequently come to consult me about the more difficult and abstruse points of the law. After I had arrived at sixteen, I determin'd to dip into the doctrines of the principal sects among us, whereof there are three, the Pharisees, the Sadduces, and the Essenes; concluding after I had tried them all, I should be the better able to chuse that which I liked best; so I passed through the requisite austerities of them all, with much labour and mortification; nor did I think fit to stop here, but hearing of one Banus, who lived like an hermit in the wilderness, I became a follower of him also. His custom was to use no other cloathing than the leaves of trees; to eat no other food than what the earth naturally produced; to bath often in cold water, the better to restrain the irregularities of his appetites, and preserve his chastity. After I had staid with him three years under these disciplines, and fully gratified my inclination herein, I returned into the city. And

He applies
himself to the
study of the
three sects.

Becomes a
disciple of
one Banus, a
man of great
austerity.

* The four and twenty were instituted by king David in the latter end of his reign, out of the four and twenty families of priests, sixteen of which were descended from Eleazar, and eight from Ithamar, the two sons of Aaron. By this appointment every family was to officiate in the temple eight days, or from sabbath to sabbath, and so to do duty one after another, each in his turn or course, which was at that time determin'd by lot, and enter'd upon roll. The first family, and so the second, the third, &c. in order, according as it happened.

† Caius Cæsar Caligula, the fourth Roman emperor. He begun his reign, A. D. 173.

Joseph inclines to the way of the Pharisees.

Felix sends several priests prisoners to Rome.

Joseph takes a voyage to relieve them.

The ship is lost, and Josephus is wonderfully preserved.

He is made known at Rome to Poppæa, who gets the prisoners their liberty. The people in a desperate uproar. Josephus gives them good counsel.

Manahem, and some of the ringleaders put to death.

now being nineteen years old, I betook myself to a secular course of life, adhering to the sect of the Pharisees, whose doctrines approach nearest to the opinions of the Stoicks amongst the Greeks.

WHEN I was six and twenty years old, there fell out a very particular occurrence, which occasioned me a voyage to Rome; it was this: Felix being procurator of Judea, had for some slight affront or other, sent prisoners to Rome, several priests of unblameable characters, who were my intimate acquaintance, in order to take their trial before Cæsar. Upon the news of my friends misfortunes, I embarked for Rome, resolving to use my utmost efforts, to effect their deliverance, especially when I heard they continued steadfast to their principles, though reduced to the utmost distress, and necessitated to feed upon figs and nuts, to support life. In my passage thither I went through innumerable dangers at sea; for our ship foundered in the middle of the Adriatick gulph, and out of a matter of six hundred of us, who were in company, only I, and some others, about eighty in all, who outswam the rest, were by God's special providence preserved, being taken up early next morning by a ship of Cyrene, after we had been a whole night in the water. After this deliverance I contracted an acquaintance at Dicearchia, or Puteoli, as the Italians chuse rather to call it, with one Alityrus, a comedian and favourite of Nero, who was by nation a Jew, and by whose interest I became known to Nero's wife Poppæa, of whom I quickly obtained, that those priests should be set at liberty; and so I returned to my own country, dismiss'd not without considerable presents over and above. At my arrival there, I found the minds of the people disposed for an insurrection, and ready to revolt from the Romans; whereupon I endeavour'd all I could to bring the mutineers to better reason, by laying before them the power of the enemy they had to do withal, a people much their superior in martial discipline, policy, and fortune; wherefore I advised them not inconsiderately and rashly to hazard the ruin of their country, themselves, their wives, and children, upon such unequal terms. At this rate I plied them with all the arguments I could think of, to dissuade them from enterprizing on a war, which I plainly foresaw would involve them in the most dismal and destructive consequences; yet all to no purpose, their resolutions were desperate, and their madness incurable. Fearing therefore least I had by a frequent and importunate repetition of the same counsels, incurr'd their displeasure, and given them cause to suspect I was a favourer of the enemy, to avoid the danger of being seized, and put to death, I withdrew into the temple, the faction having already made themselves masters of fort Antonia. After * Manahem and the ringleaders of his faction were cut off, I came out of the temple, and conversed frequently with the chief priests and principal men among the Pha-

risees, who were in great fear and perplexity; for we saw the people up in arms, and what to do we knew not. To appease the conspirators was beyond our skill, besides dangerous to attempt, wherefore we pretended to approve their proceedings, but yet advised them not to be too rash, but let the enemy † draw off a little, hoping that Gessius ‖ would come speedily with a power sufficient to suppress the sedition. Gessius came back indeed to his cost; for his troops were intirely cut to pieces in the attempt, and himself slain; and this blow proved the utter ruin of our nation; for the success of this action made the conspirators vain enough to think they were able to conquer the whole Roman power with the same ease. Just at this time happened a very tragical occurrence, which was as follows:

Gessius Florus defeated.

THE Syrians and Jews living promiscuously together in several great towns bordering on Judea, the Syrian inhabitants took occasion to murder all the Jews, men, women, and children, who lived with them in those cities, without any provocation at all, for they had neither shewn any publick tokens of disaffection to the Romans, nor been guilty of doing any wrong to them in their private circumstances. But above all, the barbarity of the Scythopolitans was most transcendently wicked and inhuman; for being invaded by Jews, who did not live amongst them, they not only forced the Jews of the place, their fellow-citizens, to take up arms against those of their own country, which is a thing forbidden by our laws; but after they had with their help dispersed the enemy, and obtained a complete victory, contrary to gratitude, to justice, and common faith, they massacred all of that nation amongst them without distinction, to the number of several thousand persons. The Jews that inhabited in Damascus fared no better; but of this I shall speak more at large in my history of the wars of the Jews, that the reader may see we did not begin this war by choice, but were forced to it by extreme mere necessity.

A massacre of the Jews.

The barbarous ingratitude of the Scythopolitans.

A war of necessity.

AFTER the defeat of Gessius, the chief men amongst the Jews finding themselves left naked and defenceless, and the mutineers well furnished with arms, apprehended, what afterwards proved true enough, that they should be exposed to their insults; and understanding that but one part of Galilee had revolted from the Romans, and that the other was peaceably inclined to them, they commissioned me and two other priests, Joazar and Judas, men of good repute, to go thither, to intreat the disaffected party to lay down their arms, and to convince them that it was much better at present to surrender them up into the hands of the governors, who would be sure to let them have them again whenever there was an occasion to make use of them; and by all means to forbear hostilities at present, till they should know more certainly the real intentions of the Romans.

Commissioners sent to quiet the common people.

* This Manahem was wont to upbraid the Jews, for professing to worship one God, and at the same time owning the Romans for their masters: he was a person of mean extraction, of a very turbulent and seditious temper, and the head of a faction against the Romans. Setting himself up for a prince, he was put to death, together with the chief of his accomplices, by Eleazar the high-priest's son the head of another faction, and the first who excited the Jews to rebel against the Romans.

† A party of Roman soldiers, besieged by the mutineers in Agrippa's palace at Jerusalem.

‖ Gessius Florus, the Roman governor of Judea, appointed to that office by the emperor Nero.

A quarrel be-
twixt the Ga-
lileans and the
Sepphorites

WITH these instructions I went into Galilee, where I found the Sepphorites engaged in defence of their country, that was in great danger of being overrun by the Galileans, who had invaded them because they continued firm in their alliance to the Romans, and would not violate their faith with Senius Gallus then governor of Syria. But I found an expedient to make the Sepphorites easy, and to pacify the Galileans, by procuring them a licence to send as often as they pleased to Pora, a city of Phœnicia, to their hostages there, whom they had given to Gessius.

Tiberias in
arms.
Three fac-
tions.

As for the men of Tiberias, I found them all in arms, and the quarrel was this: There were three parties in this city; One consisting of well-affected people, headed by Julius Capellus, who was joined by Herod the son of Mirarus, Herod the son of Gamalus, and Campus the son of Campus; but as for Crispus his brother, who had been some time governor of that city by the appointment of Herod the Great, he at this time lived at his own estate beyond Jordan. These all of them abode by the king and the Roman people, and so too did all the rest of the nobility to a man, save Pistus, who in compliance with his son Justus stood out. The second party consisting of scoundrels and rabble, declared for a war. At the head of the third was Justus the son of Pistus, who though he did not give his opinion in express words for a war, yet at the same time from the bottom of his heart wished for nothing more than a revolution, in hopes thereby of gaining some considerable post, and advancing his fortune; to which end he made a speech to the people in a full assembly, endeavouring to persuade them, "That their city was always reckoned to belong to Galilee, and that it had once been the metropolis of that country in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, who being the founder of it, made Sepphoris subject to it; that it continued to enjoy this preheminece even under the government of Agrippa the Father, till Felix became governor of Judea; and that it but very lately lost its right of precedency, no longer ago than the time it was bestowed upon Agrippa the Younger by Nero; and that the Sepphorites were never favour'd with any privilege above their neighbours, till their subjecting themselves to the Roman power, and the removal of the records and the king's household thither upon that revolution." With these and many other the like invective expressions against the king, when Justus perceived he had excited a spirit of rebellion in the minds of the people, he said, "Since the Sepphorites obstinately resolved to continue their alliance with the Romans, now was the only time to assert by force of arms their just right of precedency over the whole; and in conjunction with the rest of the cities of Galilee, who all bore them an antipathy, to fall upon them with their whole force, and do them what mischief they could." With this plausible and popular harangue, which seemed to carry the air of reason in it, he gained over the multitude: besides he was so well versed in Græcian literature, as to be able to compile the history of those times, whereby he diguised the truth of things at pleasure, as he found it made mostly for his purpose. But of this man's wickedness, and how near he and his brother

went to the total and irrecoverable destruction of their country, an account shall be given in the sequel of this discourse. When Justus therefore had prevailed upon some of the citizens by fair means, and others by force to take up arms, he marched out with them all in a body, and laid in ashes the villages of the Hippenes and Gadarenes adjoining to the country of Tiberias and Scythopolis.

Justus burns
the Hippenes
and Gada-
renes out of
their houses.

To pass over from the state of affairs at Tiberias to that of Gischala: John the son of Levi observing several of his countrymen grown weary and impatient of bearing the Roman yoke any longer, did all he could to keep them in their allegiance and duty; but all to no purpose: for their neighbours the Gadarenes, Gabaraganeans and Tyrians, gathering together in a strong body, assaulted and carried by storm Gischala; which after they had burnt, and laid level with the ground, they retired. John was so provoked at this outrage that he marched with all the Troops he could raise against them, engaged, and vanquished them; and after that rebuilt the city, and for security environed it with a wall.

Gischala laid
in ashes.

John the son
of Levi de-
feats the re-
bels.

But the people of Gamala all this while continued firmly attached to the Roman interest, as may be seen by what follows. Philip the son of Jacimus Agrippa's lieutenant, having unexpectedly got off whilst the enemy were storming the palace at Jerusalem, fell into another danger every jot as bad, and had like to have had his throat cut by Manahem and his barbarous crew; but was, however, happily saved at the intercession of some of his Babylonian relations, who were then at Jerusalem; and five days afterwards by disguising himself in a cap of false hair, he made his escape to a certain village near the castle of Gamala, situate in his own dominions; where when he was arrived he sent for several of his subjects to come to him. In this place he happen'd to be seiz'd suddenly with a fever, which by a wonderful providence proved the occasion of saving his life; for while he lay sick he wrote letters to Agrippa and Berenice by a certain freedman, with orders to deliver them to Varus, to whom at that time, by the king and queen's appointment, was committed the care of the palace, they being on their journey to Berytus to meet Gessius. When Varus upon the receipt of the letters understood that Philip was got safe off, he took it to heart exceedingly, fearing lest the king and queen should dismiss him, as soon as Philip should return in safety. Wherefore Varus exposes the messenger to the people as a cheat, and one that had come to him with a lie in his mouth, since to his certain knowledge (as he said) Philip was then in the Roman army at Jerusalem, fighting against the Jews; and accordingly upon this accusation sentenced him to be severely punished. The former messenger not returning Philip dispatches a second with another packet, requiring him to bring him word what had befallen the first that he did not come back; Varus took occasion to deal by him also as he did by the first; for the Syrians of Cæsarea had puffed up Varus with an opinion that he should become a great man, persuading him that the Romans would put Agrippa to death for this rebellion of the Jews, and that they would confer the crown upon him as a near relation of the royal family; for it was well

Gamala firm
to the Ro-
mans.
Philip's won-
derful escape
and delive-
rance.

Philip writes
to Agrippa
and Berenice.

Varus puts a
messenger to
death as an
impostor.

He puts a se-
cond messen-
ger to death
upon the same
pretence.

Justus stirs up
the people a-
gainst the Ro-
mans.

Arba-
grati-
the
poli-

of ne-

mission-
nt to
the
on peo-

well known he had royal blood in his veins, being descended from Sohemus the Tetrarch of Libanus. Elated with these hopes Varus therefore made bold to detain the letters, and took particular care the king should never have them; and for fear lest any one should escape privately, and inform the king of his proceedings, he set guards in all the passes: moreover to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Cæsarea he put great numbers of the Jews to death, determining likewise with the assistance of the Trachonites of Batanæa to fall upon the Jews of Ecbatana, who are called Babylonians. To which end calling to him twelve of the chief men among the Cæsarean Jews, he ordered them to go immediately and tell their countrymen in his name, that he had received intelligence they were making preparations of war against the king, which he was not willing to believe; but notwithstanding, that he strictly enjoined them to lay down their arms, as the most convincing proof they could give of their innocence, and that the report was without foundation; adding farther, that he insisted upon their sending seventy of their principal men to clear them of the crime wherewith they were charged. The twelve deputies faithfully executed their orders; but when they came to Ecbatana they found their countrymen about no such design; however in conformity to their orders they prevailed with them to send the seventy persons required along with them back to Cæsarea. Varus in the mean time, with a party of the king's soldiers, intercepted them on their journey, fell upon them, and cut them and the deputies likewise, all off to a man; after which, he advanced upon his design against the Jews at Ecbatana: but by a strange providence one of the seventy escaped the massacre, and had the good luck to get there before him with the news of this most treacherous and inhuman action: whereupon the inhabitants immediately armed themselves, and with their wives and children took refuge in the castle of Gamala, leaving their effects and cattle to a considerable value, behind them. So soon as Philip heard of this adventure he went thither to them, where the people gave him an universal and hearty welcome, intreating him that he would by all means undertake the war, and be their commander against Varus and the Syrians of Cæsarea; for there was a current report abroad that they had killed the king. But Philip did all that lay in his power to appease their fury, by reminding them of the many and great favours the king had conferred upon them, and of what dangerous consequence it would be to rise in rebellion against the vast and formidable power of the Romans: insomuch that they were brought, at last, by his arguments to a better temper. Herod coming at last to hear that Varus had a design to have massacred all the Jews of Cæsarea, with their wives and children, to the number of several thousand persons, he discarded him, and sent Equus Modius to succeed him, as we shall take notice of elsewhere, whilst Philip kept Gamala and the adjacent countries in obedience to the Romans.

At my arrival in Galilee, having received certain intelligence of these things, I wrote to the council at Jerusalem for instructions what to do; and the answer I received was to continue in Galilee, and provide for the safety of the place as well as I could, and to retain my

colleagues still with me, if they could be prevailed upon to stay; for having received some considerable sums of money that were in arrear for the priests tithes, they had some thoughts of returning home again; but being intreated to stay till we had established peace and quietness in the place, they readily consented: so we went all together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs distant from Tiberias; from whence I sent a messenger to summon the senate of Tiberias, and some of the heads of the people to come over to me. Upon their arrival, and Justus among the rest, I told them I had a commission from the council at Jerusalem, together with my associates, to confer with them about the demolishing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had built there, and adorned with several curious images and figures of living creatures, being a thing expressly forbidden by our laws; pressing earnestly that it might be done out of hand. Capella, and the people of his faction, oppos'd it a long time; but at last, after a hard contest, we carried the point; now while this debate was a-foot, Jesus the son of Saphia, at the head of a scandalous crew of tarpaulins, and other scoundrel fellows, with the help of a band of seditious Galilæans, set fire to the palace royal, in expectation of a considerable booty; for he had observed the roofs of several of the rooms to be richly adorned with gold: and in effect they spoiled and carried off a great many things of value in despite of all we could do to hinder it. So soon as this conference with Capella and the governors of Tiberias was over, we betook ourselves from Bethmaus into the Upper Galilee; at which time the faction of Jesus put all the Greeks in Tiberias to the sword, and all others likewise that had been enemies to them before the war. Upon the news of this outrage, I went in a great rage to Tiberias, to try what I could save of the king's goods upon this pillage; for there were several rich candlesticks of Corinthian work, precious tables, and a great deal of silver in the mass; and, in fine, resolving all this while to deposite what goods soever I laid hold on, for the king's use: so that sending for ten of the chief senators, and Capella the son of Antyllus, I deliver'd all the rich vessels and other things of value into their custody, with an express charge not to part with them to any body but myself. I went from thence with my associates to Gischala, to inform myself what John intended to do; whom I found manifestly engaged in the promoting of an insurrection, and setting up for himself. The emperor had several storehouses fill'd with corn in several parts of the Upper Galilee, and John would fain have had the exporting and vending of it, with an intent, he said, to employ the profit in building walls and fortifications. I soon smelt what he would be at, and told him plainly, that it was a thing I would by no means consent to; for being obliged by virtue of my commission from Jerusalem to take care of all things within that jurisdiction, I could not dispose of those stores any other way than either to the service of the emperor, or the good of the province. When he found I was not to be prevailed upon, he applied himself to my associates, who, betwixt want of foresight and love of money, were brought over by bribes and fair words to comply with his demands; and being two to one, they must needs carry it.

The Jews treacherously inveigled and cut to pieces.

Varus advances against Ecbatana.

The inhabitants withdraw upon it into Gamala.

Philip goes to them there.

The people offer to chuse him for their leader against Varus.

Philip reasons them into a better temper.

Varus displaced and Equus Modius succeeds him.

Joseph. confers with the senate and great men of Tiberias about demolishing Herod's palace.

The rabble set fire to it and rife it.

The faction puts all the Greeks in Tiberias to the sword.

Josephus deposes the king's goods for the king's use.

Joseph to an ment v Free- The c tions o treaty.

Joseph seventy leans t assistan council

The m and just Josephhu admiru tion.

it. John had no sooner gained this point, but he bethought himself of another stratagem: The inhabitants of Cæsarea Philippi had made complaints to him, he said, that they wanted pure virgin oil, and desired him to supply them, the Greek oil being forbidden them, and the king's prohibition restraining them from going out of town to fetch it. Now this was done by him not so much out of a principle of generosity, as self-interest; for he knew that this oil bore forty times the price at Cæsarea that it did at Gischala; so that he sent away all the oil from one place to the other, under colour of my licence. Certain it is, I did thus far licence the transporting of it: I durst not presume to hinder it, for fear of being tore in pieces by the people; and so far only I yielded to it. This, in short, was a wicked contrivance that John turned greatly to his advantage.

FROM this place I sent my associates back again to Jerusalem; and after that, made it my whole business to arm, fortify, and in short, to provide all that in me lay for the defence of my province. The Free-Booters, I found, were not to be reduced by force; and so I put the people upon trying what might be done by composition; whereupon we treated with several leading men among them to take them off by money; being all convinced, that the expence of the pension would not amount to near the spoil they'd make by rapine and pillage. We came, in short, to an agreement; and I took their oaths for performance of articles, and so we parted. The conditions were these, That they should not offer any violence, either to Romans or Natives, nor ever set foot in our country, unless when invited, or else to receive their pay. But above all other things, it was my peculiar care to keep Galilee quiet; and in order thereto, I made choice of seventy of their most reputable men to attend me, whom I made use of as companions, counsellors, and assistants; nay, I govern'd myself in a great measure by their advice, saving an inviolable respect to integrity and justice; so that under the appearance of friends, they served me likewise in the quality of hostages.

I was now in the thirtieth year of my life; an age wherein all the virtue and precaution in nature is not able to secure a man from the lash of envy and detraction; especially in a post of honour and power. But I can say this for myself however, that I was never charged with any misdemeanor, either in relation to incontinency, or corruption. I wanted nothing, and I coveted nothing: nay, I was so far from taking any thing I had no legal right to, that I refused my very tenths, though properly my dues as a priest, even when they were offer'd me. As for the spoils taken from the Syrians upon the defeat I gave them, it is very true that I sent part of that booty to my kindred at Jerusalem; and so, after two overthrows given to the Sepphorites; four to the people of Tiberias; one to the Gadarenes; and John himself, after several treacherous practices against me, made my prisoner, I passed it all over without taking any revenge, either of the one or the other; and God who saw the innocence of my heart in this whole affair, was so gracious as to deliver me from the snares of my perfidious enemies; and not upon that occasion only, but divers times afterwards, as will be seen in its proper place.

THE people of Galilee had all of them such a respect and veneration for me, that though they saw their towns destroy'd, and their wives and children hurried away into captivity, they had yet a much greater concern for my hazards and sufferings, than for their own. John was ready to burst all this while with envy at the thought of my being so popular; and under the pretext of a present indisposition, he wrote to me for leave to go to the hot baths of Tiberias for his health; which I not only granted him at first word, without so much as dreaming of any trick in the bottom of it, but gave him recommendatory letters also to the cities then under my administration to furnish him and his train with meat, drink, lodging, and all other conveniencies, and to take care that they wanted nothing. I was at this time in a village of Galilee called Cana. John was no sooner come to Tiberias, but he fell presently to work upon debauching the inhabitants into a sedition, and inveigling them to break off with me, and come over to his party. There were a great many among them forward and factious enough to hearken to any thing that tended towards the promoting of a change, and overjoy'd too of such an occasion: as among others, Justus, and his father Pistus, who immediately closed with the proposition, and join'd interests with John against me. But by my coming there the plot was seasonably disappointed; for Silas, my deputy-governor of Tiberias, dispatched a messenger to me with an account of the whole story, from point to point, and how the case stood at that time, and what they intended: advising me by all means to make what haste I could thither, and prevent the mischief before it was too late, or else the government would quickly be in other hands. Upon reading this intelligence, I posted away for Tiberias with two hundred men, sent a messenger before to inform my friends I was a-coming, and so travelled the whole night. The people, early in the morning came out of the town to meet me upon the way, and John himself among the rest; but so out of countenance and confounded, that he betray'd his guilt in his face. Being now conscious to himself that his neck was at stake, if he was discovered, he made a hasty reverence, and that instant withdrew to his lodging. In the mean time, I went directly to the publick place of exercises, where I discharged all my own train, except one person of note, and ten soldiers that I kept about me. After this, I mounted a lofty precipice, from whence I harangued the Tiberians upon the subject of good faith and allegiance; the honour of a generous constancy; and the actual baseness, as well as dangerous consequences of violating their faith; for one treachery, I told them, would most certainly be avenged upon the head of the traitor by another; and that after one act of perfidy, their credit would be lost for ever. The words were hardly out of my mouth, but I heard some body call vehemently and earnestly to me immediately to come down, and provide for my own security, for my enemies were just upon me; and that this was no time for speeches. Now the truth of it was, that having me at an advantage in a place where I was little better than alone, John drew a select number of men out of the thousand that he commanded, with orders to kill me; and they were already

The Galileans have a great respect for Josephus.

John's malicious envy.

John tampers with the People of Tiberias against Josephus.

Justus and Pistus join interests with John.

Silas gives Josephus notice of the plot upon him.

Josephus posts away for Tiberias.

Josephus' discourse upon the subject of good faith and treachery.

Joseph comes to an agreement with the Free-booters. The conditions of the treaty.

Josephus takes seventy Galileans to his assistance and council.

The modesty and justice of Josephus's administration.

advanced within a very little of executing their design; which they had certainly done, if I had not leaped down that very moment by the help of one of my own guards, whose name was Jacob, and one Herod of Tiberias, who conducted me safe to the lake; where, by divine providence, beyond all expectation, I found a vessel ready that carried me off to Taricheæ, and out of the reach and power of my enemies. The people of the place were so incensed at the Tiberians upon this story of their barbarous treachery, that they immediately armed themselves, and importunately begged of me in a body, to march at the head of them against those perfidious traitors, that they might do me right upon them for so horrid a villainy. The report of this outrage was quickly spread all over Galilee, with an invitation to come in and join with them against Tiberias, and to submit themselves to the direction and conduct of their governor, to do whatever he should think fit. The Galilæans armed themselves presently in great numbers; and with great earnestness entreated me to assault Tiberias, and upon the taking of it, utterly to demolish it; and to expose the inhabitants with their whole families to sale for slaves at a publick outcry. Nor was this the sense of the Galilæans only, but my very friends who came to me out of Tiberias, gave me the same advice also: but I was so tender of making myself the author and abettor of a civil war, that I could by no means bring myself to resolve upon such desperate enterprizes; and therefore urged it as their own interest, not to fall to cutting one another's throats for a spectacle to the Romans, who were to stand looking on. By this means I appeased the rage of the Galilæans in the conclusion; though not without much difficulty. When John found that all his deceitful machinations against me still miscarried, it was high time now, he thought, to look to himself; so that taking what armed men he had about him, he left Tiberias, and went to Gischala, and from thence he wrote me an apologizing letter, wherein he excused himself of the fact; owning that it was indeed a very base action, but done without his knowledge or approbation. He begged of me that I would believe him, swearing by all that was good and sacred, that what he said was every word of it true to a tittle. But this did not satisfy the Galilæans at all; for they knew him too well for a perjurd wretch, to believe one syllable he said, ever the more for his swearing it: so that they still importuned me to lead them on to the assault, that they might utterly destroy, at once, both him and Gischala, the place of his nativity. I gave them a thousand thanks for their demonstrations of respect and good-will, and assured them of all the best offices I could do them in requital; but at the same time I advised them by all means to be temperate and composed, and to give me leave to try a little, if the quarrel might not be decided without blood, and to their liking too, before any farther mischief ensued. The Galilæans consented, and we came soon after to Sepphoris. The inhabitants being resolved to continue their allegiance with the Romans, were not without some apprehension upon my advance, and so, for their own security, plotted how they might give me a diversion some other way. Jesus the

captain of the Banditti, was at that time upon the borders of Ptolemais, with a body of eight hundred men under his command; and they could not do better, they thought, than presently to dispatch a messenger to him with the promise of a considerable sum of money to make war upon us. The temptation prevailed; and the way he pitched upon, was, to take us at unawares, and unprovided; and so to do the work by surprize. Upon this, he sent word to me by a messenger, that he should be glad if I would give him leave to make me a visit. I readily agreed to it; for I had not the least suspicion of any treacherous design: so that he took a troop of his robbers, and hastened his journey with all expedition. But the design miscarried; for upon his approach within a little of the town, a deserter from him, who came over to me, gave me intelligence of the whole contrivance. Upon this information, I went directly into the market-place, as if I had known nothing of a plot against me, attended with a numerous train of Galilæans in arms, and several Tiberians among them. I gave order then for the guard of the passes, and to the porters of the gates to let in only Jesus himself, with some few of his company, and then shut the gates upon the rest; and if they should offer to break in by violence, to repel them with blows. They punctually observed my orders, and admitted Jesus with a small number of his followers; and then shut the gates upon the rest. So soon as he was in, I bad him surrender his arms, or expect immediate death, which he did, finding himself surrounded with a guard of soldiers. Upon this, those of his men that were shut out, hearing how it was with their leader, betook themselves immediately to flight: So calling Jesus apart, I addressed him after this manner: "I have you now in my hands, you see: I knew all your contrivances, your counsels, and your advisers; and yet after all these provocations, if you will pass your word now to be an honest man, and never engage in any design against me for the future, all that you have hitherto done I will freely forgive and forget." He promised he would; and so I dismissed him, giving him the liberty to rally his dispersed men again, whom but just before he had under his conduct. And for the Sepphorites, I only charged them to be quiet and peaceable for the future, at their peril.

THERE came to me, at the same time, two noblemen, and subjects of the king of Trachonitis, with men, horses, money, and arms. The Jews were absolutely against the receiving of them, unless they would consent to be circumcised; but I told them that every man was to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, not of another man's; and therefore I was utterly against the giving of them any trouble upon that account; besides, that it would be an inhospitable rigour, to make people that came to them for sanctuary in their distress, repent the good opinion they had of their charity. Upon debating the matter, my arguments were convincing to the multitude; and so I gave them an entertainment suitable to the circumstances and occasion.

KING Agrippa, in the mean time, sent Equus Modius with a considerable power, to take by force the castle of Magdala. He was not in a condition to besiege it in form, but all

Josephus escapes very narrowly.

He ships himself off for Taricheæ.

The people enraged at the treachery.

The moderation of Josephus.

John leaves Tiberias and goes to Gischala.

John excuses himself to Josephus with dreadful oaths and imprecations.

The people were for destroying John and Gischala both at once.

Josephus pacifies the multitude.

Jesus the head of the banditti makes war upon Josephus.

Jesus sets a trap for Josephus; and is taken in it himself.

Josephus's generosity to John, and to the Sepphorites.

Two noblemen of Trachonitis come over to Josephus with men, horses, &c.

Agrippa sends Equus Modius to take the castle of Magdala.

He designs to march against Gaba.

John enraged at the reputation and success of Josephus.

The Galatians sided with John.

Ebutius comes to Simonias to attack Josephus

He quits his design, and marches to Gaba.

John enraged at the reputation and successes of Josephus.

The Gabarenes side with John.

all that he could do, was to post guards upon the avenues, and so to block up Gamala. Ebutius, the Decadarch,* who had the command of the great plain, understanding that I was to come to Simonias, a village upon the confines of Galilee, and a matter of sixty furlongs off from the place where he was, drew out a hundred horse that he had then about him, near two hundred foot, and some auxiliary troops from Gaba, and marching them by night, came up to the village where I was; whereupon I fac'd him with a very strong body of men, which he observing, would fain have drawn me into the open field, relying upon the strength of his horse; but my strength consisting chiefly in foot, I found I should have much the worst of it, if I ventur'd myself upon that odds of ground, and so stirr'd not a foot from my station. Ebutius did all he could to force me from my post; but when he saw his design impracticable with horse, he sound-ed a retreat, and march'd off to Gaba, having lost only three men in the action. I follow'd immediately close at his heels, with a body of two thousand men; and when I came to Besara, a town upon the confines of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs from Gaba, where Ebutius at that time was, I possess'd myself of all the passes about it, to secure my quarters from any sudden attack of the enemy, and in the mean time carried off the wheat and other grain, to a prodigious quantity, which had been taken from the adjacent villages belonging to queen Berenice, and was there laid up in store. This provision I order'd to be carried to Galilee upon a great number of camels and asses which I had brought thither for that purpose. So soon as this work was over, I offer'd Ebutius battle; but when we saw he durst not venture upon an engagement, being dishearten'd at our resolution, I bent my course toward Neapolitanus, who was then in garri-son with a body of horse at Scythopolis, and committing ravage in the country about Tiberias. By this means I deliver'd Tiberias from any farther vexation from this enemy; and my whole care, in the next place, was how to provide for the settling of Galilee.

Now John the son of Levi, being, as I said before, at Gischala, was gall'd to the very soul to see all my enterprizes attended with success, and to find how much I was respected by my people, and fear'd by my enemies; and in the rancour of this envy, projecting with himself how he might turn the hearts of my subjects against me, he solicited the Tiberians and the Sepphorites to join in his design; flattering himself that he might gain over to his side the Gabarenes too; these being the most considerable people in galilee, representing to them, how much easier their condition would be under his government than they found it in mine; and reckoning upon it all the while, that just so much advantage, or reputation as I got, he himself lost. The Sep-phorites were, in truth, neither for him, nor for me, but for the Romans. The Tiberians would not be prevail'd upon to revolt, but promised however to maintain an amicable correspondence with him; only the Gabarenes espous'd his interest, and came into his mea-sures, at the instigation of Simon an eminent

citizen, and a particular friend and compa-nion of John's; and they were not altogether barefac'd neither, in the new alliance, for fear of the Galilæans, of whose friendship and re-spect to me, they had seen so many instances; but they never fail'd, however, of acting their part in any underhand practices against me; and it was very narrowly that I escaped them upon one particular instance. There was a party of Dabarittenians, a parcel of bold young fellows, who upon intelligence that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's intendant, was travelling with a pompous train of horse and other equipage over the great plain, out of the king's jurisdiction, into a province of the Romans, way-laid, and set upon the com-pany, forced the lady to shift for herself, and made prize of what she had. This happened while I was at Taricheæ, and thither they brought four mules laden with rich cloaths, and other costly furniture, a vast number of sil-ver vessels, and five hundred pieces of gold. Now these being the goods of Ptolemy, a man of my own tribe, (and our law not ad-mitting us so much as to rob our enemies,) I told the people who brought them, that they were by all means to be carefully preserv'd, until they could be sold to the best advantage, and the money thereof to be then laid out up-on repairing the walls of Jerusalem. These ruffians laid it so to heart to be disappointed of a booty, they thought themselves as good as sure of, that they currently reported it all about Tiberias, that I had a design in my head to betray the province to the Romans. I pre-tended indeed, they said, to employ the pro-fit of the purchase upon rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; but upon the whole matter, that my real intention was to restore it to the former master, and they were not much mis-taken in their opinion; for after the departure of the young men, I call'd two citizens to me of the first quality; that is to say, Dassion and Jannæus, the son of Levi, both in great favour with the king, and order'd them to make restitution of the prize, and upon pain of death not to divulge the secret to any one living. The rumour was by this time spread all over Galilee, that I had form'd a design to deliver the country up to the Romans; and all people were tamper'd with against me to take a revenge. The men of Taricheæ among others, gave so much credit to the story, that they dealt with several of my guards, and other soldiers, to steal away from me when asleep, and come into the Circus to consult there with other people concern'd, how to depose me, and A plot to de-dispose of the government. When they came thither, they found a huge concourse of people assembled together beforehand, all with one voice calling out for justice upon the traitor; but the ringleader of the tumult was Jesus, the son of Saphias, who was at that time the chief magistrate of Tiberias, and one of the falsest, and most seditious wretches in nature. He presented himself, with the two tables of Mo-ses in his hand, and pressing into the middle of the crowd, address'd them after this man-ner: "If so be, says he, that you are grown, "careless and forgetful of your own good and "safety, let it be recommended to you, how- "ever, still to preserve a veneration for these

The wife of Ptolemy rob-bed by the Dabaritte-nians.

They carry the spoil to Taricheæ.

Joseph causes the booty to be restored.

Josephus charg'd with treachery.

A plot to de-pose Josephus

Jesus the son of Saphias, head of the faction.

* A Decadarch, is the governor of a tenth part of a country.

“ holy laws, which that same Josephus, your
 “ governor, has made no scruple to betray,
 “ and consequently to render himself so odious
 “ to all good men, that no punishment can be
 “ too exemplary and severe.” These words of
 his were entertain’d with acclamations and
 applauses, whereupon taking soldiers along
 with him, he hurried away immediately to
 my lodging, with a full determination to take
 away my life; and there lay I, quite tired,
 and fast asleep, without so much as the least
 thought or apprehension of a tumult. But at
 last, all on a sudden, Simon, one of my body
 guards, and the only man that staid with me,
 upon the sight of a crowd of people pressing
 in upon me, rous’d me up, and awaken’d me,
 shewed me the danger I was in, and advised
 me in one word, rather, like a soldier and man
 of honour, bravely to suffer death from my
 own hand, than to die shamefully and igno-
 miniously under the insults, and at the will and
 pleasure of an insolent enemy. Upon this ad-
 vice I committed myself to providence, chang’d
 my cloaths, disguis’d myself in black, and
 hanging my sword round my neck, out I went
 by a by-way, where I was sure to meet none
 of my adversaries, strait to the multitude in
 the Circus; where when I was come, I fell
 prostrate on my face, weeping and wailing in
 so moving a manner, that the generality of
 the people themselves could not but pity me.
 When I found the temper of the people in
 some measure wrought upon and soften’d, I
 did what I could to divide them in their opi-
 nions of me, and of my condition, before the
 return of the soldiers from my lodgings. I
 told them I did not positively deny but that
 there was somewhat indeed of truth in the
 matter, wherewith I was charged: I desir’d
 only that they would first rightly inform them-
 selves of the fact, and what use I intended to
 make of that booty; and then, if they thought
 me deserving of death, let them take my life
 and welcome. The multitude were for hear-
 ing me, and bad me proceed, only the sol-
 diers being just now return’d, were for cutting
 me to pieces immediately, without any more
 ado; but upon the clamour of the common
 people to the contrary, they were prevail’d
 upon to respite the execution, taking for grant-
 ed, that after the discovery, and confession
 of the treason, and that I did really intend to
 reserve that money for the king, they should
 have a better excuse and pretence for going
 thorough with the work at last. Upon this
 they gave me the hearing, and silence being
 proclaim’d, that which I said was short, and
 to this effect.

“ MEN and brethren, if it shall be your
 “ opinion that I have deserved to die, I free-
 “ ly submit, provided I may but give you a
 “ true state of the case before I suffer; I have
 “ ever look’d upon this city as a sanctuary to
 “ strangers; and indeed the comforts and con-
 “ veniences it affords to mankind, are so great
 “ and general, and the manners and conver-
 “ sation of the inhabitants so taking and agree-
 “ able, that multitudes of strangers have been
 “ tempted to forsake their native soil, and
 “ transplant themselves hither, resolving to
 “ take the common fortune of the place, good
 “ or bad. And what’s my crime now, but
 “ only a design to devote a sum of money, out
 “ of a zeal to the publick good, toward the

“ repairing of your walls? This is, in short,
 “ the whole ground of your displeasure.”
 The Tarichæans and foreigners, with infinite
 thanks encouraged me to go on, and fear no-
 thing; but the Galilæans and Tiberians, on
 the other hand, continued as untractable and
 outrageous, so that it came to a direct feud
 betwixt them; the one side assailing me with
 menaces and hard words, and the other en-
 gaging for my security and protection. But
 upon promising the Tiberians to do as much
 for them too, and so likewise for other towns,
 where the situation would bear it, they drop-
 ped the contest, took my word for the per-
 formance, and every man withdrew to his own
 home, one after another; after which unex-
 pected and wonderful deliverance, I return’d
 with some friends, and a matter of twenty
 soldiers, to my own quarters. The ruffians
 and heads of this seditious tumult, apprehend-
 ing themselves now in some danger to be cal-
 led to an account for what they had done,
 gather’d together about six hundred of them,
 and marched directly to the house where I
 lodged, with a resolution to set fire to it.
 Being inform’d of their coming, and of their
 purpose, I thought it would look cowardly to
 fly before them; so that I rather chose to shut
 the doors against them, and make the best of
 a bad game. Upon this I call’d to them out
 of my upper chamber window, that if money
 was what they made a rout about, they had
 no more to do then but to appoint any body
 they thought fit to receive it, and never give
 themselves any farther trouble or uneasiness
 about the matter. So they sent over a party
 to fetch the money; and upon their entering
 the house, finding one particular person to be
 more insolent and troublesome than the rest of
 his companions, I order’d him to be seiz’d,
 whipt, one hand cut off, and hang’d about his
 neck, and so turn’d out again, to tell his tale
 to those that employ’d him upon this errand.
 The whole company was so astonish’d at this
 treatment, that taking for granted I had a
 strong guard in my house, they all scour’d off
 as hard as they could drive, for fear of being
 serv’d with the same fauce; and by this stra-
 tagem I brought myself off for this bout. Af-
 ter this disappointment, they had recourse to
 another invention (as they would never be
 without some pretext or other to stir up the
 multitude.) They pick’d a quarrel with the
 two noblemen that apply’d themselves in their
 distress to me for sanctuary; alledging they
 were spies and poisoners, in the interest of the
 Romans, and not to be protected in any place
 where they refus’d to conform to the fashions
 of the country. This popular way of hint and
 insinuation put the multitude in a ferment again;
 but upon hearing which way it wrought, I
 told them plainly that it was not either gene-
 rous or discreet to seize and insult people who
 cast themselves upon us for succour; for we
 did not know how soon their case might come
 to be our own. And then to fancy their com-
 ing hither was with an intent to poison us, no-
 thing could be more ridiculous; for what
 should the Romans be at the charge for, of
 maintaining so many legions in arms, and in
 pay, if they thought they could subdue their
 enemies by spells or poison? This pacify’d
 them a little for the present; but their choller
 was up again immediately, inasmuch that away
 they

The multi-
 tude are di-
 vided; part
 for him, part
 against him.

Another de-
 sign upon
 Josephus in
 his lodgings.

Josephus
 brings him-
 self off by a
 stratagem.

The levity of
 the common
 people.

Joseph. rea-
 sons the mat-
 ter with them.

Joseph. beset
 in his house
 with soldiers.

Joseph. slips
 away in a dis-
 guise.

He goes to
 the Circus,
 and addresses
 himself to
 the people.

The multi-
 tude are for
 hearing him;
 the soldiers
 for cutting
 him to pieces.

Josephus’s
 appeal.

they went with a band of desperate ruffians together to Taricheæ, to beset the lodgings of these strangers, and take away their lives. In the very instant of hearing what they were about, I got what men I could together, and so posted away with all possible speed to prevent the mischief; for the sufferance of so barbarous an inhumanity, would have made me odious to mankind. In short, I made a shift to get up time enough to secure the door, and make good the house, till I could run a trench from the backside into the lake there close by, where I took a boat, and so cross'd over to the borders of the Hippenians, with my two noble guests aboard, where I allow'd them the value of their horses, which in such a hurry they could not bring off with them; and at parting earnestly besought them to bear their present lot with constancy and honour; for I abhor'd from the bottom of my heart, the very thoughts of doing a thing so like treachery, as to resign up any man to the mercy of an enemy's country, who had cast himself into my arms, in confidence of good faith and protection; but of the two, I rather chose, how hazardous soever, to leave them to providence and the mercy of the Romans one way, than expose them to a certain destruction by the perfidy of my own people, the other. But after all this, they were preserv'd at last; Agrippa pardon'd them; and this was the end of these broils.

The people of Tiberias offer their service to Agrippa.

THE Tiberians entertaining some thoughts of going over to king Agrippa, offer'd him their service by letter, provided he would furnish them with troops sufficient to protect them. Upon the first notice of this overture, I went to look after them, and upon my arrival, they put me in mind of my promise for the rebuilding of their walls, being inform'd, it seems, that I had been as good as my word at Taricheæ already. I told them it should be done, and gave orders for the providing of materials and workmen to set about it immediately. After three days stay there, I took a journey to Taricheæ about thirty furlongs off; in which time it so fell out, that certain Roman troops being upon their march within sight of Tiberias, the inhabitants taking them to be of Agrippa's party, fell presently into the highest commendations imaginable of the king; and at the same time reflected upon me as bitterly and contemptuously as was possible. Soon after news was brought me by a messenger in great haste, that the people were upon the very point of a revolt, which put me to my wits end what to do; for the sabbath being now at hand, I had dismiss'd the soldiers from Taricheæ, for the quieter celebration of the festival; besides that, I seldom kept any life-guards about me in that place, in confidence of the known loyalty and good affection of the people; so that having but seven soldiers, and a few friends with me, I was in a great perplexity what course to take. It would have been to no purpose to recal my troops now in the evening, which I could have no use of at all the next day; such a thing being forbid by our laws, though upon ever so necessary and emergent an occasion; * and then for the people of Taricheæ, strangers

The inhabitants are ready to revolt.

and all, in case I could have engaged them to my assistance, as perhaps I might, by the hope and promise of pillage and booty, yet their strength would have been too weak and insufficient to have done my business; and there was no room for consideration or delay, for fear of the enemies prepossessing themselves of the city in the interim, and shutting me out; so that I bethought myself of this politic invention; I gave strict orders to some of my very particular and trusty friends, to keep a watchful eye upon the gates, and not suffer any person to pass out of the town; I likewise appointed the heads of the chief families in the city, every man to mount his boat, and put out into the lake, with only one mariner to every boat, and so to follow me, while I myself, with seven soldiers, and some few of my friends in another boat, stood away directly for Tiberias, where the people were by this time informed of their mistake, and that there were no troops of the king's at hand, as they imagin'd. The inhabitants observing the lake, however, cover'd over with vessels, and surmising nothing less than an army aboard, ready to break in upon the city, betook themselves in this fright, upon second thoughts, to other measures; for laying down their arms, they came out with their wives and children, and with all the submission in the world, welcom'd me at my arrival, wishing me success in my undertakings, and inviting me into their city, not in the least suspecting all this while that the plot was discover'd. Upon drawing near the shore, I gave order for all my followers to come to an anchor so far from land, that the people might not discern this formidable fleet at such a distance, to be only an amusement of empty boats. In the mean time I came up myself to the very key, and severely rebuked them for the wickedness and folly of their breach of faith. However, at last, I said, I was content freely to pardon their misdemeanor, provided they would promise to continue for the future more stedfast in their duty, and for security send me aboard ten of their first quality; which they consenting to, I directly shipp'd them off for Taricheæ, with orders for them to be kept there in custody; and by this trick I got the whole senate into my hands, and by degrees a great part of their principal citizens too, one after another. The remainder of the multitude reflecting upon the condition they now were in, laid the blame wholly upon one Clitus, a bold, hot-headed, young fellow among them, as the chief incendiary, and desir'd me that I would command justice to be done upon him. I could not in conscience punish with death a man of my own tribe, and yet lying under an absolute necessity of making an example of him some way or other, I commanded one Levi, a soldier in my guards, to cut off one of his hands. The fellow was afraid to venture upon it alone, for fear of the people; and I was as much afraid on the other side, lest the people should take notice of his boggling at the execution; so that without any farther ceremony, I called out to Clitus myself. "Come," said I, thou vilest of miscreants, I do here "condemn thee to the loss of both thy hands,

Josephus's invention to bring the people to their wits again.

Josephus gets the senate and the chief citizens of Tiberias for his security.

Clitus the principal incendiary. The people call for justice upon him.

* The Jews were so religiously, not to say superstitiously, strict in the observance of their sabbath, that they suffer'd Jerusalem to be taken twice, rather than fight on that day.

"for thy ingratitude and treachery, and as much as in thee lies, to be thine own executioner, wherefore be quick and dispatch, or it shall be worse for thee." The man

Joseph. ad-
dresses Clitus
cut off his
left hand with
his right.

Joseph. in-
vites Justus
and Pistus,
and other pri-
soners, to eat
with him.
Josephus's
discourse at
the table.

Justus and his
companions
discharg'd.

Agrippa
sends for Phi-
lip to court,

and gives him
honourable
commissions.

One Joseph,
a mounte-
bank, stirs up
the people to
a rebellion.

begg'd hard to be excus'd for one of them, and after some seeming difficulty having obtain'd it, he immediately with a sword cut off his left hand with his right; and this put an end to the tumult: From hence I return'd to Taricheæ. The Tiberians coming afterwards to know the stratagem I had made use of, were in great admiration at my putting a stop to so furious an uproar, without blood-shed. Matters being now quiet, I sent for the Tiberian prisoners to eat with me, Justus and his father Pistus among the rest. I was saying in the freedom of table discourse, that I look'd upon the Romans as the most powerful people under the sun; but yet in regard of the present faction I had to do withal, I reckon'd it good discretion to keep my thoughts to myself, and I told them I thought it would be well if they did so too, till times should be better, advising them in the mean while to live quiet under my administration, for they should never find any governor easier to them than myself; so I reminded Justus of the Galileans cutting off the hands of his brother upon a pretence of forgery, before my coming from Jerusalem; and likewise how the Gamalites upon a dispute they had with the Babylonians after Philip's departure, put his near kinsman Chares to death; whereas I had not treated his brother in law Jesus, I told him, at that barbarous rate. This was the substance of what pass'd at supper, and the next morning early, I commanded Justus and his companions to be all discharg'd.

It was a little before this, that Philip the son of Jacimus left Gamala upon this account. News being brought him of the revolt of Varus from Agrippa, and that Modius Equus, his very good friend, was put in his place, he inform'd Modius by letter, how it was with him, and of the present state of his affairs, with a packet also for the king and queen, who were then at Berytus. Modius was overjoyed to find him in health, and in so good a condition, and sent away the other packet according to the address. So soon as the king understood by these letters, that the story of Philip's putting himself at the head of the Jews against the Romans, was a false report, he sent for him to court, by a party of horse; and taking him into his arms upon his arrival with great honour and kindness, told the commanders about him, that this was the person they heard was gone off from the Romans. Soon after this he sent him with some troops of horse to the fort of Gamala, with orders to bring away all his family, resettle the Babylonians in Batanæa, and to take all possible care to keep the people quiet. Philip had no sooner receiv'd his instructions, but away he went immediately upon his commission. About this time upstart a kind of a quack doctor, whose name was Joseph, with a crew of desperate young rogues at his heels, and not without some considerable citizens in the medley, for the better countenancing of the tumult. The business of this mountebank, was to debauch the people from their allegiance to the king, by encouraging them to take up arms, and with sword in hand to as-

sert their antient rights and liberties. The faction grew quickly to such a head, that they put to death all who durst oppose them, or speak one word in contradiction to their proceedings; amongst the rest, they killed Chares, and his kinsman Jesus, with the sister of Justus of Tiberias, of whom we have spoken already. They wrote to me after this, to send them troops for a garrison, and workmen to encompass the town with a wall, for its better security; both which I agreed to.

At the same time the country of the Gaulanites revolted from Agrippa, as far as the village Solyma. I wall'd in Sogannis and Se-leucia, two places of very great strength by situation; and I fortified several towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, all situate among the rocky mountains. In Galilee I very strongly fortified the towns also of Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sephoris, and the villages of the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selame, Jotapata, Capharath, Comofogana, Næpapha, and the mount Itabyr. In these places I had my magazines of corn and arms.

This prosperous course of my affairs was so displeasing to John, the son of Levi, that it increased his hatred towards me every day more and more; so that he fully determin'd with himself to work my destruction, let the consequence be ever so fatal. To which end, after the walling in of Gischala, he dispatch'd his brother Simon with a hundred men, to Simon the son of Gamaliel at Jerusalem, to try if he could get the council of the city to remove me from my government of Galilee, and to substitute John in my place. Now this Simon was a citizen of the first rank; by sect, a Pharisee, and consequently a more than ordinary strict observer of the laws of his country; a person of extraordinary prudence, than whom no man was better qualified for the rectifying and composing any dangerous disorders in the state, by the wisdom of his councils; and besides, that he had been known for a long time to be John's particular friend, and at that juncture, my inveterate enemy. He was, in short, so far wrought upon by solicitation and intreaty, that he suggested it to Ananus the high-priest, and Jesus the son of Gamala, with others of the party, to cut me off betimes, whilst they had it in their power, and to prevent me from arriving at the highest pitch of glory, to which I was aspiring; besides, it would be highly conducive to their interest, he said, to have me turn'd out of the command of Galilee, and to see it done without delay too, before the design could take air; for fear of my preventing the execution of it, by falling in upon them with a powerful army. Ananus the high-priest told him on the other hand, that I had so many of the chief priests and heads of the people that could bear witness to the conduct and justice of my administration, that it would be a difficult matter to obtain a vote against me; and to pass a definitive sentence upon any man, without being able to assign his crime, was an unjust and wicked action. So Simon desir'd them to take no notice at all of what had pass'd, but leave it to him to lay a project for the displacing of me some other way. Upon this he applied himself to the brother of John, and propos'd the

The faction
in a tumult,
and divers
killed therein.

The Gaula-
nites fall off
from Agrip-
pa.
Joseph. walls,
and fortifies
several places.

John deals
with Simon
to get Jo-
seph. remov'd
from his go-
vernment.

Simon, an
eminent citi-
zen, and by
sect, a Phari-
see.

Ananus the
high-priest,
and Jesus the
son of Gama-
la, tamper
against Jo-
sephus.

Josephus' fa-
ther sends
him intelli-
gence of it.

Simon gains his point with money and presents,

The manner of the contrivance and the agents employed.

A plot against Josephus.

Josephus' father sends him intelligence of it.

the distribution of money and presents among the friends of Ananus, as the most likely course he could take for the obtaining his point. By this method, in short, Simon compassed his end; for Ananus and his companions, upon the receiving of these bribes, laid their heads together immediately how they might depose me from my government, and with so much secrecy, as not to make any man beside privy to the counsel. The way they pitched upon was to employ four agents upon the commission; two of them noble, and the other two plebeians; but all four equally qualify'd for their learning, and skill in the laws, so there was Jonathan and Ananias, both pharisees, for two of them; Joazar, a man of a sacerdotal family, and a pharisee also, for a third; and then the fourth was Simon, of the pontifical line too, and the youngest of the four. These men had their instructions given them to argue the matter at the next meeting of the Galilæans, with the members of the assembly, and to expostulate why they should honour me with their choice before another. If they should alledge, because I am a native of Jerusalem; it might be answered, so were they; and if for my knowledge of the laws, the same thing might be said for them too; or if they should say they did it out of a respect to the priesthood, they might make answer that two of their number had the very same pretence. With this lesson, and forty thousand pieces of silver, taken out of the publick treasury, Jonathan and his companions went away about their business.

ABOUT this time one Jesus a Galilæan, came to Jerusalem, with a band of six hundred soldiers; with him these commissioners agreed for three months pay advance, to follow Jonathan and his colleagues, and to act in obedience to them, and their orders. To these soldiers they joined three hundred citizens, whom they furnished with money sufficient to defray the expence of their own journey, and that of all the rest likewise. Thus equipped and provided for a march, the deputies set out, and the brother of John, with his company of an hundred men along with them. Their order was this; in case I should voluntarily lay down my arms, to take me prisoner, and send me alive to Jerusalem; but if I made any opposition, they were to kill me out of hand; and their commission should be a sufficient warrant for so doing. From the same hands there were letters dispatched away to John also to be in readiness to make war upon me. And the Sephorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewise engaged to fall in with the party. Now Jesus the son of Gamala, one who wished me well, and was privy to the whole contrivance, gave my father intelligence, from time to time, of every thing that passed; and from him I received a particular account of of the whole matter. It very sensibly affected me to consider the ingratitude and malicious practices of a faction in the city against me; and my affliction was as great to find the trouble my father was in for my sake, and with what earnestness he pressed me to come over to him, upon a suggestion that it was only to see me once more before he died. In this unhappy situation of my affairs, I communicated my intentions to my friends, and told them, that I was determined within the compass of three

days, to lay down my command, and go back again into my own country. They all fell into tears and lamentations upon the hearing of it; begging and intreating of me, not to leave them upon any terms to the certainty of perishing when I was gone. But my life being at stake on the one hand, against their prayers and importunities on the other, I still persisted in my purpose. The Galilæans were possessed with such a terrible apprehension of being exposed to the insolence and oppression of thieves and out-laws after my departure, that they immediately sent notice up and down, through the whole province, that I was upon the point of leaving them. This news brought a great multitude of people together, with their wives and children, into the great plain of Asch, where I then was, to try if they could prevail with me to stay; not so much out of an affection to me, perhaps, as for fear of the danger they were in themselves; for they reckoned all to be safe so long as I was among them.

It was a wonderful dream I had that very night: as I was in my bed, my head and my heart overwhelm'd with sorrow, being extremely troubled upon the account of my father's letters, I saw, methought, the vision of a man at my bed side, and a voice speaking to me after this manner: "Cease to disquiet thy heart, good man, and fear nothing; for all these calamities will blow over, and only lead to thy greater advantage and satisfaction; not only for the present, but likewise for the time to come; wherefore trouble not yourself, but remember that you are to have a war with the Romans." Upon waking out of this dream, I got up with an intent to go out into the plain, and I had no sooner shew'd myself, but a world of the Galilæans, men, women, and children, cast themselves upon their faces at the very sight of me, and with tears and supplications besought me not to leave them in this extremity, exposed to the insults of their enemies. When they found prayers and importunities would do no good, they pressed me with adjurations not to forsake them, casting many a contumelious reproach upon the people of Jerusalem, who would never let them be quiet. This to me was so sad a hearing, and so rueful a spectacle, that it made my bowels yearn with compassion to consider the distress of so many thousands of miserable creatures, and brought me over, in the end, to a resolution of running any hazard whatsoever for the service of so vast a multitude of forlorn harmless people: so that in the conclusion I was over-perswaded to stay. Upon this, I bad them draw five thousand men out of their whole number, and furnish them with arms and victuals for a march, the rest instantly to depart, every man to his own home. So soon as this five thousand was ready, I joined them with three thousand more that I had of my own, and eighty horse; and so advanced with them to Chabolo, a village upon the borders of Ptolemais, where I took up my station, as if my design had been to fall upon Placidus, whom Cestius Gallus had sent into those parts with a troop of horse and two companies of foot, to set fire to the villages of the Galilæans thereabouts. Placidus intrenched himself not far from the walls of Ptolemais, while I lay at the same time a matter of sixty furlongs toward Chabolo. We drew out our army several

Josephus would have quitted Galilee, but the people would not part with him.

A prophetic dream of Josephus's.

The Galilæans prevail upon Josephus not to leave them.

ral times on both sides, as if we were for joining battle immediately; but there passed only some few skirmishes; for the more I pressed the bringing of it to an engagement, the more the other declined it; not daring to shew his head out of the protection of the town.

WHILE matters were in this posture, Jonathan with his companions came into those parts; the same persons, who as I told you before, were sent from Jerusalem by the faction of Simon, and Ananus the high-priest; and the plot was now how to compass their ends by treachery, which they durst not attempt by downright force. To this purpose they laid their heads together, and sent me this following letter.

Jonathan and his Deputy-Colleagues from the council at Jerusalem to Josephus, greeting:

Jonathan's letter to Josephus.

"WHEREAS our principals at Jerusalem are given to understand that John of Gischala hath been engaged in several perfidious practices against your person, they have sent us in their name to give him a severe reprimand for so doing, and to require him for the future to pay all due respect and obedience to your commands. And to the end that we may agree upon some better provision for the regulation of things hereafter, we make it our request that you will come hither to us with all speed: the village is but small; and therefore we desire you will not bring any great train of guards along with you, for fear of being scantied for room."

THIS letter was contrived on purpose to plunge me, as they thought, into a dangerous and inextricable difficulty: for if I trusted myself without a strong guard, they could take me up, and use me as they pleased: and on the other hand, if I approached them with the formality of military troops, I might be liable to be prosecuted as a rebel. This letter was brought me by a horseman; a bold young fellow, who had been formerly in the king's service. It was now about the second hour of the night, when being at supper with some of my friends, and several Galilæans of the first quality, word was brought me at the table by a servant, of a certain Jew on horseback, who desired to speak with me: I ordered him to be called in; and accordingly he came, and without shewing any manner of deference or respect to the company, delivered me the letter, which he brought, he said, from the Jerusalem deputies, requiring me to return a speedy answer; for that they had strictly enjoined him to make all imaginable haste back. The company were all amazed at the confidence of the soldier; but however, I invited him to sit down, and take part of a supper with us, which he refused; and so keeping the letter in my hand, without opening it, I took occasion to pass away the time with my company in discourses upon indifferent subjects, and

going now and then out of the door, as in civility to wait on some of my guests that were going to bed, I took the opportunity, when I was out of sight, to open the letter, and glance it over with my eye, so as to perceive the contents of it; and then instantly folding it up again, I held it still in my hand, as before; without discovering that I had read it. The company was now all gone but four intimate friends, and a servant to fill the wine. I gave the soldier twenty drachmas* to bear his expences, and regale himself with, on his way back; for which he was so very wonderfully thankful that I found the love of money was his weak-side, and so I resolved to attack him on that quarter. "Come, said I, if you will drink with us, and do as we do, you shall have a drachma for every cup you drink." The fellow readily accepted the terms, of the more wine the more money, and caroused so immoderately, that he became too drunk to keep the secret any longer; so he blabbed the whole mystery of the villainy, without any pumping at all; telling me of his own accord, that there was a snare laid for me, and a sentence of death pronounced against me: Upon which discovery, I gave him the following answer to his letter.

The messenger discovers the treachery.

Josephus to Jonathan and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting:

"I AM very glad to hear that you are in health, and that you are come into Galilee; and the rather because I am preparing myself for a journey into my own country, which I have an earnest desire to see, and have been thinking of a long time; and this will be a fair opportunity for my delivering up the care of the publick administration into your hands. I should be very willing to come, not only as far as Xallo to wait upon you, but a great deal farther, even without any other motive to invite me to it; but hope you'll be so good as to excuse me at present, since I am not now at liberty for such a journey, being forced to stay at Chabolo to observe the motions of Placidus, and keep him from breaking into Galilee; and therefore I think it more advisable, upon the receipt of this letter, for you to come hither; and so I bid you farewell.

Josephus's answer to Jonathan.

THIS letter I delivered to the soldier, and appointed thirty persons of the best quality among the Galilæans to go along with him, giving them orders only to do their reverence to the deputies, without entering into any other discourse. With them I sent a like number of my own soldiers that I could best confide in, whom I set as spies upon each of other, to watch them narrowly if they entertained any private conversation with Jonathan. After the departure of these people, the deputies finding that their plot did not take, wrote a second letter to me to the following effect.

The messenger dismissed, and thirty persons of quality along with him. Josephus makes one of them a spy upon the other.

* The Drachma [Attic.] was very near the same as the Roman Denier, which was about eight-pence half-penny farthing in our money, seven of them being made out of an ounce Troy weight in the time of Tiberias, as Cellus plainly informs us, B. v. c. 17. "Sciri volo, in uncia pondus denariorum septem esse, i. e. I assure you, that there is the weight of seven deniers in one ounce." And we read of no higher value either before or after that time, which also continued the legal weight in the time of Vespasian. See Plin. 33. 9. After this they weighed less, eight being made out of the ounce, which reduced them to seven-pence half-penny of our money; for whereas their libra before contained but eighty-four, it now contained ninety-six of them. In the lower empire they scarce weighed half so much in pure silver.

Jonathan and his Colleagues to Josephus, greeting.

A peremptory summons to Josephus to appear at Gabara.

"THIS is to require you to appear within three days from the date hereof, before us at Gabara, without any guard of soldiers to attend you, there to make good the charge, which you have exhibited against John of Gischala.

The people one and all, for Josephus, and no other governor.

AFTER they had wrote this letter, and in an honourable and respectful manner dismissed the Galilæans whom I had sent, they went to Japha, one of the largest, strongest, and most populous villages of Galilee. They were no sooner entered the place, but the people were all up with open mouth, men, women, and children; crying out to them to be gone again, and to let them alone, while they were well; for Joseph, they said, was the best governor they could have, and no other would they own. This was the voice of the whole multitude, one and all. So that the deputies finding that was not a place for their turn, went away to Sepphoris, the fairest city of all Galilee, and a people well affected to the Romans. Many of the citizens of the town went indeed to receive them; but without one word speaking of me, either good or bad; and from thence they went to Asoch, where they met with full as bad entertainment as they had before at Japha. These contempts made them so outrageous, that they ordered the soldiers to quiet them with clubs and cudgels: from thence they went forward to Gabara, where they were joined by John with a body of three thousand men to second them. Now being forewarned by letter, that they intended to practise open hostilities against me, I drew out three thousand soldiers, and took them along with me to Jotapata, about forty furlongs from the place, to be within distance of communicating upon any occasion with the rest, whom I left behind me in the camp, under the command of a trusty friend. And from thence I wrote the deputies the following letter.

Josephus to the deputies.

"IF you find it so absolutely necessary for me to come to you, there are four hundred cities and villages in Galilee, name any one of the four hundred, and I will meet you there, saving only in Gabara and Gischala; the one of them is the place of John's nativity; and the other of his alliance.

The deputies plot the destruction of Josephus.

THE deputies gave over writing, upon the receipt of this letter, and calling a cabal of their friends, entered into a consultation, John himself being one of the council, how to do my business some other way. John was for sending circulatory letters to all the towns and villages of Galilee, upon a presumption of finding out of all of them, some one or more disaffected to my interest, and that would be forward enough to do me any ill office, and easily brought over, when appealed to, to give judgment against me as a publick enemy: now there would need no more toward the gaining of the citizens of Jerusalem over to the opinion of my being an enemy to the Galilæans, than to send them these attestations well certified, which would undoubtedly have ruined my credit with that people. The resolution being taken, Sachæus, a deserter, about the third hour* of the night, brought me a particular account of the whole transaction.

Sachæus informs Josephus of their plot.

I FOUND I had now no time to spare; so that I called for Jacob immediately (a brave man, and my true friend,) and sent him away with two hundred men upon the scout, betwixt the roads of Gabra and Galilee, with instructions to take up all the passengers he could light of, and send them to me in custody; especially such as had any letters about them: and at the same time I dispatched Jeremy, (my very particular friend too,) with six hundred soldiers into the confines of Galilee leading to Jerusalem to watch the passes: to him likewise I gave orders to seize all couriers, and to secure their persons in chains upon the spot, and to bring me their papers. I sent abroad my mandates also through the whole province of Galilee, requiring all persons to attend me at Gabra the next morning, with their arms and three days provisions. The soldiers I had about me I divided into four bodies, the most trusty of which, for security, I reserved near my person, with a strict order to the officers not so much as to admit a strange face into their company. About eleven next day, coming to Gabara, I found the whole plain before the town, covered with armed troops out of Galilee, to my assistance; besides a confused multitude of country people. Just as I was going to address them, my mouth was stopped with such acclamations of joy, that there was nothing to be heard but shouts, at the sight of their benefactor and preserver, as they were pleased to call me: And this was the unanimous voice of the whole company. I gave them my acknowledgments for this instance of their good-will and respect, but desired them at the same time to make an innocent and temperate use of their power, without wronging any creature, either in their persons, or their estates. They had provision enough, I told them, for the present occasion; and there was nothing my heart was so much set upon, as to put an end to the tumult without blood.

Josephus summons the people to attend him at Gabra with their arms.

THE people I had employ'd to way-lay the roads, had the good fortune, the very first day they went out, to intercept Jonathan's messengers in their way toward Jerusalem; together with their packets. They secured the men, according to my order, and brought me the letters; which I found upon the perusal to be stuffed with opprobrious and scurrilous invectives against myself. I took no notice at all of the matter, but kept on march directly against them, as if nothing had been done. So soon as ever they understood I was marching that way, they retired every man of them, John and all, into the house of Jesus; a large and a strong place and built much after the manner of a citadel. They kept a party of soldiers privately in the house, all the gates shut but one, and the guards ordered, that upon my coming thither, (as they expected a visit from me,) to take me in alone, and not to suffer any one man of my train to follow me: by which means they made no doubt of getting me absolutely into their power with ease; but their expectations were frustrated; for having some jealousy and mistrust of their designs, I went immediately upon my arrival, to a lodging over-against the house, as if to refresh myself, pretending to be weary and sleepy with the fatigues of the march. The deputies taking it for granted that I was fast asleep, went out

Josephus way-lays the roads to intercept messengers.

The men secured, and the letters carried to Josephus.

A design against Josephus happily disappointed.

* (viz.) About our nine o'clock at night.

The people
stand up for
their gover-
nor.
Joseph. goes
out to them.

He addresses
himself to the
deputies.

Josephus ap-
peals from the
deputies to
the people,

who with
one voice de-
clare him in-
nocent.

into the plain, to try if they could alienate the affections of the multitude, and possess them with a hatred and abhorrence both of me and my administration. But their endeavours met with success quite different to what they expected; for the Galilæans had no sooner fixed their eyes upon them, but they fell to extolling me and my conduct up to the skies, and at the same time to reviling them with clamours and reproaches for disturbing their publick peace and tranquillity, without any offence given or wrong done on their side, to provoke such usage; bidding them to be gone about their business, and meddle with their own affairs; for as for their governor, a very good one, they said, they had already, and him and him only were they resolved to accept. Being informed how matters went, I thought this a proper juncture to go down among them to hear what Jonathan and his companions had to say. The multitude had no sooner set eye on me, but they came thronging about me with all the demonstrations of joy, satisfaction, and acknowledgments in their looks, words, and actions imaginable; enlarging upon the obligations I had laid upon them during my government, to such a degree, that Jonathan and his confederates could not think themselves safe under so violent a prejudice. They would gladly have gone off, I perceived; but upon my entreaty they stay'd, (that is to say, in truth, there was no getting off;) so there they stood in an amazement, without sense or reason, and almost frighted out of their wits. Upon this I quieted the noise, set guards of the most trusty men I had upon all the avenues, for fear of any incursion or surprize from John and his party; and so with my people about me in arms, I addressed myself to the deputies. I reminded them in the first place of a letter they had sent me, pretending a commission from Jerusalem to hear and determine upon certain matters in controversy betwixt John and myself, producing the letter at the same time in proof of my assertion. Now put the case, said I to Jonathan, that you and your companions had any authority to call me to an account for the management of my government, upon John's information or complaint, would not you yourselves pronounce me innocent, upon the clear testimony of two or three witnesses of unquestionable probity, in my justification? but what will you say now if I appeal, not only to two or three competent vouchers, but to every soul that is here present, whether my behaviour in the exercise of my function has not been such as became a person of honour and justice? "As for you, good people of Galilee, speak the truth and the whole truth, I adjure you, as if you were sworn evidences in the cause, and these men the judges. Pray tell them and spare not, the worst you know of me." The words were scarce out of my mouth; but the whole multitude with one voice and consent made a frank and open declaration of the comforts and benefits they had enjoyed under my care and protection, as their benefactor and defender; and that they were so well satisfied with me for what was past, that they wished no more than the continuance of the same goodness for the time to come: affirming also with oaths, that I had been as tender of either offering any violence to, or suffering any to be committed upon the persons of their

wives and daughters, as I had been of invading the common freedom and property of the subject. After this, I pulled out and read, in the hearing of a great many Galilæans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, that were brought me by my scouts. They were stuffed with scandalous and impudent calumnies, traducing me to the highest degree, and giving me the character of a tyrant rather than a governor, with a great deal of shameless ribaldry over and above. I was not willing to let my enemies know that I had their messengers in custody, for fear it should discourage them from sending for the time to come; so I pretended they were brought to me voluntarily by the messengers themselves. The insolence and villainy of these two letters put the people into such a violent outrage against Jonathan and his companions, that they were going to tear them to pieces; and had undoubtedly done execution upon them, if I had not in the very height of their rage prevented it; so I gave the deputies their pardon, and dismissed them, upon condition they would repent and mend, and speak no otherwise of me and my government when they came home, than as they found it, which they promised to do. Hereupon I gave them their discharge, and dismissed them; but taking it for granted before-hand, that they would never do as they said. The people were still so implacably bent upon the ruin of these men, that all the skill and interest I had was little enough to prevent it. How did they beg of me, only to be turned loose upon them! but when a sedition is once begun, no body knows where it will stop, nor what mischief it may do to the commonwealth; so that I did what I could to divert them: but in the rage of this impatience, they took up a joint resolution, one and all, to fall upon Jonathan in his quarters.

When I saw there was no restraining them I took horse immediately, and had them follow me to Sogane, a village of Arabia, at about forty furlongs distance; and by this artifice I took care to avoid the scandal and imputation of having made myself the author of a civil war. When we were advanced within a little of the place, I commanded my troops to make an halt; and after a few words of necessary precaution to them, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I made choice of an hundred of the best men for quality and understanding that I could pick out of the whole number, and had them prepare themselves for a journey to Jerusalem, with a complaint against the seditious heads and ring-leaders of these broils. I gave them moreover in charge, that if they found the people well inclined and easy to me, they should endeavour to procure me a new commission for my continuance in the command of Galilee, and to get John recalled. With these orders I dispatched them away on the third day after this meeting, allowing them five hundred soldiers for their convoy. I wrote also to my friends at Samaria to use their endeavours to procure my commissioners a safe and free passage through their country; for the city was at that time under the power of the Romans; and this was the shortest cut to make a three days journey of it to Jerusalem. I conducted them myself to the frontiers of Galilee, and set such diligent watches upon the way, that there was scarce any body knew of

Josephus
reads Jonathan's two
scandalous
letters.

The people
enraged at
Jonathan.

Josephus af-
ter this par-
dons him and
his accom-
plices.

Josephus
to Tar-
but kee-
scouts a-
spies ab-
for inte-
gence.

A meeti-
the orator
supplant
Josephus.

Josephus
sends com-
missioners to
Jerusalem
with a com-
plaint against
the rioters.

of this expedition: after which I made a short stay at Japha.

Jonathan sends John to Gischala, and goes himself to Tiberias.

JONATHAN and his companions finding themselves wholly disappointed, sent back John to Gischala, and they themselves went in the mean time to Tiberias, in hopes of making themselves masters of that place; for Jesus being head magistrate there, had undertaken by letters to bring the people over to espouse their interest. In confidence of having this made good to them, they undertook the journey; but Silas, my lieutenant there, sent me a full account of all their proceedings by a messenger, and press'd me by all means to return with what speed I could. I follow'd his counsel, and by so doing, fell into a strait that had like to have cost me my life.

Jonathan makes large professions to Josephus, but with a design to betray him.

JONATHAN and his companions having made a dangerous faction against me in Tiberias, were not a little startled upon my coming thither, but gave me, however, the compliment of a visit immediately, wishing me joy over and over of the reputation I had gotten in the world by the just conduct of my administration in Galilee; and not without assuming to themselves some share in the honour of it, both as their fellow-citizen, and in some sort their disciple; professing all along that they entertained a much greater kindness for me than for John, advising me without any more ado, to go back again, and depend upon them for the delivering up of John into my hands very speedily; and to convince me of the reality of their intentions, they bound themselves with the most solemn and sacred oaths and protestations for the performance of all this; so that I must have been the greatest villain in the world not to have believed them. After which, they desir'd me by all means to withdraw to some other place, suggesting for the better countenance of the matter, that the morrow being the sabbath, they should be very sorry to occasion any disturbance among the people on that day. Upon this pretence I

Joseph goes to Taricheæ, but keeps his scouts and spies abroad for intelligence.

went my way to Taricheæ, not suspecting any thing; but yet for better security sake, I planted my spies and informers up and down in the town, to observe and hearken out what was said and done concerning me; and I had too so dispos'd my agents all along the road from Taricheæ to Tiberias, as to be able to hand from one to another, with the greatest expedition, the intelligence sent me. On the day following, the people met together in the oratory, a place of publick worship, and large enough to hold a vast number of persons; and thither came Jonathan among the rest. "It was a thousand pities," he said, "that this city had not better governors;" and there he stopp'd; for he durst not encourage them to a downright rebellion at once; but Jesus, the chief magistrate, urg'd the point a little closer home, and told them without farther ceremony, that it was infinitely better for them to put themselves under the obedience of four rulers than one, especially if they were men of honourable extraction and known prudence, as those persons were, pointing to Jonathan and his companions that stood by. Justus concurr'd in the same opinion too with Jesus, and brought over a great many more to be of the same mind; but the common people shew'd a great dislike and disapprobation of their notions; so that without all doubt, their dissent

A meeting in the oratory to supplant Josephus.

would have come to a desperate tumult, if the hour of the day had not parted them; for it was now twelve at noon, which on sabbath days is the hour for all our people to go to dinner; so the deputies adjourn'd the debate till the day following, without coming to any present issue. Upon the first notice of this proceeding, which was as early as hands could bring it, I immediately resolv'd to set out the next morning by break of day for Tiberias. As soon as I came there, I found all the people assembled together in the foresaid oratory, without so much as understanding the true reason or intent of their meeting. The deputies did so little expect to see me there at that time, that the surprize put them to a stand what to do next, till at last it came into their heads to raise a sham story of a body of Roman horse, that were seen near Homonæa, about thirty furlongs from the city. This rumour was so industriously improv'd, that Jonathan and his adherents, who were the inventors of it themselves, presently fell to bawling and clamouring what an intolerable scandal it was to have their country burnt and destroyed under their noses, and they to stand still all the while looking on. Now the true intent of this stratagem was to draw me out of the town to engage the enemy, and in the mean time get possession of it themselves, by turning the hearts of the citizens against me. I perceived well enough what it was they aim'd at, and yet for fear of appearing less solicitous for the good of the Tiberians than I ought to be, in case I should have declin'd the undertaking, I found myself under some kind of necessity to comply with the very design of my enemies; so that I posted away immediately to look after these troops according to the intelligence. But discovering upon the place, that there was no such body to be seen or heard of, I made all the haste back again that was possible; and there did I find the senate and the people assembled in council, and the deputies virulently inveighing against me, as a man that minded my pleasure more than business, and one who took no care at all for the defence of the publick. Upon this occasion they produced four letters, writ to them as they pretended, from four of the most remote parts of Galilee, setting forth the danger they were in, and the necessity of a present and speedy succour; for that the Romans with a strong body of horse and foot, had form'd a design to enter and lay waste their country in three days time at the farthest. The credulous Tiberians swallow'd the whole story for current, and broke out unanimously into exclamations, that it was high time now to look about them, and to send a seasonable relief to their countrymen. Upon this outcry (understanding the mystery of the cheat) I told them that I was ready to make one which way soever the necessity of the war should call me; but in regard, said I, that your advice comes from four several places, and makes mention of four several incursions, I am of opinion your army should be divided into so many bodies; and the four deputies, to command every man his party; for it is the duty of good patriots and valiant men, to serve their country with their swords, and in their persons, as well as with their conduct and counsel; and it is not for me to undertake upon

The debate deferr'd till the next morning. Josephus upon notice of this, sets out the next morning for Tiberias, by break of day.

The people in the oratory again, and the deputies surpriz'd at the sight of Josephus. A false report given out, of a body of Roman horse advancing toward the city. The alarm of this rumour improv'd into an uproar.

Josephus marches out to look after them, and no such troops to be heard of.

Josephus comes back immediately, and finds the deputies in an invective against himself.

Four counterfeit letters of news produced from four several places, and of as many incursions.

Josephus offers his service, and proposes a division of the army into four bodies, and every deputy to command one.

The hypo-
crisy of Ana-
nias.

on this distribution, the command of any more than one part of the army. The people were all abundantly satisfied with the reason of what I said, and order'd the matter so, that the deputies were obliged to take upon them the office of command in the expedition, but were enraged at the same time beyond measure to find all their underhand perfidious practices by me defeated and countermin'd. One of these four deputies, whose name was Ananias, a man of a perfidious and mischievous temper, propounded the proclaiming of a publick fast for the next day, with a command, that we should all meet at the same hour, and at the same place, without arms, to humble ourselves before the Almighty, to acknowledge our own weakness, and implore his assistance, without whose aid the strength of man, and the utmost efforts of human force were impotent and ineffectual. Now the real design and main drift of this proposal, was under this pretext of piety, to disarm me and my soldiers; and I was fain to comply again with this proposal, that I might not seem to disregard or slight so religious a motion.

A plot to be
executed next
morning.

IMMEDIATELY upon the breaking up of the assembly, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote in all haste to John, to be sure to be early with them next morning, with all the force he could make; for if they could but get me into their hands once, the business was done. The letter came safe, and John made no difficulty at all of complying with the orders. On the day following, I call'd out two of the trustiest and stoutest fellows I had in the guards; accoutred myself with a corset and a good sword, as secretly as I could, and bad the soldiers take each of them a short sword, privately too, and follow me. This I did that we might be in a condition to defend ourselves, in case of an assault; and so to the oratory we went together, where I myself and my friends were admitted; but Jesus having a guard at the door, would not suffer so much as any one of the rest of my people to enter with me. Just as we were upon the point of beginning our devotions, after our manner of worship, Jesus stood up, and ask'd me what was become of the rich furniture, and the mass of silver, that was taken away upon the firing of the royal palace? where it was to be found? and who had it in keeping? Now these were only words to prolong time, till John came up with his army: I answer'd him, that it was all deposited in the hands of Capella, and ten of the principal citizens of Tiberias; so that it was but asking them whether I spoke truth or not; whereupon Capella and the rest acknowledged the having of it all in their custody. They put it to me then, what I had done with the twenty pieces of gold that I receiv'd for the like value in silver bullion, that I dispos'd of. I told them that I had given them to my envoys, whom I had sent to Jerusalem, to defray the expence of their journey. Jonathan and his colleagues replied, that it was very ill done, to pay my particular agents out of the publick treasure. The common people perceiving them wholly actuated by malice and a spirit of contradiction, were transported to such a degree of impatience and fury, that it fell little short of a violent sedition; and finding how it wrought, I could not do better, I thought, than help it forward.

Josephus
provides to
encounter it.

Josephus and
his friends go
to the orato-
ry.

Odious and
captious
questions put
to Josephus.

And so I went on, telling him, that if in truth it was ill done, as he was pleas'd to say it was, to gratify my messengers out of the publick stock, I bad him never give himself or me any farther trouble or uneasiness on that score, for I myself would take care to see those twenty pieces of gold repaid. The fairer matters appear'd on my side, the more outrageous was the multitude upon it, when they found the whole story from end to end, to have nothing more in it than spite and calumny. This fell out so contrary to expectation, that Jesus commanded the place to be clear'd of all but the senators; for the business they were about was not to be done, he said, in such a hurry and confusion; the people crying out on the other side, that they were resolv'd, whatever came of it, not to leave Joseph alone with them. While they were in the heat of this clamour, in came a messenger, and whisper'd Jonathan in the ear, that John would be with him immediately with his party; so that Jonathan, upon this encouragement, breaking out into a most providential impatience, (for I had certainly been lost else.) "Good men of Tiberias, says he, let all debates concerning the business of the gold drop; for I would not have you imagine, that I adjudge Joseph worthy of death on that account, but for oppressing and imposing upon the common people of Galilee, in the tyrannical affectation and exercise of an arbitrary power." At that word, certain ruffians that were of the plot set upon me, and had without doubt destroyed me, if my friends there upon the place had not immediately drawn their swords, and kept them off, by threatening to cut them to pieces if they attempted any manner of violence. The common people at the same time also offering to stone Jonathan; so that betwixt them both, I was rescued for that bout out of the hands of my enemies. Upon my withdrawing to make my escape, whom should I meet upon the way, but John with his troops, upon their march to the assistance of Jonathan. The surprize startled me, but I made a shift, however, to decline them, by taking a by-way, and so got to the lake, where taking boat, I presently arriv'd at Taricheæ. A wonderful deliverance, and beyond all expectation.

Jesus clears
the place of
all but sena-
tors.

Josephus set
upon, and
rescued.

Josephus
meets John at
the head of
his troops;
avoids him,
and makes off
to Taricheæ.

THE first thing I did after my arrival, was to call a council of the chief men of the province, and give them a narrative of the barbarous treatment I had receiv'd from Jonathan and the Tiberians, and how narrowly I had escaped being assassinated by them, contrary to common faith, humanity, and Justice. This put the whole multitude of the Galilæans into such a fury, that nothing would serve them, but immediately to declare war against John, Jonathan, and their companions, and utterly to confound them; which they themselves, they said, would undertake, if they might but have leave from me to enter upon the work. I did what I could by fair means, towards the composing of this impetuous humour; advising them for the present, rather to respite the matter a-while, till we might see what our deputies had done at Jerusalem; for there was no resolution to be taken without their approbation. With these words they were pacified, and John, after another baffle, return'd back again to Gischala.

The people
enrag'd
against John
Jonathan, and
their compa-
nions.

The Tibe-
rians treat Jo-
sephus with
foul language

The deputies bring word from Jerusalem that great offence is taken at the insolences of Ananus and Simon.

Joseph. confirmed in his government.

John and his associates ordered to depart.

The deputies make the like report to the assembly at Arbela.

Joseph. sends the order to the deputies.

Who immediately call a cabinet.

Jonathan and Ananias sent commissioners to Jerusalem with a complaint against Joseph.

Joseph's out-guards intercept Jonathan upon the way.

ple

John and his associates

The Tiberians treat Josephus with foul language.

SOME few days after this, our deputies brought us an account from Jerusalem, that the government there was mightily offended with Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, for presuming, without any publick authority, to send their agents to remove me from my government of Galilee; and that the common people were so incensed at this proceeding, that they had like to have set fire to their houses. They brought letters also, by which the head men of Jerusalem, with the authority and consent of the people, confirmed me in my government, and commanded John and his associates instantly upon the notice of that order, to depart the place. Upon the receipt of these letters, I went to Arbela, where I had appointed an assembly of the Galilæans; at which meeting my deputies made a report of what passed at Jerusalem; how heinously the people resented the insolences of Jonathan; and thereupon sent me a commission ratified for the government of that province, with a command to Jonathan and his people immediately to resign their pretences, and depart the place. This order was sent them accordingly, with an express charge to the bearer, to observe their countenances upon the delivery of it. The surprize of this letter put them to such a plunge, that they presently called a cabinet to advise what was to be done, John himself and the chief men of Tiberias and Gabara being of the council. The Tiberians advised them to continue the power still in their own hands, at all adventures, and not to abandon a people who had resigned themselves up to their protection: especially against an enemy that threaten'd them with an invasion, as they falsely and maliciously pretended I had done. John was of the same opinion, with this addition, that it would be proper to send two of their deputies to Jerusalem, with a charge of male-administration against me: which, betwixt the credit of the accusers, and the variable humour of the men they had to do withal, could not fail, he said, of making an impression upon the common people, and working the effect they desired. The thing, in short, was agreed upon; and so they sent Jonathan and Ananias soon after to Jerusalem, upon the commission, with a guard of a hundred soldiers for their safe passage; the other two staying behind at Tiberias. The Tiberians fell to work immediately upon repairing their walls, armed all the men they had in the town, and sent to John, who was then at Gischala, for a considerable body of troops, to be in a readiness, if there should be any occasion, to assist them against me.

JONATHAN and his people being now upon their march, and advanced as far as Dabaritta, (a village situate on a large plain upon the utmost borders of Galilee,) fell about midnight into a party of my out-guards, who took away their arms, and kept them prisoners upon the place, according to my order. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me information of the encounter, which for about two days I made no words of; but sent messengers to Tiberias, to advise the people to lay down their arms, who sent me only ribbaldry and foul language back for answer, in confidence that Jonathan was by this time got to Jerusalem. This unhandsome usage did not at all discourage me from making any farther attempt upon them by art and stratagem; for I would not for the

world have made myself the ring-leader of a civil war. It came into my head to try if I could inveigle them out of the town: and so I took to the number of about ten thousand choice men, and divided them into three bodies; part of them I planted privately in Dora; a thousand of them in another village upon the mountains; and some about four furlongs from Tiberias, with orders to be ready upon the first signal to make a sally. Upon this, I shewed myself out of the village within sight of the Tiberians, who presently made toward me with all the scoffs and reproaches imaginable: nay, to such an extravagant pitch did their insolence and vanity carry them, that they had provided a mock-funeral for me, and with a phantastical pomp of solemnity, exposed my body in the field, with my mourners about me, by way of derision: but it was my business to see and say nothing, and to leave them to the fate of their own folly. I had a great desire all this while to get Simon and Joazar into my hands; and the properest method I could think of, for the gaining my point, was to try if I could decoy them and their friends out of town, with what troops they themselves thought fit for their own security, under the pretence of an expedient I had thought of for the adjusting of all differences, by sharing the administration among us. Joazar, who was crafty and suspicious, kept himself at a distance for fear of a trick; but Simon being weak and covetous, swallowed the bait, and came over to me at first word, with his friends and his guards about him. I receiv'd him with all becoming respect and acknowledgment for the honour he had done me; and upon walking and discoursing together a pretty while, I contrived to draw him off a little farther from his company, as if it had been only to confer with him about something that required a little more privacy; when all on a sudden I caught him up by the middle, and sent him away by safe hands to the next village. I gave the signal at the same time for my men to come out to me, and so marched away with them directly for Tiberias. We had a very sharp encounter by the way, and the enemy maintained the fight with so much resolution, that they obliged my men at first to give ground; till animated by my encouragement they renewed the fight, assailed the Tiberians with fresh ardour, and at last, though with much difficulty and hazard, forced them within the walls of the town. I had now sent another party by the way of the lake, with orders to set the first house on fire they could come at, which being done just in the nick of time, the Tiberians giving it for granted that the city was taken by force, threw down their arms, and with their wives and children cast themselves at my feet for mercy, as a conquer'd people. Upon this submission, I put a stop to the fury of the soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded, and it being toward evening, I withdrew to refresh myself, and sent for Simon to sup with me; with this comfortable assurance, that I would take care to send him safe back again to Jerusalem with all necessaries and conveniencies for his journey.

ON the day following I marched into Tiberias with ten thousand men, called the chief of the town together into the publick place, examined the business of the revolt, and commanded them to produce the ring-leaders of it, whom

Josephus ridiculed with a mock-funeral.

Josephus gets Simon out of town by a wife.

Joseph. takes up Simon and carries him off.

Joseph. beats the Tiberians back into the walls, after a sharp encounter.

Tiberias taken by stratagem.

Joseph. treats Simon with great humanity and honour.

Josephus enters Tiberias, enquires into the revolt, and sends the head of it prisoners to Josephus.

Jonathan only, and his companions set at liberty.

whom I immediately ordered into custody, and sent them all prisoners to Jotapata, saving only Jonathan and Ananias, whom I set at liberty, and ordered to be conducted to Jerusalem, together with Simon and Joazar their associates, under a convoy of five hundred soldiers, and a competent allowance for the expence of the journey. The people of Tiberias came to me now a second time to beg my pardon, with the most solemn assurances that they would make me amends by their future fidelity and services, for what they had hitherto done amiss; intreating me withal, that the pillage, which the soldiers had taken, might be restored to the right owners. Hereupon I gave order for the whole booty to be forthwith brought in, and laid before me. The soldiers, I perceived, were not so forward in it as I could have wished; infomuch, that observing one of them in a finer dress than usual, I put it to him how he came by that habit? The man acknowledged it to be part of the plunder, and so I caused him to be severely whipt for detaining it, with the menace of a greater severity upon any man who should afterward dare to withhold any part of what he had taken. Upon this the whole booty was brought in, and every man claiming his own, had it restored to him again.

The pillage of the town restored to the right owners.

Joseph. taxes Justus, and some other writers with partiality.

I MUST not pass over this subject and occasion without taking notice of Justus and some other writers, who have undertaken to give the world an history of that war, and have made no scruple, out of a partial affection to some, and prejudice to others, to depart from the truth, and grossly to misrepresent persons and things, thereby transmitting to posterity notorious falsities, wherein the quality of their crime equals, not to say exceeds, theirs who are guilty of forging writings, and deeds of land, and differs only in this, that it can be committed with impunity, and within the subterfuge of the law.

Now Justus taking upon him to deliver an historical account of that war, hath launch'd out into a great many extravagant falsities, not only to dishonour me, but he has not spared his own country neither, and yet he values himself upon those inventions, as the ornaments of his story. So that I am now obliged in my own defence, to lay him open, by a discovery of certain privacies to the world, which I had hitherto forbore making mention of. And let it not be thought a wonder, after all, that I have deferred it so long; for though I look upon it to be the peculiar province and indispensable duty of an historian to tell nothing but the truth, yet there may be some bitter truths, which a grave and a modest author will make some difficulty to relate, even in the case of the worst of men; not for their sakes, but for the dignity of his profession and office: but to come now to my point. "Say, Justus, you

Reflections upon Justus.

"who are the greatest pretender of all men living, to the good faith of a candid author; how was it possible for me and the Galilæans to be the cause of the revolt of your countrymen from their prince, and from the Roman empire, when you yourself, Justus, and your Tiberians, had already made war upon the Decapolitans in Syria, and burnt their villages? By the token that one of your own servants fell in the action; and all this before ever I received my commis-

sion from Jerusalem for the government of Galilee? nor do I deliver this barely upon my own credit, but refer the reader for his better satisfaction, to the memorials and records of the emperor Vespasian; wherein it will appear, that while the emperor was at Ptolemais, the people of Decapolis were still pressing him with restless importunities to do them justice upon you, as the principal promoter of all their troubles; which he had undoubtedly done, if king Agrippa, to whom the care of the execution was committed, had not given you your life upon the mediation of his sister Berenice; and this pardon did not yet acquit you, but that you were still kept in prison a long time after. Beside, that the whole course of your life was all of a piece, as may be seen in your following practices; for I shall make it evident to demonstration, that it was at your instigation, and by your persuasion, that your people broke out into a rebellion against the Romans. I must now give the reader to understand, that neither you yourself, nor the rest of the Tiberians were ever faithful, either to Agrippa, or to the emperor.

"THE two fairest cities in all Galilee, are Sepphoris and Tiberias; the latter the place of your nativity, Justus; the former seated in the middle of the province, with several villages depending upon it; and the people so true to their masters, that they did not only refuse me entrance into the place, but by a publick edict prohibited all their citizens from bearing arms for the Jews. And for their better security, they trick'd me into a promise to wall in their town for them; which I had no sooner done, but they turn'd me off with contempt for my pains; submitting also at the same time without any difficulty, to a Roman garrison under Cestius Gallus, who was then governor of Syria; and this too at a time when my power was formidable, and I had the whole neighbourhood in awe. Nay, so cautious were they of giving the Romans the least colour for a suspicion of their breaking faith with them, that when the temple of Jerusalem was besieged, and the common cause and interest of our nation at stake upon that action, they would not so much as contribute in any sort to their relief. But for your country, Justus, considering the situation of it, as it stands upon the border of the lake of Genezareth, about thirty furlongs from Hippos, sixty from Gadara, and a hundred and twenty from Scythopolis; places under the king's jurisdiction, and none of the Jews garrisons thereabouts, (over and above that you wanted neither men nor arms,) you might, one would have thought, under all these advantages, if you had had a mind to it, have continued loyal, and discharged your duty to the Romans. But even admitting the matter to be as you say, and that in reality I was at that time in some measure the cause of the war, who was to blame afterward, I beseech you? for you know very well that the Romans had got me into their power before the siege was laid to Jerusalem; that Jotapata, and divers other castles, were taken by assault, and great numbers of the Galilæans destroyed in several engagements. Now if it be true, as

"you

" you suggest, that the war was undertaken
 " altogether against your will, and that you
 " were compelled to it by force, how came it
 " to pass that you did not lay down your
 " arms, and make your submission to your
 " prince and the Romans, when that pretended
 " necessity was over? for you were now out
 " of danger of any hurt that I could do you.
 " But you were still obstinately resolv'd to
 " stand it out, till Vespasian was advanced
 " with his whole army up to your very walls;
 " and it was then high time for you to call
 " for quarter, and lay down your arms for
 " fear of worse consequences; and that sub-
 " mission would not have served your turn
 " neither, or saved your city from being plun-
 " dered and levelled with the ground, had
 " not the king made intercession to Vespasian,
 " on your behalf, and by his interest obtain'd
 " the emperor's pardon for your madness and
 " folly; so that your enmity to the Romans
 " was purely out of the malice of your own
 " heart, without any fault of mine. How
 " many times have I got the better of you,
 " and had you at my mercy, without spilling
 " so much as one drop of your blood? where-
 " as it is notoriously known, that in the rage
 " of your intestine broils, not in the king's
 " cause, nor in the Romans, but out of a spi-
 " rit of animosity and rancour one against an-
 " other, you put to death no less than a hun-
 " dred and eighty five citizens at a time, when I
 " was block'd up in Jotapata. Well! and
 " were there not two thousand Tiberians kil-
 " led and taken at Jerusalem? were you no
 " enemy, do you think, because you had at
 " that time fled to the king? not out of love
 " or duty, but because I frighted you thither.
 " If you will needs have me to be an ill man,
 " pray what was Justus then? a wretch that
 " Vespasian pronounced a sentence of death
 " upon, though the execution of it was after-
 " wards remitted by king Agrippa; twice a
 " prisoner, as often an exile; once sav'd from
 " the very gibbet, upon the mediation of Be-
 " renice, his sister; and finally, after all this,
 " so false to the trust of a secretary, which
 " he had the honour to have conferr'd upon
 " him, that his master banish'd him his pre-
 " sence for ever. But Justus, without raking
 " any further into your misdemeanors, I can-
 " not sufficiently admire the impudence of
 " your setting up for the most perfect and ex-
 " act historian of this war, in contradiction to
 " all others; when effectually you are but a
 " mere stranger to the whole matter, even to
 " what has pass'd in Galilee itself; for in the
 " time of that action, you were with the king
 " at Berytus; and so for the siege of Jota-
 " pata, how was it possible for you to make
 " any report of my conduct in that adventure,
 " when there was not one man left alive but
 " myself to tell you the story; or you will
 " say, perhaps, that the relation you have
 " given of what pass'd at Jerusalem, may be
 " more correct. But it is a thing hardly to
 " be imagin'd, that you, who were neither
 " personally in the action, nor ever so much as
 " read Vespasian's commentaries upon that part
 " of the war, should be so well informed in
 " the story. Now I take for granted that you
 " never did read them, because there are seve-
 " ral cases wherein you do point-blank con-
 " tradict them; but if you are really possessed

" with so vain and over-weening an opinion of
 " your own performances, as to fancy to your-
 " self that you have in this relation out-done
 " all mankind, how happened it that the world
 " was not obliged with the sight of this ad-
 " mirable piece, while Vespasian or Titus, the
 " generals themselves, under whose conduct
 " the war was waged, were yet living? or in
 " the days of Agrippa and his relations, who
 " were all great masters and criticks in the
 " Greek tongue? Why was the publication
 " of this history of yours so long suppress'd;
 " (for it had been now finish'd a matter of
 " twenty years,) when you might have had
 " so many living and eye-witnesses of the
 " fact, to vouch for the good faith and cre-
 " dit of the work? What reason, I say, can
 " we assign for such proceedings as these?
 " but that you durst not stand the test and
 " censure of the world, while so many people
 " were yet alive that were able to disprove
 " you. Now I followed quite another me-
 " thod with my papers, and not fearing who
 " read them, I put them into the hands of the
 " emperors themselves, who had the govern-
 " ment of the war; and this, while all the
 " particulars of it were still fresh in every
 " body's memory; my conscience, in fine,
 " acquitting me, that I deliver'd the truth
 " without adding or diminishing; upon which
 " account my writings have received as fa-
 " vourable an acceptance in the world as I
 " could desire. These memorials I communi-
 " cated to several persons one after another, who
 " had born a part in the war; as king Agrippa
 " for one, and some certain relations of his:
 " Nay Titus himself gave such a testimony in
 " approbation of this history of mine, that he
 " recommended it to the world as an authen-
 " tical record; and by an order under his
 " own hand, assign'd it a place in his library.
 " King Agrippa was so pleas'd with the inte-
 " grity and candour of it, that he wrote me
 " sixty two letters in confirmation of the cre-
 " dit of it; two of them I have here subjoin'd,
 " to the end, Justus, that the matter may be
 " allow'd to speak for itself."

King Agrippa to his dearest friend Joseph, greeting.

" I HAVE read your book with very great
 " delight, and look upon it to be the most
 " exact account of any I have yet seen. Pray
 " send me the remainder, and so, my dear
 " friend, I bid you farewell."

Agrippa's
 testimonial
 in favour of
 Josephus.

King Agrippa to Joseph, his dearest friend, health.

" UPON the perusal of your writings,
 " I perceive you have little need of any
 " thing further that I can tell you; only
 " when we meet next, I may, perhaps, sug-
 " gest some certain passages to your considera-
 " tion that have escaped your knowledge."

Agrippa to
 Josephus.

" THIS was the testimony that king Agrippa
 " gave to the truth of my history; not out of
 " flattery, for that was below him; nor in a
 " way of mockery or banter, for he was a man
 " of too much honour and candour, to be guilt-
 " y of so ill-natur'd a levity; but purely out
 " of a desire to recommend the authority of
 " my writings to posterity, upon the credit of
 " so authentick a certificate.

THIS

THIS is all I have to say to Justus, and it is no more than what I found absolutely necessary in my own defence; so that I shall now resume my discourse, and pursue the subject again where I broke off.

AFTER the quieting of Tiberias, I called a council of my friends, to consult upon the business of John, and to resolve what course was to be taken with him. They were all of opinion for drawing the whole strength of Galilee into a body, and falling upon him, as the principal head and author of the whole broil and confusion. But my judgment was utterly against all sanguinary proceedings; and rather to make trial of some other way for composing the tumult without shedding of blood. Upon bethinking myself, this expedient came into my head: I gave orders for an exact list to be procur'd of John's faction; and having gotten the names of the whole party, I publish'd an act of grace to all who should come in within twenty days, and laying down their arms, return to their duty; with an assurance of indemnity for what was past, upon their compliance with this edict; but for those who should obstinately continue in arms beyond that time, they were to expect all the extremities of fire, sword, and pillage. This invitation and menace together, wrought so effectually upon John's followers, as well by fear, as otherwise, that four thousand of them threw down their arms immediately, and came over to me; only his fellow citizens of Gischala abode by him, and fifteen hundred mercenaries of Tyre. This way of proceeding kept John under such an awe, that he durst not shew his head after it out of his own country.

Four thousand of John's followers brought over by an act of oblivion.

Sepphoris a strong place, and a bold resolute people.

The Sepphorites send to Cestius Gallus, to take them into protection.

Joseph. upon this, takes the place by assault.

The Galileans burn, kill, and pillage without mercy.

SEPPHORIS was a well-wall'd town, strongly fortified, and the inhabitants a bold resolute sort of people; so that betwixt their confidence in the strength of the place, and the thought of my having my hands full elsewhere, they laid hold of this opportunity to take up arms, sending to Cestius Gallus, who was then governor of Syria, either to come presently, and take possession of the city himself, or to put in a garrison sufficient to protect them. Gallus sent them word back again, that he would come, but did not say when. Upon the intelligence of what had pass'd betwixt them, I march'd directly up to the place, attack'd, and carried it. The Galileans were willing to improve this advantage, and adjudging the time was now come for the taking of a thorough revenge upon the Sepphorites, whom they mortally hated, they took up an outrageous resolution of destroying both men and city, in one common ruin. The people had quitted their habitations, and withdrawn into the castle for protection, while the soldiers set fire to the empty houses, plundering and rifling whatever they could lay hand on, without any regard or distinction, whether friends, kindred, or strangers. It wounded me to the very heart to see these barbarous violences; in-somuch that I call'd out to the soldiers to give over for shame, that inhuman and unnatural way of proceeding against men of their own tribe and profession. At this rate I went on, doing all I could, both by intreaty, and by authority, to restrain them; but when I found their fury so implacable, that neither the one nor the other had any effect upon them, I be-

took myself to this stratagem. I gave it in charge to some of my particular friends, to get a report spread about, as if the Romans had enter'd another quarter of the town with a mighty army, which I did with an intent that such a rumour might turn the thoughts of the Galileans another way, and so preserve the city. This stratagem succeeded to my wish; for the alarm of an assault immediately frightened the Galileans from their plunder, to shift for themselves; and their apprehension was so much the greater, when they saw that I myself ran away too for company.

By this means the people of Sepphoris were deliver'd contrary to their hopes and expectations; and Tiberias afterward escaped, being plundered every jot as narrowly as the other. Some of the chief senators and citizens of the place applied themselves by letter to the king, that he would do them the honour to come thither in person, and take them and the city into his royal protection; who sent them word in writing, that he would be with them out of hand, and so dispatch'd away one Crispus, a Jew by extraction, and a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to the Tiberians, with his answer. The Galileans having the good luck to meet Crispus upon the way, and knowing the person of the man, took him into custody, and brought him over to me to be examin'd. So soon as ever they came to understand the contents of his letters, and the business he was going about, the whole multitude immediately betook themselves to their arms. I was at that time at Asoch, where the day following a prodigious multitude of people assembled from all quarters, were, with clamours and outcries, exclaiming against the Tiberians for being traitors, and of the king's faction. They were, in short, so furious, that nothing less than the demolishing of the city, and my giving way to it, would quiet them. The Tiberians, they said, were as bad, if not worse than the very Sepphorites, and full as deserving of their chastisement. The rage of the people I found was raised to an extravagant pitch; and as there was no good to be done upon them by reason, so they were too many to be dealt withal by force, therefore how to save the city from their fury, I could not devise. As for the letters, and the subject-matter of them, there was no denying, or palliating of any thing; for the king's answer gave demonstrative proof of the truth of it. After I had been a good while turning my thoughts from one thing to another, and contriving which way the people might be fairly appeased, and the place preserv'd, it came into my head at last to take a middle course betwixt opposing and complying with them; and so I reason'd the case with them after this manner: "The Tiberians, said I, are highly guilty, and you shall have my consent with all my heart, to plunder and destroy their city; but then you ought to go about these things with judgment and discretion; for upon a further scrutiny we shall find a faction among the nobility of the Galileans as deep in this plot upon our liberties, as the Tiberians themselves; and therefore I am clearly for a little patience, till I can get a thorough discovery of our enemies; and then, when we have them all in the toil together, we may deal with them according to their deserts."

Joseph. diverts them by a stratagem.

Tiberias escapes as narrowly as Sepphoris.

The Sepphorites send second invitation to Cestius Gallus; who puts a body of horse and foot into the town by night.

Joseph. takes Sepphoris, and quits it again.

"ferts." The multitude was so well satisfied with the fairness of the proposal, that they dispersed upon it, without any further disturbance, and went their way in peace.

CRISPUS, the king's messenger, being all this while in prison, I made a pretence, some few days after, of a little business that call'd me out of town; and in the mean while, I sent privately for him, and suggested to him to fuddle his keeper, and to try if he could give him the slip, and make his escape away to the king. This was the second time that Tiberias was sav'd from utter ruin by my policy.

WHILST affairs were in this posture, Justus, the son of Pistus, stole away to the king, unknown to me; and the true reason of his going was this: Upon the breaking out of the Jewish war, the Tiberians had determin'd with themselves to stand firm to the king and the Romans. Justus, on the other hand, debauch'd them into a revolt, in the hope and prospect in the hurry of those confusions, of making himself master of the government. But his project was frustrated; for the Galilæans had contracted such an aversion to the Tiberians for the injuries they had suffer'd from them before the war, that they would not by any means let Justus establish himself in his pretensions; and truly I myself, when the people of Jerusalem had constituted me in the government of Galilee, was many times provok'd to such a degree, by the wicked practices of this turbulent man, that I had very much ado to forbear putting him to extremities. Justus was so well aware of the danger he was in, that for fear of the worst, and not knowing how far passion and affronts might transport a man under my circumstances, he thought it his best and safest course to withdraw, and betake himself to the king.

THE late deliverance of the Sepphorites was very extraordinary, and even beyond their expectations, and yet the danger was no sooner over, but they again solicit Cestius Gallus, either to come immediately in person, and take possession of the town, or else to furnish them with a force sufficient to secure it against the inroads of the enemy. Upon their importunities, Gallus sent them a considerable body of horse and foot, which they received into the city by night. The Roman horse made such havock in the adjacent country, that I was fain to incamp near Garizim, about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris. In the dead of the night I gave an assault to the walls of the town, which a good many of my men mounted, and took possession of them; so that we were for a while masters of a considerable part of the city; but for want of knowing the streets and passages, we were forc'd to quit what we had got, without pursuing the advantage any farther, than the killing of twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horse, and some few of the Sepphorites, with the loss only of one man on our side. Soon after this, we had a sharp encounter with the Roman horse in an open plain, and fought it very bravely for a long time, till coming in the end to be overpowered with numbers, my guards surrounded by the enemy, and myself in the middle of them; my soldiers, frightened and discouraged at the danger I was in, retreated in confusion. In this action I lost Justus, one of my guards, and formerly one of the king's.

MUCH about the same time there came a body of the king's horse and foot, under the command of Silas, the captain of his guards, who encamped within a matter of five furlongs of Julias, having posted strong parties at all the avenues that led to Cana, and the castle of Gamala, to cut off all relief from the inhabitants of those places. Upon this I sent out Jeremiah at the head of two thousand men to the bank of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where there pass'd only some slight skirmishes, till I join'd them with three thousand more myself. On the day following, after planting a strong ambush in a bottom, at a convenient distance from the enemy, I proffer'd the king's troops battle, with orders to my men to turn their backs upon the first charge, and so to fly before the enemy till they had drawn them within reach of the ambuscade. This was done accordingly; and Silas taking it for a rout in earnest, followed us so far, that the ambush fell upon his rear, and put the king's troops in so great a disorder, that upon my facing about, and charging them in the front, they were so absolutely broken, that if it had not been for one spiteful unlucky accident, I had got the clearest victory under the sun; but my horse coming over with me in a bog, the fall put my wrist out of joint; so that I was forced to be carried off to Cepharname, a village near at hand, for relief. Upon this disaster my people fearing the matter might be worse with me than in truth it was, gave over the pursuit, and applied themselves wholly to provide surgeons to take care of my hand. After one day's stay there, and falling into a fever too, I was removed at night by the doctor's advice to Taricheæ. Upon the intelligence of this misfortune, Silas and the king's friends took heart again, and hearing that our out-guards were loose and careless, they sent away a troop of horse by night beyond Jordan, to lie in wait there for the opportunity of a surprize, daring us early the next morning to come to a battle. My people accepted the challenge; but upon coming into the plain to fight them, they fell into the enemy's ambush, by whom they were charged, vanquish'd, and put to flight, with the loss only of six of our men; for the enemy, upon information that some troops were passing the lake from Taricheæ to Julias, founded a retreat, without daring to pursue the victory any farther.

Soon after this Vespasian, accompanied with king Agrippa, came to Tyre, where he was saluted with the violent exclamations of the people against their king. They said, he was an enemy and a traitor, both to the Tyrians and the Romans, and that it was by his command that his general, Philip, betray'd both the Roman garrison, and the royal palace at Jerusalem. Vespasian gave the Tyrians a severe reprimand, for presuming to calumniate one who was both a king and a friend to the Romans; but advised Agrippa, however, to send Philip to Rome, to account for his conduct before the emperor: he was sent accordingly upon that design; but finding Nero miserably harass'd by reason of his civil wars, he return'd without seeing the face of the emperor. Not long after this, upon Vespasian's coming to Ptolemais, the principals of Decapolis came thronging to him with grievous complaints

Josephus draws Silas into an ambush, and gives him an absolute rout.

Josephus's horse falling with him, puts a stop to the pursuit.

Joseph's people fall into an ambush of the enemy's horse.

Vespasian comes to Tyre with Agrippa. The people charge Agrippa with treachery, in Philip's giving up the royal palace at Jerusalem, and the Roman garrison there.

Vespasian chides them for their insolence, and advises Agrippa to send Philip to the emperor to clear himself.

against

Complaints
are brought
to Vespasian
at Ptolemais
against Justus.

against Justus, for burning their country, who deliver'd him up to Agrippa to have him severely punished for the injuries done his subjects. The king upon this made him prisoner, without consulting the emperor, as has been already observ'd.

Vespasian ap-
points the
Sepphorites a
garison.

THE Sepphorites went likewise to pay their compliments to Vespasian, who at their request appointed them a garison under the command of Placidus, who was the man I had to deal with, till the emperor himself came into Galilee; of whose arrival, the manner of his coming, my retreat to Jotapata, after the first engagement I had at Taricheæ; what I did in defence of the place, how I came after a long siege to be taken prisoner; how afterwards to be set at liberty; and how I behaved, in short, through the whole course of the Jewish war. These, I say, are points I have handled so very particularly in their proper places, that there remains nothing more to be said on this subject, than to relate a few privacies of my own life.

Joseph. made
a prisoner by
the Romans.

UPON the Romans reducing Jotapata, I was taken prisoner, and kept under a strict guard; notwithstanding which, I was treated very honourably by Vespasian; upon whose persuasion I married a virgin of Cæsarea, who was at that time my fellow prisoner: but we were soon separated; for after I was set at liberty, I listed myself in the train of Vespasian, who was then going to Alexandria, and she retired another way. After this I married again at Alexandria, from whence I was sent with Titus to Jerusalem, where my life was often in danger, both from the malice of my countrymen, who labour'd to destroy me; and the violence of the Romans, who charged all their miscarriages to my treasonable practices, and were continually soliciting the emperor to put me to death as a traitor; but Titus who was then declared emperor, was too well acquainted with the humours of men and the instability of fortune, to give ear to the clamorous importunities of an impetuous multitude; and such was his benevolence towards me, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, he order'd me to take whatever I thought worthy my acceptance, out of the general ruins of the city; but alas! in the calamity of that inconsoleable loss and desolation, I could find nothing worth asking for, but the liberty of my friends, and the possession of the holy bible, which the emperor immediately granted; my brother and above fifty of my nearest relations being soon after set at liberty. After this, by the emperor's permission, I enter'd the temple, where I found a vast multitude of women and children; and among the rest, to the number of one hundred and ninety of my own friends and familiars, who at my request were all absolutely set free, and restor'd to their former condition, without any manner of ransom.

Joseph great-
ly favoured
by Titus.

I was then sent by Titus with Cerealis and a thousand horse to a village call'd Thecoa, to take a view of the situation and disposition of the place for the forming of a camp there. At my coming back I saw a great many prisoners crucified upon the way, and among others, three of my old intimate acquaintance. I was so affected with this piercing spectacle, that I went presently with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him the story. Upon which he immediately order'd the bodies to be taken down, and all possible means used for their recovery; but two of them died under the surgeon's

Titus sends
Josephus to
Thecoa with
Cerealis.

hand, and the third recover'd, and surviv'd the miseries he had undergone in the crucifixion.

WHEN Titus had settled the affairs of Judæa, in a state of order and peace, he appointed me a portion of lands at a distance, in exchange for others I had in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This he did out of kindness and respect; for he knew it would be very inconvenient for me to have my habitation in the middle of the Roman troops, that were of necessity to be quarter'd about Jerusalem, for the security of the province. The emperor Vespasian did me the honour also upon his return to Rome, to take me into the same vessel with him for a companion, and upon our arrival there, he was graciously pleased to treat me after the most favourable and friendly manner. In the first place, he made me free of the city, and then lodg'd me in the same palace, that he himself had liv'd in before he was emperor. He settled upon me a yearly pension, and continued his bounty and goodness to me, without diminution or abatement, so long as he liv'd, which expos'd me to no small danger, by drawing upon me the mortal envy and hatred of some of my own nation; for there was a certain Jew, Jonathan by name, who rais'd a sedition, and got together a body of two thousand men of the inhabitants of Cyrene; but they were all cut off. This Jonathan being taken, and sent to the emperor in chains, by the governor of the province, positively affirmed that I had assisted him toward this tumult, with money and arms; but Vespasian, without giving any credit to the calumny, order'd him to be put to death, for the treason of which he was justly condemned. After this, there were several other false practices, and envious subornations advanced against me; but by God's providence I escap'd them all; and had a fair establishment allotted me in Judæa, by the bounty of Vespasian. About this time, my wife and I could not agree. I did not like her ways, and so I put her away, having had three children by her, two of them dead, and only Hyrcanus living. After this divorce, I took another wife, by birth a Candian, but by descent a Jew, a woman of the most noble parentage of any in that country, and one whose exemplary honour and virtue, as I found by cohabiting with her, exceeded the generality of her sex. By her I had two sons; Justus the elder, and Simonides, surnamed Agrippa, the other. Thus it stood with me and my family; beside that I was so happy as to be continually in favour with the Cæsars. For after the death of Vespasian, Titus his successor shew'd the same kindness and respect to me as his father, and never gave ear to any accusation that my enemies brought against me. Domitian conferr'd upon me still greater honours. He put to death several Jews who were my accusers, and order'd an eunuch slave, whom I imploy'd for my son's tutor, to be severely punish'd for a false information against me. And which is yet a more honourable mark of his singular goodness toward me, he hath been pleased to grant me the privilege of an exemption from all taxes and duties for the estate that I am possess'd of in Judæa. Neither have my obligations been less in proportion to Domitia, the wife of Cæsar, than to the emperor himself. This, in short, is the history of my life; and the world by this may judge of my abilities.

Some instan-
ces of Titus's
generosity to
Josephus.

Josephus's
wives and
children.

Autho-
divers
for wr
histori

What mo-
Josephus
write his
tory.

FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK I.

Containing the History of 2230 Years from the Creation.

CHAP. I.

The INTRODUCTION: shewing the Nature and Design of the Work.

Authors have
divers reasons
for writing
histories.



THESE people who take upon them the office of historians, do not all write, I observe, with one and the same thought and design; but several authors have their several reasons for the same undertaking; and all those motives, at last, widely differing one from another. There are some, indeed, who write out of an affectation of vain-glory and popular applause, and an itch of vanity to display their eloquence and shew their parts; and there are some again, that make it their chief aim to exalt such of the actors in the story they treat of, as they have a mind to oblige, and spare for no study and pains to do them honour, and display their merit: but there others now, who having been actually engaged in the management of the transactions they relate, look upon themselves obliged, from the very nature of the thing itself, to communicate what they know of the matter before them: and there are yet others, in short, who enter upon this province out of a generous impatience to see great and glorious achievements buried in silence, which so well deserve to be made publick for the common benefit of mankind.

twixt us and the Romans, a witness to my cost of what passed on both sides in it, and consequently privy to the main issue of that contest, I looked upon it as my duty to set forth the just matter of fact, and vindicate the truth from the falsities and corruptions which had crept into the story. And I had yet a farther encouragement to this undertaking, from a confident assurance that it would prove an acceptable work to the Greeks themselves, when they should find the antiquities of our nation, and the form of our government translated out of Hebrew into their own language.

AT my first extrance upon the history of the war, I proposed to speak of the original of the Jews, their various fortunes, and their excellent law-giver, who trained them up to the love and practice of so much piety and virtue; to give an account of their wars for so many ages, and especially that of the last, which they were compelled, how unwillingly soever, to maintain against the Romans. But upon second thoughts, finding the subject too large and copious for my present purpose, I chose rather to make another disposition of the matter, and to divide it.

AFTER some short time spent upon the essay, it fared with me in this, as it does commonly with other people who have formed great designs in their heads; the prospect of so vast and

What moved
Josephus to
write his history.

Epaphroditus, a generous encourager of learning.

and voluminous a tract of history, and that in a foreign language too, made me so heavy and dead-hearted, that it almost repented me of my purpose: but betwixt the importunities of men, (curious to know the particulars of that famous revolution) who pressed me to go forward with what I had begun; and the encouragements of Epaphroditus above the rest, who was a passionate lover of all sorts of polite learning, and of history particularly, being a person who had executed several eminent commissions and stood all fortunes with an extraordinary conduct, and an immoveable firmness and dignity of mind, and without the least blemish to his virtue: betwixt the one and the other I was prevailed upon, partly out of obedience and respect to the advice and authority of so illustrious a patron and benefactor to all well-wishers to the publick; and partly out of mere shame rather to lie at my ease, indolent and unactive, than undergo the pains of perfecting so glorious a work: These circumstances, I say, prevailed upon me to prosecute my first project: and I set about it more cheerfully, when I consider'd how freely our ancestors imparted such matters to strangers, and how affectionately inquisitive several of the Greeks themselves had been of our affairs. We read of king Ptolemy the second (a prince that purchas'd books and encourag'd arts and sciences at any rate,) how solicitous he was to get our laws, customs, and ways of living translated into Greek: and Eleazar the high-priest, (a person not inferior to any other of the holy order) did not think fit to deny him that satisfaction; which undoubtedly he would have done, if we had not been taught and warranted by the example of our forefathers, not to reserve or conceal any thing that may be of publick and universal advantage. Now I thought it might very well become me to conform to the practice and precedent of our high-priest; not doubting but that the same virtuous inclinations to the love of learning, which were then so remarkable in Ptolemy, might at this time be found also in others. Let it not be understood that this great king had all the copies given him entire; but only such of them as respect our laws, and were delivered to him at Alexandria by the interpreters who were sent with them thither to that purpose. For these sacred writings must of necessity contain an infinite variety of things, being an entire history of five thousand years, full of surprizing accidents, various chances of war, mighty achievements of famous commanders, strange turns of state, and an abundance of publick and extraordinary revolutions.

A history of 5000 years.

BUT upon the main, there is one thing that the reader will take notice of in a more particular manner upon the perusal of this history; which is, that all things succeed happily, even beyond belief, to those who resign themselves to the good pleasure of Almighty God, and strictly observe his commandments, besides transcendent blessings promised them for a reward: whereas, on the other hand, the disobedient, instead of prospering in their ways, how fair and plausible soever, fall into all sorts of misery and distress, and without end or remedy. Wherefore I earnestly exhort and advise the reader of these volumes to lead his life in conformity to the will of God, and carefully to observe and attend to what Moses our law-

giver says of the divine nature; the agreement of all his works one with another; and how clear and exempt his whole narration is from the levity of those fictions which we meet with in other relations. Not but that, considering the circumstances of time and antiquity, he might have imposed upon us what he would, without danger of contradiction; for our story begins above two thousand years before the fables of the poets were ever heard of; and the Pagans themselves never had the confidence to look so far backward, either for the date of their Gods, the actions of their heroes, or the ordinances of their lawgivers. I shall speak of this in what follows, and (according to my promise) of every thing in its proper place, without adding or diminishing.

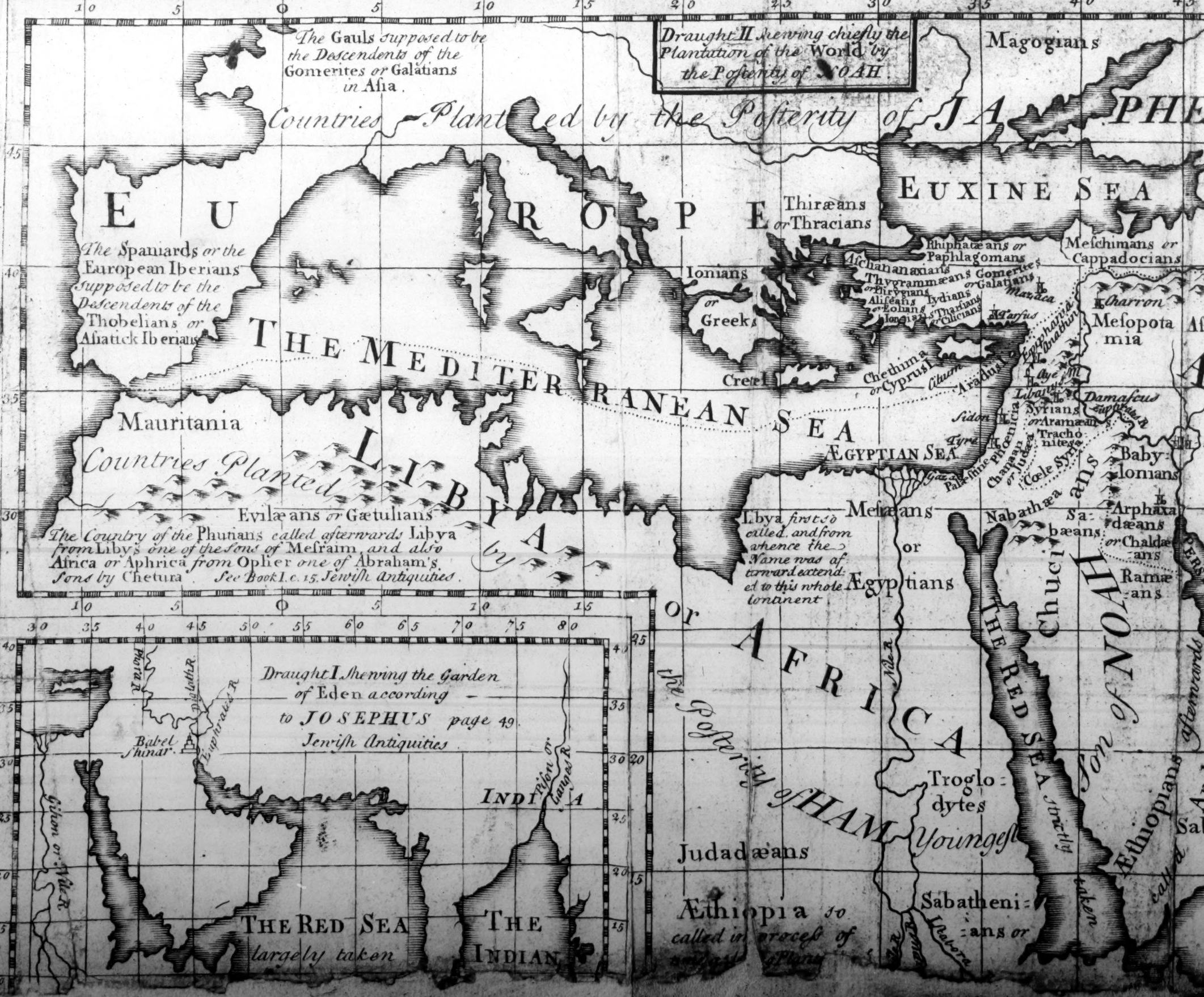
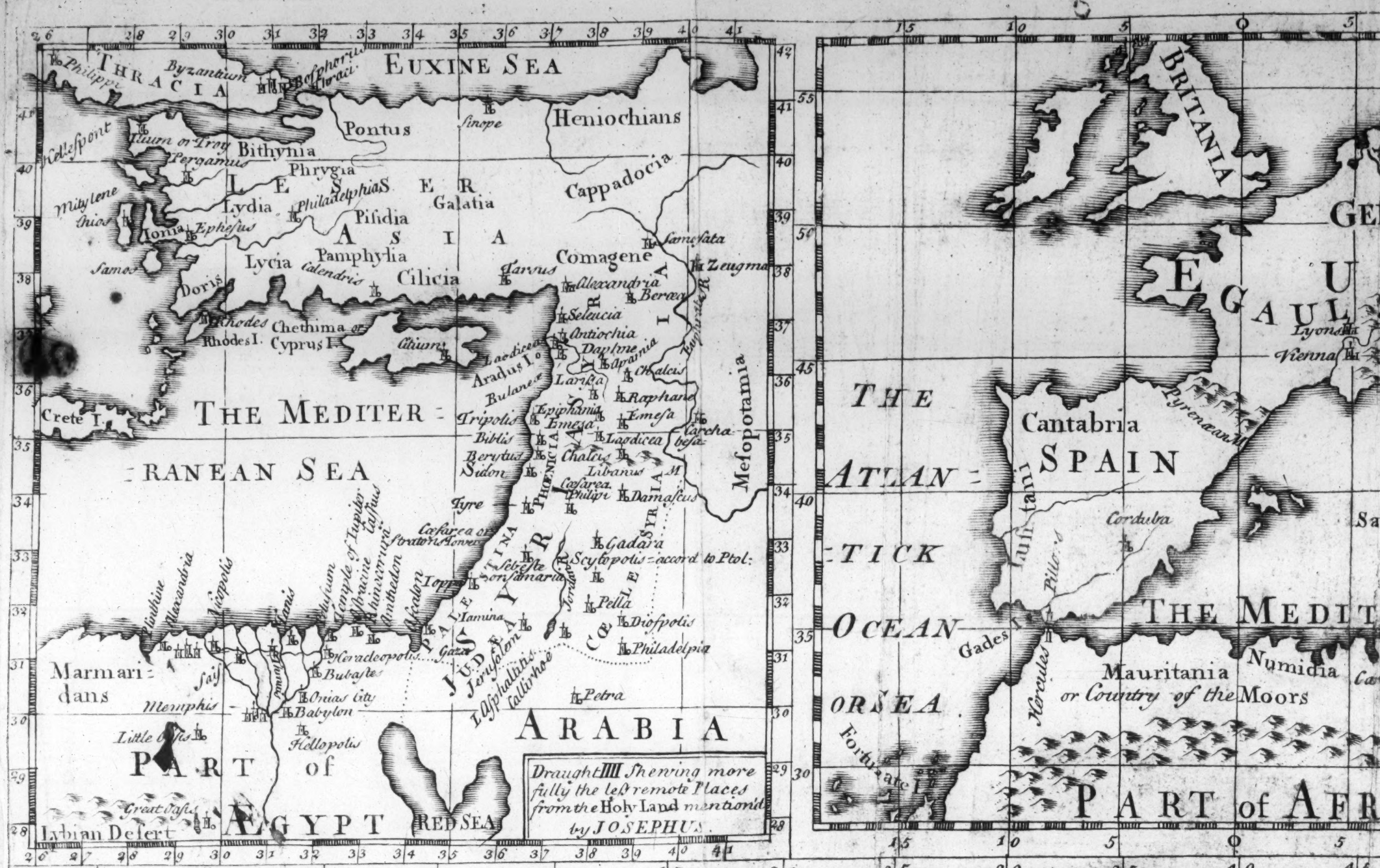
BUT in regard, however, that the credit of the whole story depends in a great measure upon the authority of what Moses in his great wisdom thought fit to deliver, somewhat ought to be said previously of Moses himself, to prevent exceptions and cavils; for people will be apt to wonder at the sight of a book, which pretends only to fact and history in the title, and yet launches out into so many digressions upon natural philosophy in the text. Be it known therefore, that this excellent and extraordinary person laid it down as a thing absolutely necessary for any man who would live virtuously himself, or prescribe laws to others, to apply his mind in the first place to the knowledge of God; and then upon a due consideration of his works, so far as in him lies, to follow and imitate that perfect model. Without this care and intention, 'tis impossible for a lawgiver to answer the character of his profession, neither can he make other people the better for his writings, without instructing them in the first place, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, that nothing is hid from his sight, that he confers his blessings on those who serve him, and inflicteth the greatest miseries on those who wander from the paths of virtue and righteousness. This was Moses's method of training up his people. He did not begin after the manner of other rulers, with provision for liberty and property, stipulations, contracts, and the like; but with a lecture upon the power of God in the creation of the world, and the excellency of man above other earthly creatures. And when he had once possessed them with a reverence for piety, they became the more easily susceptible of all other laudable impressions. As for those lawgivers who have only fabulous traditions for their pattern and guide, they take a freedom to impute to their Gods the lewdness of the most infamous of men, and so to authorize and encourage others in all manner of wickedness after their example. But our legislator, having first set forth that God is virtue and purity itself, he tells us afterwards that men should do all they can to make themselves partakers of the holiness, in some degree at least, of that divine original; concluding the caution with a severe sentence upon those who will neither believe nor understand these truths.

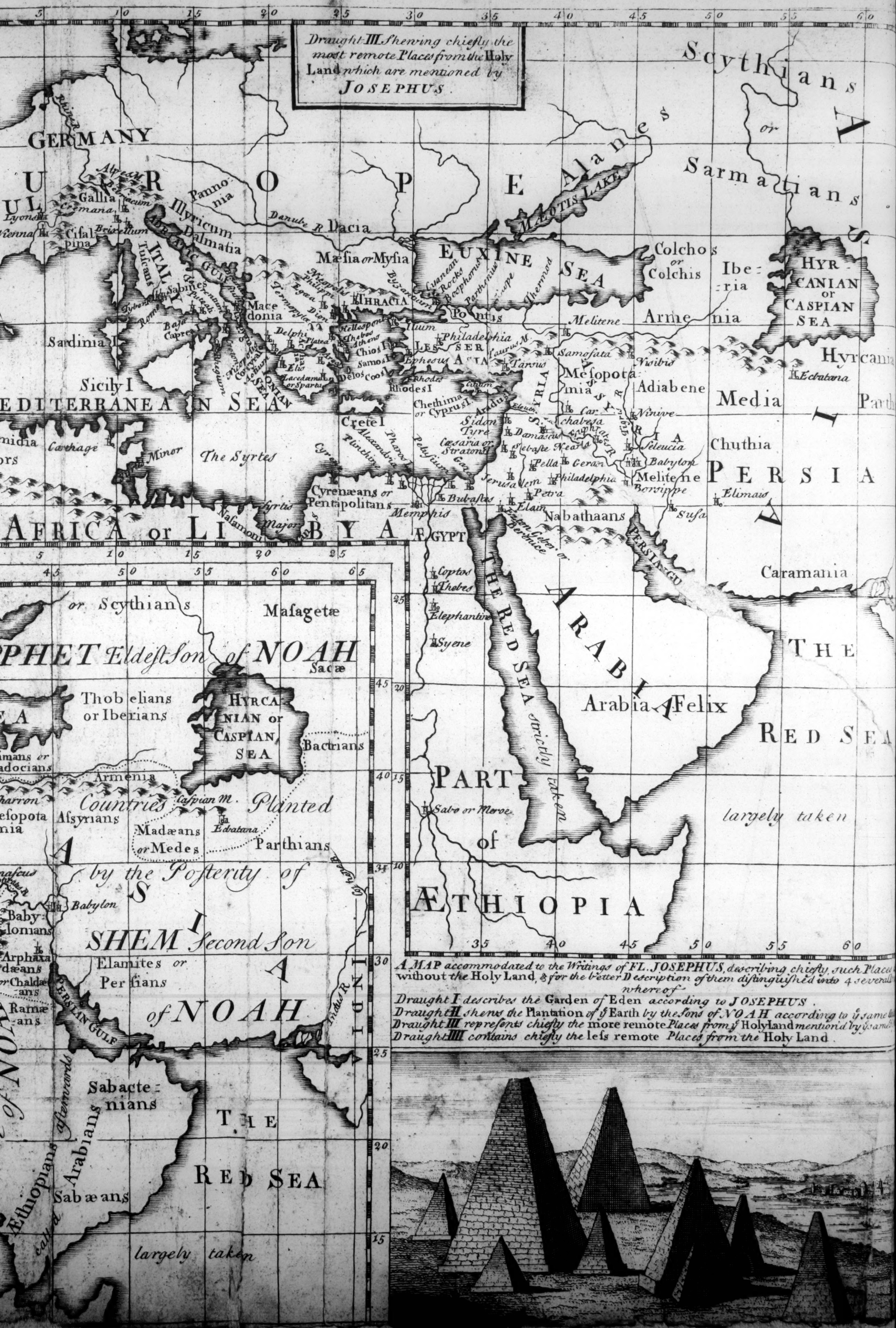
The Antiquity of the story

A rule for magistrates and lawgivers.

Moses's way of training up his people.

WHOEVER examines this work according to these measures (as I wish every reader may) will find nothing in it unreasonable, nor, I hope, derogatory to God's majesty and goodness. He will see every thing proportioned to the matters that are there handled by our lawgiver; some





Draught III. Shewing chiefly the most remote Places from the Holy Land which are mentioned by JOSEPHUS.

A MAP accommodated to the Writings of FL. JOSEPHUS, describing chiefly such Places without the Holy Land, & for the better Description of them distinguished into 4 severall Draughts I describes the Garden of Eden according to JOSEPHUS. Draught II shews the Plantation of Earth by the Sons of NOAH according to the same. Draught III represents chiefly the more remote Places from the Holy Land mentioned by JOSEPHUS. Draught IV contains chiefly the less remote Places from the Holy Land.

some things only touch'd upon, or slightly hinted, others illustrated by proper allegories; and for those passages that we are most concern'd to have a perfect understanding of, they are as plain and clear as words can make them. It would, indeed, require a deep speculation to enter into the particular reasons of these different ways of writing; but if God gives me life and health to complete what I am now upon, I determine to make that my next business; but for the present, I shall proceed to my history, beginning with what Moses tells us concerning the creation of the world, as we find it in holy writ.

C H A P. II.

The Creation of the World in six Days. The seventh a Sabbath, or a Day of Rest. Paradise planted, and Adam and Eve put into it. The forbidden Fruit. The Serpent tempts the Woman. The Fall of Adam and Eve, and the Curse pronounced against them for their Disobedience.

Gen. i. 1.

Ver. 2.

Ver. 3.

Ver. 4.

Ver. 5.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; but the earth was not as yet visible, by reason of a thick darkness that cover'd it. After this the spirit of God moving over it, God commanded that there should be light; which no sooner appear'd, but upon the view of the mass, he separated the light from the darkness; and the darkness he called night, and the light day. The beginning of the day he called morning, and the end of it (or the time of rest) evening; and these two terms compleated the first day. Moses calls it one day, or a day, and not the first day; for which I could give a sufficient reason, but having promised an explanation of these niceties in a separate tract, I lie under some sort of necessity to refer those notes to their proper time and place.

Ver. 6.

ON the second day God created the heaven or the firmament, gave it the highest place of the universe, divided it from the rest, encompassed it, as it were, with chrysal, and temper'd the air with so gentle a mixture of humidity, as might naturally dissolve into showers, for the watering and refreshing of the earth, to make it fruitful.

Ver. 9, &c.

ON the third day God settled the earth, surrounding it with the sea; and the same day it brought forth plants with their seeds, after their respective kinds.

Ver. 14.

ON the fourth day he placed the sun, the moon, and the other stars for an ornament in the heavens; regulating their motions, and their courses, in such a manner, as to mark out times and seasons.

Ver. 20.

ON the fifth day he created the fish that swim in the water, and the birds that fly in the air, and sent them forth in couples, that they might increase and multiply, every creature according to its kind.

Ver. 24.

ON the sixth day God created all sorts of four-footed beasts, male and female; and the same day also he made man; so that according to Moses, in six days God made the world, and all that therein is.

Ver. 26.

Gen. ii. 2.

God rested on the seventh day, and ceased from his labours. This is the reason that we

do no work upon that day; but give it the name of sabbath, which word in the Hebrew language betokens rest.

MOSES, after the seventh day, employ'd his thoughts in explaining the works and offices of nature; beginning with the creation of man, after this manner; "God, says he, formed "man of the dust of the ground, and breathed "into him the breath of life; so that he be- "came a living soul." He says further, that this man was call'd Adam, which in Hebrew signifies * red, because the earth which he was made of, in the virginal perfection of it, is of that colour.

AFTER this, God commanded all living creatures, male and female, to appear before Adam, who called them all by distinct names; and the names he gave them at that time they bear to this day.

ADAM was all this while alone, and uneasy in that condition, for want of a suitable companion; there being none as yet provided for him, when all the rest of the creatures enjoyed themselves in pairs; so that casting him into a deep sleep, God took a rib out of him, and made a woman of it, which he no sooner saw afterward, but he knew, and acknowledged her to be part of himself. Now in the Hebrew they call a woman Ilsa, but this woman was called Eva, that is to say, the mother of all living.

MOSES says further also, that God planted to the eastward a most delicious garden, abounding with all sorts of fruit-trees; and among the rest, the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

IN this garden he placed Adam and Eve, and committed the keeping and dressing of it to their care. It was watered and encompassed by a large river that divided itself into four streams or channels. The name of the first is Pison, (which signifies fulness or inundation;) the Greeks call it Ganges, and it takes its course into India, and so empties itself into the sea. The second and the third are Euphrates and Tigris; the former in our tongue is Phora, (that is to say, dispersion, or a flower,) the other we call Diglath, (which signifies as much as narrow and rapid,) and these two discharge themselves into the Red-sea. The name of the fourth is Gihon, which divides Egypt. The Greeks call it Nile, and it signifies in our language, coming from the east.

NOW Adam and Eve had liberty to eat of all the fruits of the garden, save only that of the tree of knowledge, which God command-

ed them not to taste of, upon pain of death. There was, as yet, a perfect harmony among all the creatures; and the serpent liv'd in a kind of familiarity with Adam and Eve; but out of an envy to the blessed state of their condition, in case of their continuing obedient to God's command, and knowing full well on the other hand the misery which would befall them in case of their disobedience, he tempted the woman to a taste of the forbidden fruit; and to enflame her curiosity, told her that it had a secret inherent virtue, to endue her, upon the eating of it, with the knowledge of good and evil, and to make her as happy as God himself. Thus the serpent seduced the woman into a violation of God's command; and the woman was so well pleased with the

* See this confuted by Vossius in his Erymlog. v. Homo.

The fall of Adam and Eve, Gen. iii. 6.

Ver. 7.

Adam hides himself, ver. 8.

God expostulates the matter with him, ver. 9, &c.

Ver. 12.

Ver. 13.

The curse against man, ver. 17, &c.

Against woman, Ver. 16.

Against the serpent, ver. 14.

Ver. 15.

Adam turn'd out of paradise, ver. 23.

delicious taste of the fruit, that she did not only eat of it herself, but recommended it to her husband too, who yielded to her persuasion. By this time they perceived that they were both naked; the virtue of this fruit having open'd their understanding, and seeking for a covering, they wove fig-leaves together, to hide their nakedness, accounting themselves happier than before, by this new discovery of what they wanted.

AFTER this, God enter'd into the garden, when Adam, who had free access to him before his transgression, out of a consciousness of his sin, withdrew, and hid himself. So God call'd to Adam, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that he, who had taken so much delight but lately, to present himself before his maker, should now run away and hide himself from him in such a confusion?" Adam's guilt left him not one word to say for himself, and so God went on speaking to him after this manner; "There was not any thing that your heart could desire, to make your life free, easy, pleasant, and happy, that I had not provided for you ready to your hand, both for use and delight, and without any care or labour on your part, or the inconveniences of old age to interrupt your enjoyments. But since you have flighted my commands, and that your conscience leaves you nothing to say for yourself, your days shall be cut short, and old age shall come upon you speedily." Adam palliated the matter as well as he could, begg'd pardon, and laid the blame upon his wife, alledging it was she that misled him: and the woman cast it upon the serpent. Whereupon, as a punishment for Adam's suffering his wife to impose upon him, God cursed the ground, declaring, that from that time forward, it should never bring forth fruit more, but what men should extort from it by labour, and the sweat of their brows, and that it should not always answer their expectations neither. As for Eve's being first deluded by the serpent, and afterwards drawing Adam into the same snare, her sentence was, "In sorrow to bring forth children;" and for the punishment of the serpent's malice, God took from him the benefit of speech, put venom under his tongue, condemn'd him to the loss of his feet, to crawl upon his belly, and declared him the enemy of mankind; and commanded Eve also to tread upon his head, both as the fountain of all our woes, and as the part where he most easily receives a mortal wound. After the pronouncing of these penalties, God remov'd Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. III.

The History of Cain and Abel. God calls Cain to an account for the Murder of his Brother, sets a Mark upon him, and pronounces a Curse against him for it. Cain the Inventor of Weights and Measures. Enos the first City built. Jubal the Inventor of Musick. Tubalcain, of Brass and Iron-Work. Adam lived nine hundred and thirty Years. Seth and his Sons give themselves to Astronomy. Seth's Pillars.

Of Cain and Abel, Gen. iv. 1.

ADAM and Eve had two sons; the name of the elder was Cain, which word by interpretation signifies possession or acquisition.

The second was Abel, which signifies affliction Ver. 2.

or mourning. They had daughters also: The two brothers were of quite different humours; for Abel was a righteous man, and a keeper of sheep, who led a virtuous life, and in all his actions and intentions had God in his eye. But Cain, on the contrary, was a wicked and profligate man, the first who applied himself to tillage and agriculture; and was, in short, so full of avarice and malice, that upon the following account he murder'd his own brother. The two brethren having agreed upon a sacrifice to the Lord, Cain brought an offering of the fruits of the ground; but Abel's offering was of the milk and firstlings of his flock: The latter, as it consisted of the pure bounty and voluntary production of nature, was most acceptable to God, because it seem'd to proceed from a natural sincerity and unfeigned obedience to his divine will; whereas the other, being forced by art and industry, carried with it the appearance of a mercenary oblation, rather than a homage of good-will. Whereupon Cain, being highly provoked at the preference which the divine creator had given to his younger brother's offering, fell upon him, and slew him, and buried the body, in hopes of concealing the murder; but God, from whom nothing can be hid, came upon this to Cain, inquired after his brother, where he was, and why for several days past they had not been seen together, since it was usual for them constantly to be conversant with one another. This struck Cain with confusion and amazement, inasmuch that at first he did not know what to say, but recollecting himself, he answer'd, that his brother, indeed, had been a stranger to him for some time, and that he was at a loss how to account for the reason of his absence. Upon this God urged the matter still closer to him; to which he had the insolence to reply, that he was neither his brother's keeper, nor of his council. Upon this expostulation and affront, God was pleas'd to charge him downright with his brother's murder, telling him how wonderful a thing it was, that he should not be able to give any account of the person whom he had inhumanly murdered. The fact was no longer to be denied, but yet upon Cain's sacrifice and submission, God was so far pacified, as to remit the immediate justice of blood for blood; but he was pleas'd, however, to pronounce him and his posterity accursed to the seventh generation, and to banish him and his wife out of their native land into the wide world. Cain was not a little terrified at this sentence, for fear of the mischiefs which might befall him in his wanderings; but to secure him from all danger, both from man or beast, God set a mark upon him to know him by, and so commanded him to be gone.

CAIN and his wife departed accordingly, and after a tedious travel through several countries, they at length arrived at Nais, where they settled their abode, and had divers children; but so far was this chastisement from reforming Cain, that he rather grew more and more wicked, abandoning himself to his lusts, and all manner of villainy, without any regard to common justice. He enriched himself by rapine and violence, and made choice of the vilest and most profligate monsters of mankind for his companions, of whom he became ring-leader, instructing them in the very mystery of their own profession. He corrupted the simplicity and

Cain the inventor of weights and measures, and the first encloser. and plain-dealing of former times with a novel invention of weights and measures, and exchanged the innocence of that primitive generosity and candour for the new tricks of policy and craft. He was the first that invaded the common liberties of mankind by bounds and inclosures; the first that built a city, fortified and peopled it, with his domesticks and dependants, whom he confined to live together in a body, which city was called Enos, after the name of his eldest son.

The ten ages to the flood. Gen. iv. 18. Now Enos begot Jared, Jared begot Malaleel, Malaleel begot Methuselah, and Methuselah begot Lamech, who had seventy seven children by two wives, Zillah and Adah. By Adah he had Jubal, the first who dwelt in tents, and pleased himself with a pastoral life and employment. Jubal, his brother, gave up his mind to musick; insomuch that the Pfaltery and Harp were of his invention. By his wife Zillah, he had Tubalcain, a valiant captain, and a great warrior, who by his military reputation was enabled to live both in pleasure and plenty. He was the first that wrought in brasse, and had a daughter whose name was Naamah. As for Lamech, who saw as far as any man into the course and methods of divine justice, he could not but find himself concerned in the prospect of that dreadful judgment which threaten'd the whole family for the murder of Abel, and under that apprehension, he disclosed his sentiments to his two wives.

Ver. 23. WHILE Adam was yet living the cursed race of Cain grew every day more and more wicked, and made it their glory, not only to imitate the foulest examples of past ages, but also to outdo them. Their delight was in war and spoil, or where any of them happen'd not to be polluted with the guilt of human blood, they excelled in pride, avarice, or some other vice of as black a nature.

Ver. 24. BUT to return to the subject in hand: After the murder of Abel and the banishment of Cain, Adam, who was now two hundred and thirty years of age, out of an earnest desire of issue, applied himself to the peopling of the world. He lived seven hundred years after this, and so died, leaving many children behind him, and one among the rest whom he called Seth. It would be too tedious to go through all the family, besides foreign to my purpose, so that I shall only have occasion to mention Seth. This Seth was brought up under the tuition of his father, and so soon as ever he was able to distinguish betwixt good and evil, he delivered himself up wholly to the study of virtue.

Ver. 25. He proved a wonderful man, and his children were the lively images of so excellent a father. They were all of them well bred, and well disposed. They lived happily and peaceably with respect to the publick, and in perfect harmony one with another. These were the first who made their observations upon the motions of the heavens, the courses and influences of the stars, and having been foretold by Adam of an universal deluge and conflagration to come, they erected two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, which they were sure would be a proof, one or the other of them, against either fire or water. Upon these pillars they engraved the memorials of their dis-

coveries and inventions, there to remain for the benefit of ages to come; and lest the tradition of the science itself should be lost for want of a record, this they did, and their foresight was not in vain; for it is reported that the stone pillar is yet to be seen in Syria to this very day.

CHAP. IV.

The Wickedness of the World, and God's Judgment upon it. Noah's Ark. The ten Generations from Adam to the Flood. The Beginning and Progress of the Flood. Berosus, Damascen, &c. write of the Ark and Deluge. Noah's Prayer. God's Covenant with Noah. The Rainbow a Token of it.

FOR seven generations men lived in the exercise of virtue, and in the love and fear of one God the Lord of all things; but from thence forward they degenerated from the ways of their fore-fathers, leading their lives without any reverence or regard either to religious duties, or human justice, and taking more pains to transcend one another in wickedness, than they had formerly done to make themselves eminent for goodness. This abominable impiety drew down the wrath of heaven upon them, and the angels* of God mixing with the women, begot an insolent race, not much unlike that of the Giants in the Greek fables, contempters of all good, and overbearing right with power. Noah took those impious extravagancies so to heart, that after several trials, both by his counsel and authority, to bring them to a reformation of their lives, and an amendment of their manners, and no good to be done at last upon a generation so incorrigibly obstinate, and abandon'd to their lusts, and finding himself and family in manifest danger of some mortal violence for his good-will, he departed out of the land himself and all his people. This good man was highly in the favour of the Lord for his righteousness; but the corruption and iniquity of the age cried out so loud to Heaven for vengeance, that God determined within himself, utterly to destroy that generation of mankind, and to supply another and a better race of men in their stead; but so as to shorten the term of man's life from what it was before, and to bring it within the compass of one hundred and twenty years. The earth after this was covered with water, and the dry land turned effectually into a sea, which swallowed up all flesh living; Noah alone excepted, who escaped the universal deluge by making of the means which God had expressly directed and appointed him for his preservation; that is to say, God having cautioned him of this terrible judgment to come, order'd him to build an ark of four stories, the length of it three hundred cubits, the breadth fifty, and the height of it thirty; which he did accordingly, and so went into it with his wife and children, and their wives; taking along with him of all living creatures by two and two, in pairs, male, and female, and of some seven couples for the conservation of the kind, having first laid in all provisions necessary for the subsistence of himself and them. His or-

Gen. v. & vi.

Gen. vi. 2.

Noah's Ark, Gen. vi. 15.

* Lactantius favours this opinion, but St. Austin and others reject it. See Selden's Proleg. de Diis Syris, Cap. iii. der

Noah's genealogy, Gen. vi.

der was to take care that the roof, and the sides of it should be made strong enough to resist the violence of the approaching tempest; which was also done: and by this contrivance he and his family were saved. Now Noah was the tenth in succession by a direct line from Adam, being the son of Lamech, Lamech of Methuselah, Methuselah of Enoch, Enoch of Jared, Jared of Maleleel, (who had divers brothers,) Maleleel of Cain, Cain of Enos, Enos of Seth, and Seth the son of Adam.

The time of the deluge.

THIS deluge happened in the second month, which the Macedonians call Dios, the Hebrews Marfonane, according to the Egyptian division of the year. Moses in his computation makes Nisan, which is Xanthicus, the first month, because it was in this that he brought the Israelites out of Egypt, and he observes the same account in the dating of all things which concern the worship of God. But for the matter of fairs and markets, trade, and civil business, he left the account as he found it, without making any alteration. Noah was six hundred years of age at the time of this inundation. Moses reckons that the first fall of rain toward the drowning of the world, began on the 27th day of the month before said, and in the year of the world 1656. This is according to the calculation of holy writ, which gives a very exact account of the birth and death of the illustrious men of those times.

The line of the patriarchs Gen. v.

ADAM was nine hundred and thirty years old when he died, and one hundred and thirty when he begot Seth. Seth was one hundred and five when he begot Enos, who departed this life at the age of nine hundred and twelve, leaving all to the care of his son Cainan, whom he had begotten in the nintieth year of his age, and he lived to the age of nine hundred and ten, and was succeeded by his son Maleleel whom he begot at the age of seventy: this Maleleel died at eight hundred and ninety five, and he left his son Jared to succeed him, whom he begot at the age of sixty five, and at nine hundred and sixty nine he departed this life. He was succeeded by his son Enoch, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty two years old, and after three hundred and sixty five years he went to God, and was no more seen, which is the reason that there is no record extant of what became of him. Methuselah was born to Enoch in the sixty fifth year of his age, and at the age of one hundred and seven he had a son born, which he called Lamech, to whom he delivered up the government, which he had held for nine hundred and sixty nine years. But when Lamech had been seven hundred and seven years in the exercise of that power, he transferred his commission to his son Noah, who was born to Lamech at the age of one hundred and eighty two, and was nine hundred and fifty years in the administration. So that putting all these together, computing upon Noah's age of six hundred years at the time of the deluge, it amounts to the just number of one thousand six hundred and fifty six.* But we are not so much to consider the end of these men, as the birth of them; for they lived to see many generations out of their own Loins.

THE time being now come, and the signal given, God commanded the clouds to pour forth their waters, which they did in a violent rain of forty days continuance; till they were fifteen cubits deep above the highest parts of the earth, and no place left for any possibility of safety or retreat. The waters after this began by little and little to abate, and in one hundred and fifty days more, on the 27th day of the seventh month, the ark was left aground upon the top of a certain mountain in Armenia. Noah perceiving this, open'd a window and perceiving the appearance of land in several places round about him, found his heart a little more at ease, in hopes that the worst was now past. The water still decreasing more and more, Noah sent out a raven some few days after, to learn the state of the deluge in other places, whether or no he might safely venture himself upon the ground; but the raven finding all in a flood still, returned to the ark. Whereupon Noah respited his enquiry for seven days, and then sent out a dove to discover what condition things were in abroad, which soon after returned to him again all dirty, and with an olive-branch in her mouth, giving to understand that the danger was now over. So that at the end of seven days more he turned out all the creatures, went forth himself with his wife and children, and after sacrificing to the Lord, made merry and rejoiced with his family. The Armenians called this place Apobaterion, or the place of descent. We read of this deluge and the ark, in all the writers of Barbarian histories, as in Berofus the Chaldaean for one, who, speaking of this flood, writes to this effect: "They say that there are some remainders of this vessel to be seen upon the mountains of the Cordyæans in Armenia to this very day, and that several people living upon the place scrape the Pitch off from the planks as a rarity, and carry it about them for an amulet." Hieronymus the Egyptian, in his Phœnician Antiquities, Manaseas, and a great many others say somewhat of this matter too: But Nicolaus of Damascus, in v. 96. of his history, speaks to this purpose: "In the province of Minyas in Armenia, there is a high mountain, called Baris, to which place there fled a great many people, as the story goes, in the time of a deluge for sanctuary. There is a tradition also of a certain man in a vessel that struck upon the top of this mountain, and that several pieces of the timber were to be seen there a long time after." This perhaps might be the man that Moses makes mention of.

Now Noah in a persuasion that God had doomed mankind to destruction, lay under a dreadful apprehension, for fear of the same judgment over again; and that it would actually end in an anniversary inundation: so that he presented himself before the Lord with sacrifices and prayers: "Humbly beseeching God in Mercy to preserve the order of the world in its first frame; to punish the guilt, and spare the lives of the innocent, and not to proceed with rigour for the wickedness of some particular persons to the destruction of the whole; for otherwise, the

The beginning and progress of the flood, Gen. vii. 12, &c.

Gen. viii. 3, 4, &c.

Ver. 14.

Noah sends out a raven, Ver. 7.

and a dove, Ver. 8.

Noah goes out of the ark, Ver. 18.

See Berofus, Nicolaus Damascus, &c. of this ark and deluge.

Noah's prayer.

* There is a great confusion and incorrectness in these chronological numbers in all the translations that have yet appeared in the world, occasioned by the various readings of the copies; which we have here endeavoured to adjust, by following Dr. Hudson's Chronology so far as it was agreeable to the original Hebrew; but in the age that Jared begat at we have added one hundred years to make it correspond to the general or sum total; for the better understanding of which, see our second discourse prefixed to this work, P. 14, 15, &c.

I.
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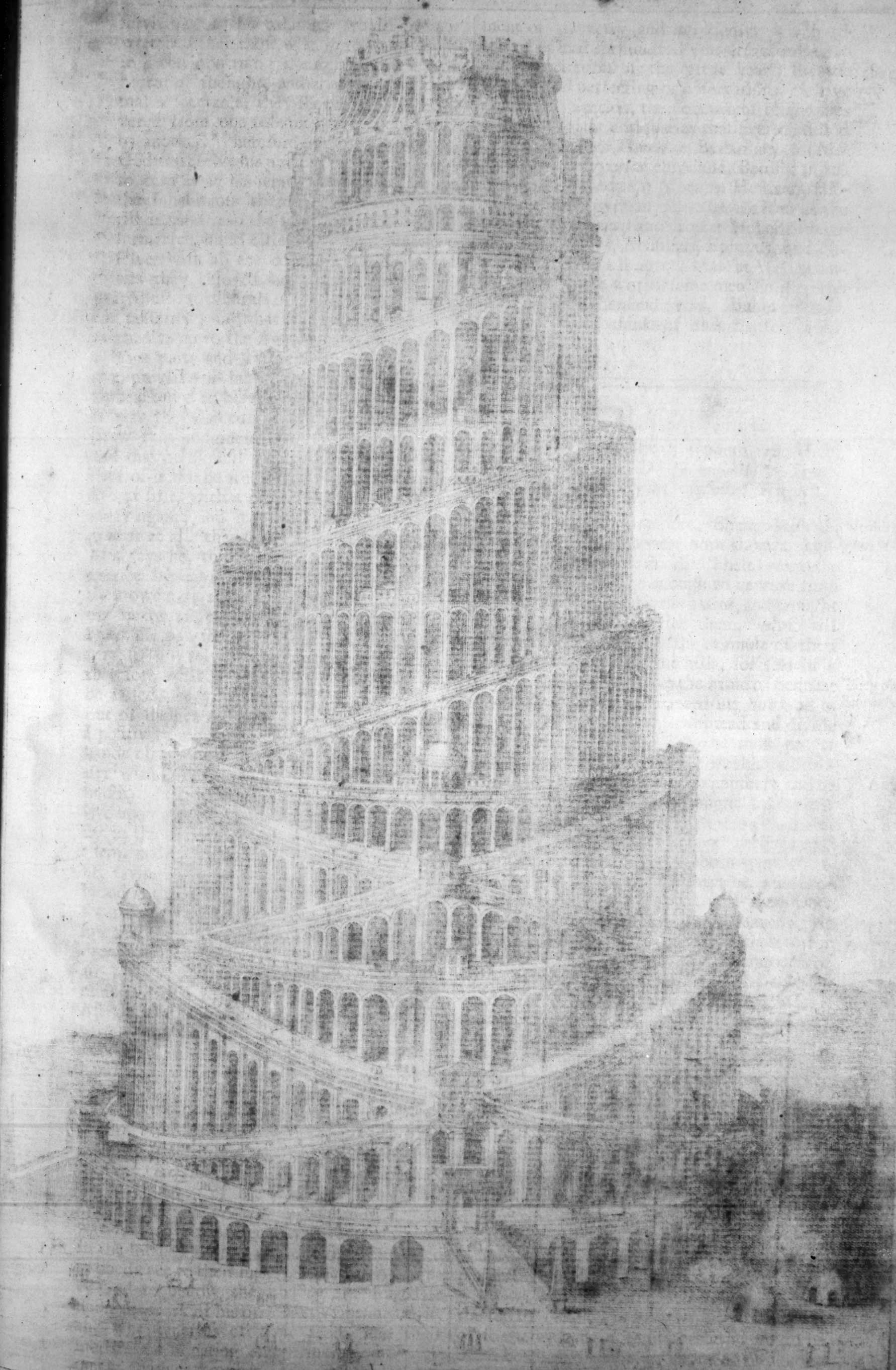
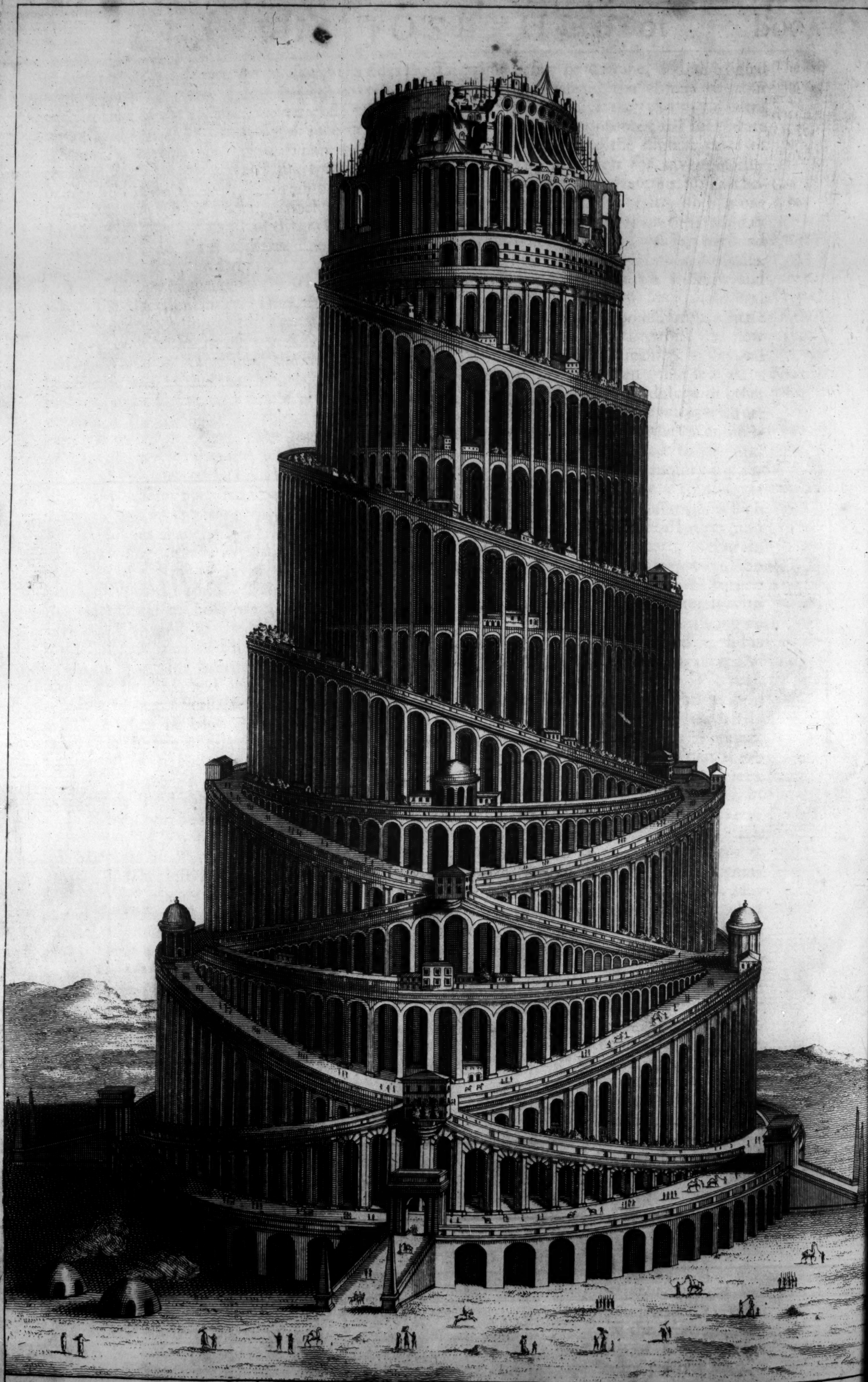


ILLUSTRATION OF THE TOWER OF BABEL

John G. Thompson



ELEVATION OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

John Harris Sculp

God's cove
nant with
Noah, Gen
iii. and ix

The rainb
a token of
c. ix. 13.

" survivors of this calamity would be more wretched than those who were washed away in a common ruin; if after having suffer'd horror of thought, and the terror of so dismal a spectacle, they should only be delivered from one calamity to be confounded by another. Wherefore he earnestly besought God to receive his prayers, and his sacrifice; to turn away his wrath from the earth, and the inhabitants thereof, that they might till it, and reap the fruits of his bounty as formerly; build cities, and entertain themselves with all the comforts and conveniences they enjoyed before the flood." He pray'd also for length of days to himself and his posterity; and that the children to come might live up to the Age of their ancestors.

THE piety and righteousness of this good man prevail'd so far with Almighty God, that he hearkened to his request, and told him, that it was the wickedness of the world which drew that judgment upon their own heads, and that he himself was not in reality the author of it; for he would never have given them life at first, with a design or desire to take it away again; and it were much better not to give it at all, than to give only to take again. But, says he, they have forced me upon a vengeance by a violation of all the holy duties they owe me; and yet to shew you that I am not inexorable, especially upon your mediation, I promise you that I will never deal with sinners so severely again for the future; and therefore what storms and tempests soever may be raised, set your heart at rest, for you are out of danger of another deluge. One thing I positively require and command, keep your hands clear of human blood, and punish murder with the utmost severity, wherever you find it. As for other creatures, whether they live upon the earth, or swim in the water, or fly in the air, you are the lords and masters of them, and may dispose of them as you think fit, saving only as to the blood, for in the blood is the life of the creature; and for your security now, that the arrows of my displeasure shall never strike mankind again in the like dreadful manner, I will set my bow in the air for a token of my covenant. Now the rainbow with them is taken for God's bow. After these commands and promises God departed.

NOAH liv'd in happiness and at ease three hundred and fifty years after the flood, so that he was nine hundred and fifty when he died. Let not the vast difference betwixt the ordinary term of a man's life before the deluge, and the narrow scantling we find it reduced to at this day, be made use of as an argument to bring the credit of the tradition in question, as it because we ourselves are short-liv'd, our fore-fathers must of necessity have been so too. In the infancy of the world, when men liv'd in obedience to their maker, it pleas'd Almighty God to bestow the blessing of * long life upon the work of his own hands; besides that, the wholesomeness of their food, and their moderation in eating and drinking, did very much conduce to that end; and, moreover, providence found it necessary for the study and advancement of virtue, and for the improve-

ment of geometry and astronomy, which required at least six hundred years, (according to the computation of the great year,) for the making and perfecting of observations. I have for my justification, the concurrent testimonies of all the great antiquaries that ever meddled in history, either Greek or Barbarian, as Manetho in his Egyptian chronicle, Berosus in the history of Chaldæa, † Mochus, Hestæus, Hieronymus the Egyptian, that have given us the story of Phœnicia; and so for Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Nicolaus, they do all agree, that in the primitive state of the world some men liv'd to the age even of a thousand years. But every man is at liberty to think of this matter as he pleases.

C H A P. V.

Noah's three Sons, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, plant in Sennaar. Design to build a Tower, which was ruined by a Confusion of Tongues.

NOAH had three sons, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, who were born about an hundred years before the flood. These were the first who had courage enough to venture from the mountains to inhabit the plains, and brought their offspring along with them, who, till they were animated by the example of their fathers, durst not quit the hills, for fear of a second deluge. They gave the name of Sennaar to the first place they planted in: but God in his wisdom ordered them to spread and divide themselves into colonies, as the most proper method both for peopling the world, and preserving men in peace one with another; and to the end likewise that they might take their possessions at large, and enjoy more abundantly the fruits of the earth. Now these people being an ignorant and a stubborn generation, disregarded the divine appointment, and continued still in the same place, till they were overtaken by a judgment from Heaven, that made them sufficiently sensible of their error by their punishment. They came in process of time to be numerous and strong, and God once again admonished and directed them as before, to disperse themselves into several plantations; but they persevered nevertheless in their disobedience, not only forgetting the author of all the blessings and good things they were made partakers of, but assuming to themselves the glory of their successes in all the greatness they had acquired; and which was worst of all, interpreting the advice of separating themselves to be rather a snare than a favour, and a mere trick of common policy, first to disunite and weaken them, and then to bring them under the yoke of an oppression.

THE chief incendiary that animated the people to this proud and insolent contempt of God, was Nimrod, the grandson of Ham, who was the son of Noah, a man fierce and valiant, but of so extravagant a vanity, that he would be often boasting, that he lay under no obligation at all to the goodness of God for the dignity of his present state and reputation, but to the power of his own courage and virtue. Thi

* See Gallæus's comment on the Sibylline Oracles, p. 72, 73.

† Gallæus in his comment upon the Sibylline Oracles, p. 62. reads Molus, or Molon, for Mochus.

God's covenant with Noah, Gen. iii. and ix.

The rainbow a token of it, c. ix. 13.

They plant in Sennaar, xi. 2.

Nimrod their head and ringleader.

was his way of insinuating himself into a tyranny, not in the least doubting but the people might be easily brought to apostatize from God, if they could but first be prevailed upon to chuse him for their governor. And lest the dread of another inundation should deter them from it, he had an expedient in his head, he said, that would secure them from any damage of that nature. His project was the erecting a tower to such a height, that it should be impossible for the waters ever to reach the top of it: beside the revenge he meditated over and above, for the loss of those who perished in the flood.

THE multitude came so unanimously into this scheme of Nimrod, that they began to look upon it as a thing below the dignity of men, to live in subjection to God; and upon this they immediately apply'd themselves to work, and prosecuted their design with the utmost vigour and resolution. The height of it was to be prodigious, and the infinite number of labourers advanced it, even beyond imagination. The breadth and thickness of it, being wonderfully firm and strong, appeared of such prodigious bulk, that it made the height of it seem less. The materials were burnt brick, cemented in the joints with a pitchy matter to make it proof against the waters. The madness of these people was highly provoking, especially considering the warning they had had in the example of their forefathers, who were all swallowed up in an universal flood for their wickedness. But God was graciously pleased however, not to proceed to the extremity of extinguishing mankind any more, for their contemptuous transgressions, but chose rather to punish them with such a confusion of tongues, that they should not be able to understand one another. The place where this tower was erected, is at this day called Babylon, from the confusion of tongues, as aforesaid; Babel in Hebrew signifying as much as confusion. Now as to this tower, and this confusion of tongues, the Sibyl speaks in the following manner.

* This we have in the Sibylline Oracles now extant. See Dr. Beve-
rege's Codex, Can. Vindic.
c. 14.

"* At a certain time, says she, when the whole world spake the same language, the people of those days gathered together, and raised a mighty tower, which they carried up to so extravagant a height, that it looked as if they had proposed the scaling of heaven from the top of it: but the Gods let a hurricane of winds loose upon it, which with a violent blast beat it down to the ground; the builders being also judicially struck with an utter forgetfulness of their native tongue, and a new unknown language substituted instead of it, wherein not one man of them understood his fellow." As to Sennaar itself, Hestæus gives this hint; "The priests who survived the general delusion, preserved the holy things and ornaments that were dedicated to the worship and service of Jupiter the Conqueror, and carried them off to Sennaar of Babylon."

CHAPTER VI.

The Sons of Noah disperse themselves all over the Face of the Earth.

UPON this diversity of tongues, the people were forced to disperse themselves and down into colonies, and so to plant and

inhabit, some upon the sea-coasts, others in the continent; some in one place, some in another, according to the lot which God in his wisdom and providence had assigned them; for the whole world, in short, was to be more or less peopled. Men afterwards came by degrees to the use and knowledge of navigation, so far at least as to make boats, and transport themselves into islands: they gave appellations to the places where they liv'd, many of them retaining to this very day the names of their first planters. Some, 'tis true, are alter'd, others only disguised under Greek derivations, to make them more familiar and intelligible to the people thereabouts; for the Greeks being possess'd of those countries, drew to themselves in succeeding ages, as the first founders and proprietors, the honour of that primitive greatness, imposing upon them, as they thought fit, not only names but laws also, and customs, and manners to their own liking.

Several places bear the names of the first planters.

CHAPTER VII.

Several Nations took their Names from their several Founders. The Race of Noah down to Jacob, and the Places they inhabited.

NOW the sons of Noah had children, who, for the honour of their memory, call'd the people, wherever they got possession, by their own names; as Japheth the son of Noah had seven sons, who planted themselves in Asia, from the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, to the river Tanais; in Europe, to Gades: and the places being not as yet peopled, wherever they got footing, as aforesaid, they called the countries after their own names. Gomar was the founder of those that were Gomarites, called by the Greeks at this day † Galatians, or Gauls. Magog was the head of the Magogians, by the Greeks Scythians; Javan and Madæus were two other sons of Japheth; from the latter came the Madæans, or the Medes; from the other the Ionians, and the whole race of Greeks. Thobel was the founder of the Thobelians, (at this day the Iberians or Spaniards;) from Mesches the Meschinians, called afterwards Cappadocians, but not without some footsteps yet of their original in the town of Mazaca, which comes near the antient name. Thires was the head and governor of the Thiræans, so called from his own name, which the Greeks changed afterwards for Thracians. These are the nations that were first planted by the seven sons of Japheth.

The sons of Noah, Gen. x. Japheth.

† See the Diatriba de Noe in Italiam adventu, by E. Dickinson.

GOMAR again had three sons: Aschanaxes, from whom came the Aschanaxians, (by the Greeks now called Rheginians;) Riphates, the head of the Riphateans, (now Paphlagonians;) and Thygrammes, from whom came the Thygrammeans, (whom the Greeks call Phrygians.)

JAVAN also, the son of Japheth, had † three sons: Alifas the first, from whom the Alifians (now called Æolians) derive both their name and original. So in like manner from Tharsus the Tharsians, (afterwards called Cilicians,) as appears by the celebrating of the city Tarsus with a mark of preference above all others, only turning the first letter Θ into a T. The island that we at this day call Cyprus, was at first called Chethima, from Chethimus the first possessor

† The scripture makes mention of four, ver. 4.

feffor of it. From hence it is that not only all islands, but all places bordering upon the sea, are by the Hebrews called Chethim; and there is a town in the isle of Cyprus, which at this day is called Citium by those that for the sound sake will make Greek of every thing; and it seems to have some affinity with Chethim; all these nations had the descendants of Japheth for their heads. But I have one thing yet to say before I proceed any further, which perhaps the Greeks take no notice of; that is to say, they have got a way of changing names to please the ear, and make the word sound with a less harsh and more agreeable cadence; but for our people they neither allow nor practice any such thing. The Greeks have turned Noe into Nochos; but we keep steady to the same form and syllables, without so much as varying the very termination.

Gen. x. 6.

THE sons of Ham settled themselves in Syria, and the country adjoining to the mountains of Amanus and Libanus; stretching the bounds of their jurisdiction as far as the sea-coast, and calling all the places under their dominions by what names they pleased; but a great many of them are to us utterly lost and forgot, and others so corrupted and transformed, that they are no longer to be known; only the Ethiopians have stood the stress of time and accidents, without any alteration. Chus, one of the four sons of Ham was their founder and governor, and they bear the name of Chusians to this day, not only among themselves, but all Asia over. The Mesreans also yet keep their old name; for Egypt, quite through the country, is called Mesrim still, and the Egyptians, Mesreans. Phutes governed in Libya, and gave the whole nation the name of Phutians. And divers Greek historians give us an account of a river in Mauritania of this name, and of a country bordering upon it which is called Phute; but the name has been since changed by Libys, one of the sons of Mesraim. How it came to be called Africa we shall shew hereafter. Chanaan, the fourth son of Ham, gave his name to the country of the Chanaanites, since called by the name of Judea.

Ver. 7.

THEY had all children; but Chus, the eldest son of Ham, had six sons: Sabas the head of the Sabeans. Evilas, of the Evileans now called Getulians. Sabbathes of the Sabbathenians, with the Greeks Astabarrians. Sabactas, of the Sabactenians. Romus was prince of the Romans, and had two sons, Judadas and Sabas. The former gave the name and original to the Judadeans in the Western part of Ethiopia, the other transmitted his name to the Sabeans. As for Nimrod, the sixth son of Chus, he continued among the Babylonians, seiz'd the government by force, and most tyrannically oppressed the people, as is already set forth.

MESRAIM was the father of eight sons, who made themselves masters of the whole tract of land betwixt Gaza and Egypt. Philistim was one of the eight, and left his name to his country, that part of it at least which the Greeks call Palestine. Labim constituted a colony, and gave it the name of Libya: but for the other six, that is to say, Ludim, Ananim, Nedom, Phetrolim, Cheslem, and Chepthorim, we know little more of them than their names, their cities and plantations having been destroyed in the Ethiopick war, of which in its proper place.

CANAAN was the father of eleven sons. Sidon built a city in Phœnicia, which the Greeks call Sidon, after his name. Amath was the founder of Amathe, a place yet in being, and by the inhabitants called Amathine; though the Macedonians have changed it for Epiphania, from one of their kings. Arudeus took possession of the island Aradus. Arucæus had the town of Arce upon mount Libanus. As for the other seven, Euæus, Chetæus, Jebusæus, [Eudæus,] Sinæus, Samaræus, and Gergefæus, we have nothing more of them in the holy scriptures than their names; the Hebrews having razed all their cities for the reasons following:

Ver. 15, 16, 17, 18.

So soon as the earth began to return to its former condition again after the flood, Noah fell to cultivating the ground, planting vines, and gathering and pressing his grapes in their due season; whereby he became the first inventor of the use of wine: but one day after an oblation to God of the first-fruits of his vineyard, he drank so liberally of the juice, that he laid himself down quite senseless, and fell asleep, with his nakedness in a very indecent manner uncovered. His youngest son seeing his father thus shamefully exposed, called his brothers in derision to make sport with the spectacle; but they, out of a pious reverence to a parent, cast a covering over him. Noah came soon after to be sensible of what had passed, and blessed his other children for the good office they had done him; but with a bitter imprecation upon the posterity of Ham; and this malediction was followed upon them with a divine vengeance; but of this hereafter, only I must observe, that Ham in his own person escaped the curse out of Noah's tenderness and respect to the nearness of his blood.

Noah plants a vineyard, Gen. ix. 20.

is drunk with the wine of it, Ver. 21. his nakedness exposed, ver. 22.

The posterity of Ham accursed, ver. 25.

SHEM, another of the three sons of Noah, had five sons, and the whole tract of Asia was theirs, from Euphrates to the Indian sea. From Elam came the Elamites, and from them the Persians derive their original. Assur was the founder of Ninive, and thence came the Assyrians, a rich and a powerful people. From Arphaxed came the Arphaxadeans, or our Chaldeans. From Aram came the Arameans, whom the Greeks call Syrians. And from Lud came the Luddians, or our Lydians.

The posterity of Shem, Gen. x. 22.

ARAM had four sons; Uz was the founder of Trachonitis, and Damascus, which lies betwixt Palestine and Coele-Syria: Hull had Armenia: Gether was prince of the Bactrians; and Mesas of the Mesoneans, whose whole country at present bears the name of the camp of Pafinus.

Aram, ver. 3.

SALES the son of Arphaxad was the father of Heber, according to whose name the Jews were antiently called Hebrews. Heber begot Jucta and Phalec: The latter was born at the time of dividing the land, (Phalec in Hebrew signifying Partition.) Jucta the son of Heber had children; Elmodad, Saleph, Azer moth, Eiracs, Eadoram, Uzal, Declas, Ebal, Abiamel, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath, Jobab. The extent of their bounds, reacheth from the river Cophene in India, to the neighbouring part of Syria.

Sales, ver. 42.

HAVING spoken already of the sons of Shem, I shall carry my discourse forward to treat of the Hebrews. Phalec was the son of Heber, and Ragaüs the son of Phalec. Ragaüs begat Serug, Serug begat Nachor, and Nachor be-

The genealogy of Abraham, Gen. xi.

gat Thares the father of Abraham, the tenth generation from Noah. He was born about two hundred ninety two years after the flood. Thares was in the seventieth year of his age when he begat Abraham, Nachor one hundred and twenty when he begat Thares, Serug about a hundred thirty two when he begat Nachor, Ragaus one hundred and thirty when he begat Serug, and Phalec about the same age when he begat Ragaus, Heber one hundred thirty four when he begat Phalec, Sales one hundred and thirty when he begat Heber, Arphaxad one hundred thirty five when he had Sales. And this Arphaxad the son of Shem, and the grandson of Noah, was born *two years after the flood.

Nachor and Aran, Abraham's brothers, ver. 27.

ABRAHAM had two brothers, Nachor and Haran, the latter died at Ur in Chaldæa, where there is to be seen at this day a sepulchral monument erected in honour of his memory. He left behind him his son Lot, and two daughters, Sarah and Melcha: Nachor took the latter to wife, and Abraham took Sarah.

Thares the father of Abraham, ver. 32.

THARES the father of Abraham had contracted such an aversion to Chaldæa, for the loss of his son Haran, that he went away and all his family with him to Charran in Mesopotamia, where Thares died, and was buried after he had lived two hundred and fifty years †. The life of man was now shortened, and God soon after reduced it to the scantling of a hundred and twenty years, which was the precise age of Moses himself.

The children of Nachor.

NACHOR had by his wife Melcha eight sons, Uz, Baux, Camuel, Chazad, Azas, Pheldas, Jadelphas, and Bethuel. These were all the legitimate sons of Nachor; but Tabæus and Gaham, Tavaus and Machas, he had by Ruma his concubine. Bathuel had a daughter and a son, Rebecca and Laban.

CHAP. VIII.

Abraham having no Children of his own, adopts his Nephew Lot, quits Chaldæa, and takes up his Abode in Chanaan.

Abraham goes into Chanaan, Gen. xii. 5.

his piety, resolution and wisdom.

ABRAHAM having no legitimate issue of his own, adopted Lot, the son of his brother Aran, and the brother of his wife Sarah. In the seventy fifth year of his age he quit Chaldæa, and removed with his family and all that appertained unto him, into the land of Chanaan, as God had commanded him, where he took up his habitation, and in God's good time left it to his posterity. He was a man equally wise and eloquent, of a piercing judgment, and an universal knowledge. He had the reputation of an understanding beyond other men; and as he wanted no skill, so he had the courage also to attack the most daring iniquities of the times, and by dint of his authority, as well as of his reason, to tear up false opinions in religion by the roots, and to terrify wicked men into the love and fear of that God whom they had despised. Abraham was the first who adventured to preach up the doctrine of One God, the Almighty Creator of all things in heaven and earth; and that it is to his infinite goodness, not to any power in ourselves, that we stand indebted for all the

comforts and conveniencies we enjoy in this world. This he argued from the orderly course of things both at sea and land in their times and seasons, and from his observation upon the motions and influences of the sun, moon, and stars; insomuch that without an over-ruling and an administering providence to preserve and keep up the order of things, the whole frame of the universe must drop into confusion; and consequently that all we have to trust to, for matters either of pleasure, profit, or necessity, depends singly upon the good-will and bounty of the first mover: so that it is to him alone that we are to render all honour and thanksgiving, without assuming any thing to ourselves.

THE people of Chaldæa and Mesopotamia were highly enraged at him for this doctrine; so that by God's order and assistance, he convey'd himself out of Chaldæa into Chanaan, where settling his abode, he erected an altar to God, worshipped and offered sacrifice. Berofus hath a passage concerning our father Abraham, though without naming him: "In the tenth generation (says he) after the flood there was among the Chaldæans a certain great and just man, and one who was famous for his celestial observations." Hecataeus hath gone further yet, in an historical discourse writ expressly upon his affairs. Nicolaus of Damascus in the fourth book of his history does also make mention of him: "Abraham (says he) though a stranger commanded in Damascus, to which place he came with a numerous train from a country beyond Babylon, called Chaldæa; from whence he removed after a short time with all his people, and went to Chanaan, now called Judea, where he settled himself, and had a very numerous offspring, of whom I shall speak further in another book." But at Damascus the very name of Abraham is to this day had in great veneration; and there is a village too that yet bears the name of Abraham's habitation.

Mentioned by Berofus,

Hecataeus, and Nicolaus of Damascus.

CHAP. IX.

Upon a Famine in Chanaan, Abraham removes into Egypt; and takes Sarah along with him, where he stays a while, and then returns.

THERE happen'd in those days a miserable famine in Chanaan; and Abraham understanding that at the same time there was a great plenty in Egypt, resolv'd upon a journey thither, partly to get a share in their abundance, and partly to inform himself in the opinions and sentiments of their priests, about divine matters; with an impartial desire and disposition to find out the truth, and either to give or to receive satisfaction, according to the right and reason of the subject in question. Abraham taking Sarah along with him, who was a very beautiful woman, and being informed of the unbridled lusts of the Egyptians, fell into an apprehension that the king might probably put him to death upon the account of his wife; wherefore he bethought himself of an evasion, in case of any difficulty, and to say she was his sister. Upon concerting the point

A famine in Chanaan, Gen. xii. 10. Abraham goes into Egypt, ibid.

Abraham Lot part lands betwixt them, Ver. 10, 11.

* In the original 'tis twelve years by a mistake, two hundred and five years.

† This differs from the scripture, which says he lived but

betwixt themselves, and the present necessity considered, they concluded to agree in the same tale. At his coming into Egypt, it fell out as he foreboded; for the fame of his handsome wife was presently spread about, till it came to the ear of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who was immediately inflamed with an impatience to see and to enjoy this miracle of a woman that he had heard such wonders of, never questioning but he should be able to gain his foul ends upon her. But in the mean while God put a check to the progress of his leud appetite, by visiting this lascivious prince with a plague and a sedition both at once. In this distress Pharaoh had recourse to his priests for counsel and direction, and to know what might be the sin that brought this judgment upon him, and what the remedy. The priests upon sacrificing returned him answer, that Heaven was displeased with him for the violence and abuse he designed upon the wife of a stranger. This sentence and resolution put the king into such a fright, that he immediately discours'd Sarah upon it with all frankness and respect, what she herself was, and what the man was who brought her thither. She told him in short the whole and the plain truth of the story; whereupon Pharaoh excused himself to Abraham, that he took her for his sister, not for his wife, and only desired a fair alliance, without the least thought of any scandalous indignity to her person. He made Abraham a present after this of a considerable sum of money, and gave him a liberty of associating and conferring with the most famous and learned men in his dominions, by which means he became better known, and consequently more esteemed for his excellent qualities and virtue. By the allowance of this freedom of conference and communication, Abraham had the means of observing all their divisions about rites, ceremonies, and opinions, their factions and animosities, and their reciprocal contempt and hatred one of another, and their disagreement about religion; so that upon the whole matter, he made no difficulty to demonstrate by dint of reason and argument, that their religion was vain and erroneous, a contradiction to itself, and without any foundation of truth to bottom upon. By these discourses he gained himself infinite credit, not only for the solidity of his judgment, and an admirable felicity of elocution, but for this instructive talent also of informing and convincing his auditory both at once. He likewise instructed them in astronomy and arithmetick, which sciences the Egyptians understood nothing of till Abraham brought them from Chaldaea into Egypt, and from thence they passed to the Greeks.

ABRAHAM at his return to Chanaan, came to a division of lands with Lot, the shepherds having had some quarrel about the bounds of their pasture. Abraham gave Lot the choice, contenting himself with what the other left, and took up his habitation in the city of Hebron, which was seven years older than Tanis in Egypt. Lot planted himself in the fields and plains that bordered upon the river Jordan, not far from Sodom; which Sodom was at that time a glorious city, but since laid in ashes by divine vengeance, and so totally ruin-

ed, that the very memory of it is destroyed from off the earth. But of this we shall give the reasons in their proper place.

CHAP. X.

The Sodomites defeated by the Assyrians, and Lot taken Prisoner.

WHILE the empire of Asia was in the hands of the Assyrians, and Sodom in a condition so rich and populous, that five kings, viz. Ballas, Barlas, Senabar, Symobar, and the king of the Ballinians, had the administration of the government, and every king absolute in his own territory; in those days, I say, the Assyrians took the field with a mighty army, and marched against Sodom in four strong bodies, well disciplin'd, and commanded by brave and experienc'd officers, who after a bloody fight utterly defeated them; hereupon they imposed a tribute upon the kings of Sodom, which they paid for twelve years; but the year following they fail'd, and forfeited. The Assyrians upon this advanced against them a second time with another army as before, under the command of Amraphel, Arioch, Chodollogomor,* and Thabal; ravaged all Syria, subdued the race of the giants, and so enter'd the land of Sodom, encamping in the valley among the brimstone-pits, which in those days were very common thereabouts; but since the destruction of Sodom, that valley is turned into a lake called Asphaltites, of which hereafter. This battle betwixt the Assyrians and the Sodomites was a terrible engagement; for the Sodomites were all either kill'd, or taken prisoners, of which latter number was Lot, who came to the relief of the place.

Gen. xiv. 1.

Five kings of Sodom defeated by the Assyrians, Gen. xiv. 10.

Lot taken prisoner, Ver. 12.

CHAP. XI.

Abraham routs and pursues the Assyrians, rescues Lot and the rest of the Prisoners. Melchisedech treats Abraham, and Abraham presents Melchisedech with a tenth of the Spoil. God promises Abraham a Son. Abraham sacrifices. Sarah brings Hagar to Abraham's Bed, which creates an Envy. Hagar flies, and is comforted by an Angel. Ishmael born. Isaac promised. The Institution of Circumcision.

ABRAHAM had no sooner heard the news of the Sodomites defeat, so many of his neighbours and friends killed and taken, and his kinsman Lot made a prisoner, but he posted away immediately after the Assyrians, and the fifth night after his setting out, surprized them in their quarters near Dan, one of the heads of the river Jordan, where he found them in all the confusion imaginable, some without their arms, others in bed, without the least thought of an enemy; some drunk, some asleep, and most of them in such a condition, that they could neither fight nor fly. In this disorder, Abraham put as many to the sword as he could, and the next day pursued the rest as far as Soba of Damascus. This therefore may serve for an instance, that it is not so much the number and multitude, as the valour of

Abraham routs the Assyrians, Ver. 15.

* Scr. Chedolaomer.

Abraham re-
scues Lot and
his fellow-pri-
soners, Gen.
xiv. 16.

the combatants that gains the victory; for Abraham had but barely three hundred and eighteen of his own domesticks, and three auxiliary friends, when he routed this numerous army; and those few of the enemy that escap'd, were fain to fly home with shame and confusion. Thus Abraham return'd to his people again with victory and peace, having rescued, and set Lot and the rest of the prisoners at liberty again.

Melchise-
dech treats
Abraham,
Ver. 18.

As Abraham was upon his return home, the king of Sodom met him at a place called the Royal Plain, to congratulate his success, and there he was received by Melchisedech the king of Solyma, now called Jerusalem. Melchisedech is as much as to say, a righteous king, which certainly this prince was, having been accounted worthy by common consent to serve at the altar as a priest of the most high God. This Melchisedech treated Abraham's followers and soldiers with great bounty, hospitality, and all sorts of refreshments; inviting Abraham himself to his table, and extolling him up to the skies for so noble an achievement, and glorifying God's holy name for the blessing of so signal a victory, in a way of thanksgiving worthy of his sacred character. Abraham also on the other hand presented Melchisedech with the tenth of the spoils he had taken, which he accepted of. Abraham made an offer of part of the booty to the king of Sodom also, whose answer was, that he only desired to have his own people again, who had been taken prisoners by the Assyrians, and were now rescued out of their hands; and for the rest, Abraham might do with it as he pleased. But Abraham excused himself from dealing upon those conditions, declaring that he was absolutely resolved to accept no share of the booty himself, more than was sufficient to supply his men with provisions, and to reward Elchol, Enner, and Mambres, his three friends, who had stood the shock of the battle.

God promises
Abraham a
son, Gen. xv.
4

God was so well pleased with the generous sincerity of Abraham, that he assured him these good deeds of his should never pass unrewarded. "And what, good Lord, says this holy man then, will all thy bounties and rewards to come avail a person who hath never a child to leave them to, or an heir to succeed him." (Abraham being as yet childless.) Whereupon God not only promised him a son, but the blessing also of a posterity, which should be, "As the stars of the Heaven for number." Upon the hearing of these words, Abraham overjoy'd, offer'd up a sacrifice according to the express command and direction of Almighty God. He took a heifer, a goat, and a ram, of three years old each, a turtle-dove, and a pigeon; the birds he kept whole, dividing the rest into halves, according to his order. While the altar was making ready, and birds of prey hovering up and down over the place, waiting for the blood of the carcases, a voice was heard from Heaven, foretelling the bondage that the posterity of Abraham should suffer in Egypt from malicious enemies, for the space of four hundred years, at the end of which term they should over-run the whole territory of the Chanaanites, and make themselves masters

Abraham sa-
crifices, Ver.
10.

The Egyp-
tian bondage
foretold, Ver.
13.

of all their cities and dominions, from Egypt as far as Sidon.

ABRAHAM at this time dwelt near the oak of Ogyge, as they called it, a place not far from Hebron, where he passed his days very uncomfortably in the thought of his wife's barrenness, and the want of issue; but still continuing to solicit Almighty God with daily prayers and supplications for a male child. Upon these importunities, God not only continued his former promise to him of a child, but gave him repeated assurances, that he should receive all the other good things also which he promised him upon his quitting Mesopotamia.

WHILE things were at this pass, Sarah by a particular direction from Heaven brought Hagar, an Egyptian servant in the family, to bed to her husband, in hopes he might have children by her. This maid proving with child, behaved herself insolently to her mistress upon a vain presumption, that the child she had in her belly would in course be next heir to the government. Abraham was no sooner aware of this ingratitude, but he immediately delivered her up into Sarah's hand, to chastise her as she thought fit, which to the maid was so insupportable a mortification, that she resolved to fly the place upon it, calling upon God still to pity her in that miserable condition. As she was upon the way in her flight, and passing through a desert, an Angel from Heaven met her, and ordered her back again to the place from whence she came; adding, that this affliction had befallen her, only as a punishment for her arrogance and unthankfulness; denouncing at the same time present destruction upon her, if she continued obstinate, and contemn'd the commandments of God; but in case she obey'd the admonition, and returned back again, she should live to be the mother of a child, that in time should come to have the dominion of that country. She obeyed the voice of the Angel, went back to her mistress, begged her pardon, and obtain'd it; and some time after this, she was delivered of Ishmael, (which signifies prevail'd upon,) God having heard and granted the prayers of the mother.

Gen. xvi.

Sarah brings
Hagar to
Abraham's
bed, Ver. 3:

Hagar's con-
tempt of Sa-
rah, Ver. 5.

Hagar flies,
and is com-
forted by an
angel, Ver.
10, 11.

Ishmael born,
Ver. 15.

ABRAHAM was eighty six when he begot Ishmael, and at the age of ninety nine, God appeared to him, and told him that his wife Sarah should bear him a son, with a command to call him Isaac, foretelling also that mighty kings and nations should come out of him, and make themselves masters by force of arms of the whole land of Chanaan, from Sidon to Egypt. And God commanded farther for distinction sake, betwixt the race of Abraham and other nations, with whom there was to be no intermixture, that all his posterity should be circumcised on their privities at eight days old, not only for the distinction aforesaid, but for some other reasons also hereafter to be declared. Abraham then consulted God about the life of Ishmael, and received answer that he should live long, and be the father of many great and famous nations; whereupon Abraham gave God thanks, and was immediately circumcised with his whole family, and likewise Ishmael, who was now thirteen years of age, and Abraham about ninety nine.

The institu-
tion of cir-
cumcision,
Ver. 10.

CHAP. XII.

The Destruction of Sodom by the just Judgment of God, for the execrable Wickedness of the People.

The wickedness of Sodom, Gen. xviii. and xix.

ABOUT this time the people of Sodom were so puffed up with pride in the contemplation of their prodigious wealth and plenty, that they behaved with unparallel'd insolence towards men, and irreverence towards God. They were ungrateful for benefits received to the highest degree, inhospitable to strangers, and burnt in unnatural lusts one towards another. By these provoking and abominable sins, the wrath of God was so highly incensed against them, that he took up a determination to avenge himself upon them for their arrogance and pride, and to destroy their cities, and lay their whole country waste, that for the time to come, the ground there should produce no more grass, nor any plant or fruit for the use of man.

Abraham entertains three angels, Gen. xviii. 2.

THIS resolution being taken, and the sentence passed upon the Sodomites, as Abraham was sitting one day at his tent door under the oak of Mambre, he saw three angels coming towards him, who to him seemed strangers or travellers. He rose up to meet them, and so after the first salutation and embrace, he gave them a fair invitation to the best entertainment his roof could afford. They accepted of his civility, and so his servants were presently appointed to bake him a cake, and a calf was also killed and dressed; which being made ready, the treat was set before the angels under the oak where they lay. They gave him thanks, and in appearance fed upon it. But while the meat was yet before them, they enquired of Abraham where his wife Sarah was, who made answer, that she was within there in the tent. Upon this they stood up as to go their way, telling Abraham that it would not be long before they should come that way again, and that by that time they should find Sarah a mother. Upon these words Sarah was called in, and could not forbear smiling to hear them speak of her having a child at that time of the day, for she herself was ninety years of age, and her husband a hundred. When they had proceeded thus far, the angels cast off their disguise, owned who they were, and gave up an account of their commission. One of them, they said, was sent to bring Abraham the tidings of a son that was to be born, and the other two were employ'd for the destruction of Sodom. The latter struck Abraham with grief and concern, for the sake of the Sodomites; insomuch, that he got up and begged of God that he would be pleased not to destroy the innocent together with the guilty. God gave him for answer, that they were all alike, and that if there were but ten righteous men in the whole city, he would spare all the rest for that ten's sake. After this declaration, Abraham urged not one word more in their behalf.

Two of the angels are Lot's guests, Gen. xix. 1.

THE two Angels departed, and went into Sodom, and Lot observing them, invited them to a lodging in his house. Now Lot was naturally humane, and courteous to strangers, and

the very counterpart of Abraham for piety and good-nature. But so it fell out, that the inhabitants of the town taking notice that two beautiful graceful persons entered into Lot's house, pressed hard upon Lot to force their way into his lodgings, with a design of attempting some violent act of brutality upon their persons. Lot said all that was possible upon the subject of continence and hospitality, to divert them from such an outrageous act of lewdness; nay, and rather than fail, offered them his two daughters in exchange for the two strangers; but this would not satisfy them neither. God being provok'd at their diabolical impudence and insolence, struck them upon the very place with so judicial a blindness, that they could not find the way into the house, the whole people of Sodom being at the same time doomed to an exemplary perdition.

Lot's house beset, Ver. 4.

The Sodomites struck with blindness, Ver. 11.

Now Lot who had been forewarned of this approaching calamity, withdrew out of the city, with his wife and two maidens, her contracted daughters. The persons to whom they were espoused, were also earnestly invited to accompany them out, but they turned all his admonitions into ridicule, looking upon them as the effects of a distemper'd brain, and so staid behind, and shared the common fate in the general conflagration. Then it was that God discharged the fierce arrows of his wrath and vengeance upon this impious generation, consuming not only the city itself, and every living soul in it, but destroying also the whole country thereabouts with the same irreparable desolation, as may also be seen in my commentaries upon the wars of the Jews. The wife of Lot who went out with her husband, whether out of curiosity or tenderness, could not forbear looking behind her, to survey the destruction of the city, though directly contrary to the command of God, and was turned into a pillar of salt.* I have view'd it myself, and it remains to this day.

Lot withdraws out of the city, Ver. 16.

Sodom consumed with fire, Ver. 24.

Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt, Ver. 26. Lot and his family fly to Zoar, Ver. 23.

LOT and his daughters after this terrible judgment, in order to save themselves, fled into a little corner of the country call'd Zoar, (in Hebrew, Small,) the only place which this devouring fire had spar'd. In this retreat they led a solitary uneasy life, for want both of conversation and provision. The daughters looked upon themselves in that solitude, as in effect the only survivors of mankind, and therefore so far consulted common convenience in this extremity, as to reckon any thing warrantable that they found necessary, especially where the conservation of the whole race of mankind was the question. On this consideration they contrived the putting of a trick upon their father, by stealing to bed to him at a time when he knew not what he did; upon which they both proved with child of boys. The son of the elder was call'd Moab, (in Hebrew, of my father,) that of the younger was Ammon, (or of my race.) The one was the father of the Moabites, a mighty people yet in being; the other of the Ammonites, and they both inhabit Coele-Syria. Thus it was that Lot made his escape from the fire of Sodom.

Lot's incest, Ver. 33, &c.

Moab and Ammon, Ver. 37, 38.

* See Colomelius's Observat. Sacr. p. 111., & Huetius's Alnet. Quæst. l. ii. p. 193.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Abimelech, and likewise of Ishmael the Son of Abraham, and the Arabians his Posterity.

Abraham withdraws with Sarah to Gerar, Gen. xx. 1. Abimelech falls in love with Sarah, Ver. 2.

Cautioned against it in a dream, Ver. 3.

Abimelech excuses himself, Ver. 9.

Berube, or the well of the oath, Gen. xxi. 31.

The birth of Isaac, Ver. 2.

AS for Abraham, he withdrew himself to Gerar in Palestine, and took Sarah along with him, still under colour of his sister, as before, for fear of Abimelech the king of the place. Now this Abimelech did afterwards fall in love with her, and would have corrupted her, or attempted it at least, if the hand of God had not, in the heat of his appetite and design, prevented him by a desperate fit of sickness. So ill he was, that the physicians despaired of his life; and in the height of his distemper he had a caution given him in a dream, not to offer any violence to Sarah, for she was the stranger's wife, not his sister. Abimelech some short time after, finding himself in a hopeful way of recovery, called his friends about him, and told them of his passion, and of his dream, and every thing that had passed, with this inference upon the whole, that his present sickness was a judgment upon him for an inordinate love. Upon this, by the advice of the people about him, he sent for Abraham, and gave him all assurance that his wife's honour was safe, for God had supported and protected her, and he did now restore her to him as unspotted as he found her, appealing to God and her own conscience for the truth of what he said, and protesting that if he had but known her to have been his wife, he would never have attempted her, desiring him likewise to pass it all over, and to remember him in his prayers to Almighty God to forgive him. He told him further, that if he had a mind to stay, he should be welcome, and sufficiently provided for; or if he had rather depart, he should have guides and carriages to attend him, and all manner of conveniences along with him, which he might have any occasion for when he came into that country. Abraham, in return to what Abimelech had said, did in some sort justify the calling of Sarah his sister, being the daughter of his brother, and so of the kindred; and that he had made use of this pretence as a security to him in his travels. Neither could he charge himself, he said, as the cause of Abimelech's sickness; but in conclusion he wished him well with all his heart, and should be glad to continue with him. Matters being thus reconciled, the king very generously gave Abraham a portion both of lands and money, contracted an alliance with him upon condition of a fair correspondence betwixt them, without fraud or guile, and the league was struck and ratified at a certain well called Berube, (or the well of the oath,) which is the name it beareth to this very day.

SOME little time after this, Sarah brought Abraham a son, (as God had foretold,) and they named him Isaac, (in Hebrew, laughter,) alluding to Sarah's smiling at the improbability of her having a child at those years, as the angel had foretold; she herself being ninety

years of age, and her husband a hundred when Isaac was born. Upon the eighth day he was circumcised, and the Jews observe the same time and solemnity of circumcision unto this day. The Arabians indeed are not circumcised till the thirteenth year, as Ishmael was, the son of Abraham by his concubine, and the person from whom they derive their original. But of him more particularly in what I am about to say.

SARAH had at first as tender an affection for Ishmael the son of her handmaid Hagar, as if he had been her own flesh and blood; besides, that he was also trained up and educated with infinite care and respect, as the presumptive heir of the government. But when Isaac came to be born, Sarah did not think it secure or reasonable to have the two children brought up together, for Ishmael was so much the elder, that in case of Abraham's death, he might find himself under some temptation, perhaps, to supplant the other; so that Sarah for fear of this, employed all the power she had with Abraham, to have both mother and child sent away and disposed of in some remote country. Abraham at the first motion was utterly against it, as a barbarous cruelty to expose an innocent helpless child, and a necessitous mother to the wide world at that inhuman rate; but Abraham at length being over-ruled by God's command, hearken'd to the voice of his wife, and delivered the boy, who was not yet big enough to shift for himself, into the arms of his mother; gave her a proportion of water and bread for a subsistence, and so turned them loose to seek their fortunes. They had not travelled far before their provisions failed them, the water was all spent, the child ready to perish for want of drink, and the woman in short at her wits end. In this distress she laid the boy down at the foot of a fir-tree, and went off herself to some distance, that she might not see so dismal a spectacle as that would have been, of her poor child in his last agonies. While Hagar was in this anxiety and despair, there came an angel to her, which shewed her a fountain hard by, and bad her be sure to look carefully to her charge, for it was a matter of great moment, and her own happiness depended in a great measure upon the safety of that child. This consolation put the woman somewhat in heart again, so that she continued wandering on still, till by providence she fell into the company of shepherds, who contributed very much to her relief.

WHEN Ishmael was grown up to man's estate, his mother married him to one of her own country, an Egyptian woman, who brought him twelve sons, * Nabaioth, Cedar, Abdeel, Mabsamas, Masmaus, Idumus, Massaus, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphaith, Cadmas; who had in their possession all the lands from Euphrates to the Red-Sea. The country is called Nabathæa; and these were they that gave both reputation and names to the nation and tribes of the Arabians, by their own valour and the dignity of Abraham.

* These are writ after the following manner in Gen. xxv. 13, 14, 15. Nebajoth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah.

C H A P. XIV.

God commands Abraham to sacrifice his beloved Son Isaac. Isaac's Faith and Obedience, and the Blessing that attended it.

God tries
Abraham,
Gen. xxii. 1.

God demands
Isaac for a sa-
crifice, Ver. 2.

Abraham's
faith and obe-
dience, Ver. 3.

Abraham's
discourse to
Isaac before
the altar,
Ver. 8.

ISAAC was the only begotten son of Abraham, sent him by God as the blessing of his age, and infinitely dear to him upon that account. But in the mean time, this tender affection of the parents was both answered and justified by the early piety, virtue, and reverence (towards God and man) of a child that deserved it. When Abraham found himself secured in the prospect of so excellent a successor, he was no longer solicitous for his own life, or the things of this world, but placed his whole trust upon the hope of his next heir, with a cheerful disposition to resign his authority and possessions to his beloved son, and his very being to God and his good pleasure. But it pleased the Lord still after all this, to make a further trial of his integrity, and so enumerating to him the great things he had already done for him, the victories, the wealth, the happiness, and the child, all which he had received from his bounty, he demanded, in fine, his dear and only son Isaac for a sacrifice, and to be offered on a mountain of Moriah, upon an altar there, as the utmost proof of his faith and obedience. Now Abraham, who lov'd and honour'd God without any conditions or reserve, made no difficulty of resolving without the least scruple to deliver up the life of his son to the will of his maker, and the author of life itself; so that without one word speaking to his wife, or any of his people, either of the command, or of his purpose, lest peradventure they might oppose him in it, he took his son Isaac with two of his servants, and an ass laden with necessaries for the sacrifice, and with them set forward two days' journey towards the mountain. But approaching on the third day within sight of the mountain, where David afterwards built a temple, he took Isaac alone with him up into it, and left his servants below in the field. Isaac was now twenty five years of age, and taking notice as he was preparing for the altar, that all things were ready for the sacrifice, but no sacrifice to be seen, he asked his father what offering he intended, for he saw none? Abraham made answer, that God would provide one, in whose power it was to give to those that want, and to take away from those that have abundance, and all for the best to them who put their trust in God; wherefore he might take it for granted, that God would find the sacrifice, if he should vouchsafe to accept of an oblation.

So soon as the wood was laid, and every thing made ready, "My dear son, says he, thou hast been the child of many prayers to me, and since thy coming into the world, I have spared for nothing in thy nurture and education. There is not any happiness I have more wished for, than to see thee settled in a consummated state of age and reason, and whenever God shall take me to

himself, to leave thee in possession of my authority and dominions; but since it hath pleased God, first to bestow thee upon me, and now to call thee back again, my dear son, acquit thyself generously under so pious a necessity. It is to God that thou art dedicated and delivered up on this occasion, and it is the same God who now requires thee of me in return for all the blessings and favours he had shower'd down upon us both in war and peace. It is but according to the law of nature for all that are born, to die; and a more glorious end thou canst never have than to fall by the hand of thine own father, a sacrifice to the God and father of the universe, who hath rather chosen to receive thy soul into a blessed eternity upon the wing of prayers and ardent ejaculations, than suffer thee to be taken away by sickness, war, passion, or any other of the common chances of mankind. Consider it well, and thou wilt find, that in that heavenly station to which thou art now called, thou mayst make thyself the true support of thy aged father, and that instead of my son Isaac, I shall have God himself for my guardian."

ISAAC attended to all that had been said, with a constancy and resignation becoming the son of so great a father; declaring, that if he should not frankly deliver up that life to God and his father, which they themselves had given him, he had better never have been born; nay, that it was at the devotion even of his father alone, if he should require it. With these words Isaac advanced up to the altar, and presented himself to the slaughter; but upon the very point of doing the execution, God Almighty called aloud to Abraham, and prevented it. "He bad him hold his hand, and spare his son; for, says he, I did not require it of you out of any delight I take in human blood, or that I would make a father the assassin of that very child which I myself had given him, but to see how far you would submit to your God, in a self-denial to your inclination and nature. But now since I find your piety to be proof against all temptations, I do here confirm over again to you all my former promises. I do accept of your sacrifice, and for yourself and your posterity, my providence shall never forsake you. I will bless your son Isaac with long life, and make his offspring illustrious, by a numerous succession of great and virtuous men. His posterity shall give laws to many nations; they shall subdue the land of Chanaan by the sword, and their wealth and renown shall make them the envy of the rest of the world."

So soon as God had made an end of speaking, there appeared most unexpectedly a ram for a sacrifice. Upon this surprize the father and the son, in a transport of joy, exchanged all sorts of endearments; blessing God for his gracious promises and infinite goodness, and thereupon offering a up their sacrifice. That duty being over, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily after it; for God's blessing went along with them in whatever they did.

A voice from
Heaven bids
Abraham
hold his
hand, Ver. 12.

A ram for a
sacrifice, sup-
plies the
place of Isaac,
Ver. 13.

CHAP. XV.

The age and death of Sarah.

The age and death of Sarah, Gen. xxiii, 1, 2.

NOT long after this Sarah died, being a hundred twenty and seven years of age. She was buried in Hebron, and the Chanaanites would have given her the solemnity of an interment, but Abraham chose rather to buy a burying-place for himself and his family, which he did of one Ephraim, an inhabitant of Hebron, at the price of four hundred shekels*, where the monuments of himself and divers of his posterity are yet to be seen.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Abraham and his wife Chetura, and their posterity the Troglodytes. Isaac marries Rebecca.

Abraham's children by Chetura, and their offspring.

AFTER the death of Sarah, Abraham took to wife Chetura, by whom he had six sons, men of industry and wisdom; their names were † Zembran, Jazar, Madan, Madian, Jozubac, and Suus.

Suus had two Sons, Sabathan and Dadan, who had Latufim, Affur, and Luom. Madian had five sons, Ephra, Opher, Enoch, Ebidas, and Eldas.

THESE people, upon Abraham's advice, dispersed themselves into colonies; and took possession of the country of the Troglodytes, and that part of Arabia Felix which lies towards the Red-Sea. There is a report that it was this same Opher who entered Libya with a powerful army, and over-ran the country. His successors held it after him, and gave it the name of Aphrica. Alexander Polyhistor is of this opinion, when he says that Cleodemus the prophet, otherwise called Malchus, in a history of the Jews, which he has written after the manner of Moses their Law-giver, makes mention of several children that Abraham had by Chetura, and three by name, i. e. Apheran, Surim, and Japhran; the Syrians taking their names from Surim, and the city of Aphra and Aphrica theirs from Japhran and Apheran. These are the people who are said to have fought against Libya and Antæus under the command of Hercules. And the story goes, that this Hercules married the daughter of Aphra, and had by her Dedor the father of Sophon, from whence the barbarous Sophaces derived their name.

The fable of Hercules.

Abraham propounds a match for his son Isaac with Rebecca the grand-daughter to Nachor, Gen. xxiv. 4.

The Formality of an oath, ver. 2.

ISAAC was at this time about forty years of age, when his father had some thoughts of marrying him to Rebecca the grand-daughter of his brother Nachor. The resolution being taken to attempt that match, he sends the most approved and trusty servant he had on the errand; but first gives him his oath in form, to be true to his trust, which was performed by putting his hand under his thigh, according to the custom of the country. This being done, he gives him his commission and instruction, with full power and authority to treat and conclude; and having furnished him with choice and rich presents, such as were seldom

or never seen in that country, and accommodated him with necessaries suitable for his journey, he sends him forward. His way lay thorough Mesopotamia, which, betwixt dirt in the winter, want of water in the summer, and the inevitable danger of robbers, if people be not very cautious, is a very troublesome and incommodious passage for travellers. But yet after all these difficulties, he came at last to Charran, where, upon entering the suburbs, he saw a great many young maiden women going to the wells for water: Upon which sight, he put up a mental prayer to God Almighty, desiring, that if heaven approved of the match he came about, he might find Rebecca in that company; and further, that he might know which which was she, by her giving him water upon his desiring it, and the rest refusing. This thought ran in his head till he came to the well, where the virgins being gotten together, he begged of them one by one to bestow the charity of a draught of water upon him. One said, she had taken a great deal of pains to get it, and could not part with it so easily; another, that she drew water for herself and not for other people; some made one excuse, some another, but all upon the negative, till at last, one single virgin chid her companions for want of good nature and civility to a stranger, and asking them whether they had been educated among reasonable creatures or brutes, that could deny a stranger the common rights of hospitality for so small a matter: whereupon she herself, with great courtesy and freeness gave the stranger to drink. This was as auspicious an entrance upon his business as he could have wished: but yet for sureness sake, after the prologue of a decent respect to the person of the virgin, and a declaration how much he was obliged to her for her civilities to a stranger, he came by degrees to the more necessary point of enquiring into her family and extraction, blessing the happy parents of so gracious a daughter, with a thousand prayers that they might live to bestow her where she would enjoy all the comforts of a married state, in the love of a kind and virtuous husband, and a numerous stock of obedient children. Rebecca, without any ceremony at all, courteously answered his question; "My father's name (says she) was Bathuel; but he died a long time since, and left my mother and myself, with the whole family and fortune, under the care of a brother of mine yet living, whose name is Laban, and mine is Rebecca." The Man was overjoy'd at what he had heard and seen, being now fully assured that God would prosper his journey. Upon this he took out a chain, and some other ornamental curiosities, that women of Rebecca's age are commonly well enough pleased with, and made the virgin a present of them; both as an instance of his esteem for her singular goodness, and as an acknowledgment of the particular obligation she had laid upon him. He made it his request then, that for that night he might be permitted to lodge with the family of her relations; for it was grown late, and would

The civility and good nature of Rebecca, ver. 18, 19, &c.

What passed betwixt Abraham's servant and Rebecca, ver. 23.

* The shekel here meant was the common shekel of silver, in value about two shillings, one penny, and three 8ths in our money; so that four hundred of them must amount to 40 l. 5 s. 10 d. or thereabouts.

† Gen. xxv. 2, 3, &c. Zimran, Jockshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. And Jokshan begat Sheba and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Ashurim, and Letushim, and Leummim. And the sons of Midian Ephah, and Ephra, and Hanoah, and Abidah, and Eldaah: all these were the children of Keturah.

be dangerous and incommodious travelling further; beside, that he had a charge of rich jewels and costly womens apparel with him, which he could not think any where safer than in the hands of persons of so approved an integrity; for he presumed to make a judgment of the honour and integrity of the mother and son, by the goodness that he had experimented in herself; adding further, that he hoped there would be no scruple made of entertaining a stranger, who would bear his own expences, without the least charge or burden to the family. The maid reply'd, that he was much in the right to think well of the humanity of her relations; but she desired him however to have a better opinion of their generosity, for it should cost him nothing: but she would nevertheless, she said, ask her brother's leave to introduce him. Which was

Laban entertains Abraham's servant Ver. 31, &c.

He communicates his instructions. Ver. 34, 35, &c.

soon granted, and done accordingly. He was no sooner brought in, but Laban's servants were ordered to look to his camels, and himself invited into supper with the master of the house. When supper was over, the guest addressed himself to the son, and the mother of the family after this manner: "I am come hither from Abraham, the son of Thares, and your kinsman; for Nachor (addressing himself to Rebecca's mother) the grandfather of your children, was Abraham's brother by the same father and mother. This Abraham is my master, and from him I now come with a commission to propose a marriage betwixt this virgin here, and his only legitimate son and heir. He could have had his choice of the most considerable matches in his own country, but out of a preference to those of his own blood, he has rather made this election. Pray do not oppose it, for God himself hath appeared in favour of it; and it was a strange direction from heaven that brought me both to this virgin and to your house, over and above several propitious circumstances that happened to me in my journey. As I was coming into this town, I saw a great many maidens going to fetch water, when I pray'd in my heart that I might find this very virgin; and providence directed me to her: so that this marriage is as good as made in heaven already, and wants only your authority to confirm it." This proposal was so advantageous and desirable in itself, and so manifestly consentaneous to the will of God, that Rebecca was delivered up to the servant upon the conditions of the treaty, who carry'd her home with him to Isaac, being now the lord and master of Abraham's possessions; for the children that Abraham had by Chetura were gone to plant in other provinces.

The match concluded, and Rebecca deliver'd up, Ver. 59.

CHAP. XVII.

The death of Abraham.

The death, age, and burial of Abraham, Gen. xxv. Ver. 7, 8, 9.

ABRAHAM lived but a short time after the marriage of Isaac: A man conspicuous for his piety and virtue, and beloved both of God and man. His age was one hundred and seventy five years when he died. He was buried at Hebron, and laid by his wife Sarah; Isaac and Ishmael taking upon them the care of his burial.

CHAP. XVIII.

The birth of Esau and Jacob. Esau's Wives. Isaac sends Esau a hunting; but being in years, and dim-sighted, Jacob personates and supplants him; and the father blesses one for the other.

SOON after the decease of Abraham, Isaac's wife was found to be with child: and her bigness so extraordinary, that Isaac under a great concern, besought God to reveal unto him the meaning of it. He received for answer that she should bring forth twins; and that from those two twins, two nations should descend of their own name; and that in process of time, the younger should be the greater of the two. This fell out accordingly not long after; for Rebecca had twins, the elder of them all hairy from head to foot, and the other catching him by the heel as he was coming into the world. The elder was the father's darling, and his name Esau or Scir, (which word in Hebrew signifies Hair,) and the younger, whose name was Jacob, the mother's.

Jacob and Esau twins, Gen. xxv. 24, 25.

THERE happened in those days to be a terrible famine in the land of Chanaan, and at the same time great plenty of every thing in Egypt, whither Isaac fully purposed to have gone; but God diverted him, and so he went to Gerar. King Abimelech treated him there with all the appearance of respect imaginable, at first, upon the account of that antient league of friendship and alliance which had formerly passed betwixt himself and Abraham; but this was not likely to continue long in a man who sacrificed all other considerations to his envy. He found that Isaac was more in God's favour than himself, and so turned him off. Isaac perceived that this change of humour proceeded only from envy, and so withdrew to a place called the valley, not far from Gerar. And as he was there digging for water, Abimelech's shepherds assaulted him in a violent and outrageous manner, and stopt his proceeding. He had no mind to contend, so that the shepherds seemed to have the better of him. Upon this he went a little further, and digged a second time, and was again interrupted by Abimelech's shepherds, as before: whereupon he thought it good discretion to leave off there too, and wait the providence of a more favourable occasion. After this he made a third attempt, and the king then gave him leave to dig, and he gave the place the name of *Roobath, (as much as to say, Large or Spacious.) And for the other places before-mentioned, the former he called Escon (or Contention;) and the other Sitenna, which signifies Enmity.

A famine in Chanaan, Gen. xxvi. 1.

Isaac goes to Gerar, ibid. Abimelech kind to him at first, and then breaks with him, Ver. 11 to 16.

ISAAC's power, interest, and reputation encreasing daily, Abimelech had an eye upon him, as a growing adversary; for he was conscious of his own insincerity, and not without some apprehension that the countenance he shewed at first, compared with his unfriendly dealing afterward, might provoke him to a revenge; beside that he would not willingly have such a man his enemy. These things premised and considered, Abimelech went directly to Isaac, with a motion to renew an alliance with him; taking one of his great officers and friends along with him for a party to the treaty. Isaac's

Abimelech renews his alliance with Isaac, ver. 31.

* The Scripture has it Rehoboth, Eshek, and Sitnah, Gen. xxvi. 20, 21, 22.

good-nature was easily prevailed upon to lay aside all former animosities, out of a reverence to the memory of the former friendships and good offices, which had passed betwixt Abimelech and his father; and so all things were brought to an amicable accommodation.

Esau's wives,
Gen. xxviii. 9.

ESAU, the beloved son of his father Isaac, at forty years of age married two wives, Adah the daughter of Elon, and * Alibama the daughter of † Esbion, persons of quality and distinction among the Chanaanites. Now this he did upon his own head and fancy, without ever consulting his father; or if he had, he would hardly have given his consent; having taken up a firm resolution never to enter into any sort of alliance with that people. But, however, the thing being done, could not be undone, and Isaac thought it his best course rather to pass it over in silence, without noise, than to put it to the extremity of making him turn the women away.

Isaac sends
Esau a hunt-
ing, Gen.
xxvii. 3.

ISAAC was now grown old, and very dim-sighted, if not quite blind. In this condition he call'd his son Esau to him; and prefacing what he had to say with somewhat of reflection upon his age and infirmity, he fell to lamenting his condition, that he was not able to serve God with that vigour of devotion now, as he had done formerly; and after this, he order'd his son Esau to go out a hunting, and provide him some good thing for his supper, saying, that he would afterwards give him his prayers and his blessing, and beseech God to be his comforter and protector to his life's end. "My dissolution, says he, I am very sensible is not far off; the time uncertain, and I cannot spend the remainder of my life better, than in prayers to God for thy welfare." Esau went presently out to see what he could catch, and in the mean while Rebecca bethought herself of a way to transfer the blessing to Jacob that was intended for Esau, out of a partiality of affection to the one, rather than the other; so she bad Jacob (but without the privacy, and against the very design of Isaac) go out and kill a kid, and have it dressed ready for supper. Jacob very punctually put his mother's commands in execution, without delay; and when supper was ready, having put kids skins over his arms and hands, that he might seem hairy, (the twins being in every other particular so alike that there was no distinguishing betwixt them,) he set it before his father; but with a thousand difficulties in his head, for fear of being detected in the imposture, and drawing a curse upon himself instead of a blessing. Isaac, it seems, taking notice of somewhat very particular in his son's voice, bad him come to him; and upon finding his hands all hairy, passed this reflection upon it; "The voice, says he, is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." And so without any further suspicion, he went to supper; and after that offered up a prayer suitable to the occasion, in words to this effect. "Eternal God, the creator of all things that are made, thou that hast been so gracious and bountiful to my father, to myself, and to our offspring; not only promising, but also bestowing on us all good things, and giving us assurances of greater blessings still to come; Lord, make thy words

Jacob performs
Esau, Ver. 19.

Ver. 22.

"good to us by effects, and do not despise thy servant for his present infirmities, which make him the more sensible of his need of thy support; preserve this child from all evil, in thy mercy and infinite goodness; give him a long and a happy life; bless him with all worldly enjoyments that may be for his good; make him a terror to his enemies, and an honour and a comfort to his friends."

Jacob de-
frauds Esau
of his blessing,
Ver. 27,
&c.

ISAAC had no sooner ended his prayer for Esau, as he thought, and intended it, but Esau himself returned from the chase, which gave Isaac to understand his mistake; but he did not think fit to make any words of it. When Esau came to be informed of what had passed, he besought his father only to bestow the same blessing upon himself over again, which he had pronounced upon his brother. But Isaac excused himself, that he could not either transfer, or take away the benediction he had already conferred. This disappointment drew tears from Esau, and his sorrow so far wrought upon the tenderness of his father, that all the blessings he had left, he gave him; that is to say, he declared to him, that he should be a famous hunter, and a great man at arms; and that he himself and his posterity should gain immortal honour by their exploits that way; but in the close, that he must be subject to his younger brother.

Esau's disappointment,
Ver. 34, &c.

JACOB was exceedingly afraid, lest his brother should revenge the injury, and Rebecca no less conscious of the provoking affront that was put upon him; so that she bethought herself of this way to divert the danger of it. She prevail'd with Isaac to dispatch Jacob away into Mesopotamia, to take a wife out of her alliance there. Esau finding how he had disobliged his father and relations, by matching with the Chanaanites, (whom they utterly abhorred,) had now taken to wife Basemath, the daughter of Ishmael, whom he lov'd the best of all his wives.

Jacob withdraws for fear
of his brother, Ver. 43.

Esau marries
an Ishmael-
itish woman,
Gen. xxviii. 9.

CHAP. XIX.

Jacob sent into Mesopotamia to treat about a match with Rachel, Laban's daughter. His visions upon the way. He treats with Laban, who imposes upon him.

BY the advice of Rebecca, and at her instigation, and with the consent of Isaac too, Jacob was sent away into Mesopotamia, to treat about a match there with the daughter of Rebecca's brother Laban. But the animosities being at that time so fierce and violent betwixt his family and the Chanaanites, and Jacob's way lying through the land of Chanaan, he durst not venture himself in any of their houses upon his journey, but took up his lodging in the open air, and made use of an heap of stones to lay his head upon, instead of a pillow. As he lay thus at rest, he had one night in his sleep this vision; he dreamt that he saw a ladder standing upon the earth, and the upper end of it reaching the Heavens, with certain glorious figures, that to his view seemed more than human, descending by the rounds of it; and from the top, God himself manifestly appearing, and speaking to Jacob

Jacob treats
about a match
with the
daughter of
Laban, Gen.
xxix. 18.

Jacob's vision
of the ladder,
Gen. xxviii.
12.

* Scr. Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon.

† Or Sibeon.

God speaks
to Jacob,
Ver. 13, &c.

by name in these words; "It is not for you, Jacob, that have in your veins the blood of your father and grandfather Isaac and Abraham, men remarkable for their faith and virtue, to despond under any diffidence of my care for you in your present troubles, but rather to support yourself in hopes of better things. Depend upon me for your protector, and assure yourself, that your best days are yet to come. It was I that brought Abraham out of Mesopotamia hither, when he was forc'd away by his relations; it was I that crown'd your father with blessings, and it is I again that resolve to do as much for you; wherefore take courage, and pursue your journey under my conduct and direction. The marriage you are now going about shall succeed to your wish; you shall be the father of dutiful children, and your issue shall increase without number. This land will I give to them and their posterity; and they shall people the whole earth, and the islands as far as the sun shines; wherefore let no labour or danger discourage you, but commit yourself to my care, not only at this present, but all ways."

Jacob makes
a vow, Ver.
20, 21.

JACOB was transported with joy at this vision and prediction, and anointed the stone in honour of that blessed revelation; making a vow at the same time, to erect an altar there, and offer sacrifice upon it, if ever it should please God to bring him home again in safety and prosperity; which vow he performed at his coming back, presenting to God the tenths of all his goods for an oblation. And further, for a memorial in reverence to the place, and what befel him there, he gave it the name of Bethel, or the house of God.

Bethel, or the
house of God,
Ver. 22.

Jacob comes
to Charran,
Gen. xxix. 4.

UPON this he pursued his journey to Mesopotamia, and after a tedious passage, he came to Charran, where he found several shepherds, young men and maidens, about a well, and drawing of water; he join'd the company, desired a little drink of them, and so by little and little fell to discourse with them, whether they knew one Laban thereabouts, or no; and if he were yet living. They all said they knew him, and so must every body, for he was a person of considerable note; his daughter and they fed their sheep together; and it was a wonder she was not come yet; that when she came, she could resolve him in whatever he wanted to know. The words were no sooner out of their mouths, but the daughter herself approached them, accompanied with her shepherds. They told Jacob, that was she, and then acquainted the virgin how that stranger there had been inquiring about her father. The maiden upon the sight of Jacob, with the gaiety of an innocent young creature, began to ask him questions, who he was, whence he came, and what was his business, demanding of him in a very obliging way, if there was any thing they could serve him in. Jacob was so mightily taken, both with the kinswoman and the gracefulness of her deportment, especially with the charms of her incomparable beauty, that at first sight he fell directly in love with her, and thus accosted her; "There hath been, says he, a great

He finds Rachel the
daughter of
Laban, Ver. 9.

Their discourse, Ver.
12, &c.

Rachel's incomparable
beauty, Ver.
17.

Jacob gives
her an account of the
two families,
Ver. 12.

friendship betwixt our two families, at least (if you are indeed the daughter of Laban) of a date long before either you or I were

born; for Abraham, Aran, and Nachor, were the sons of Thares; and Bathuel, your grandfather, was Nachor's son; Isaac is my father, begotten by Abraham upon Sarah the daughter of Aran; and we are nearer yet still; for Rebecca my mother is the sister of your father Laban, by the same father and mother; so that in the degrees of affinity, you and I are first cousins; and I am now come to greet you with all the offices of a friend and a kinsman toward the renewing of that kind agreement of ancient date." This brought into the mind of the virgin, what she had often heard her father say of Rebecca; and taking for granted how glad her parents would be to hear any tidings of that excellent person, the passion she had for the pleasing of her father, transported her to such a degree, that she burst out into tears, took Jacob about the neck, and kissed him, and then holding him in her arms, spake to him after this manner; "You are, says she, the bearer of the most agreeable news to my father and the whole family, that ever came under our roof. Good man! he was hardly ever well but when he was speaking of your mother; and I dare say, he would not exchange the felicity you have now brought him for any other happiness under the sun; wherefore, says she, not to deprive him any longer of the joy you are to carry him, follow me immediately." With these words she introduced him to Laban, where he was made known to his uncle, safe in the hands of his friends, and those friends of his overjoy'd at the providence of so unexpected a surprize. They had not been many days together, when Laban made an open profession of the satisfaction he had in his conversation, and that it was so great, he wanted words to express it. After this declaration, his curiosity made him a little inquisitive how he came to leave his father and mother in their extreme age, and when they could worst spare him; but assuring him withal, that whatever he could do in the world for him was at his service. Jacob, upon this, to satisfy his enquiry, gave him in short the whole history of their family. "My mother Rebecca, says he, had two twin sons, Esau and myself. Esau being disappointed of our father's blessing by an artifice of my mother's, to put me in my brother's place to receive it, he looks upon me for this as a supplanter of him in his right, as well to his father's vows and prayers, as to a kingdom and an inheritance which God had assign'd him; and for this circumvention he resolved to take away my life. Now to avoid this danger, and in obedience to my mother's command, I am come hither for sanctuary, as to the nearest relation she hath in the world; and next under God, I depend upon yourself for my security." Laban promised him all sorts of assistance and respects; not only for his own sake, but as the son likewise of his dear sister, whom he lov'd tenderly, at what distance soever. Laban told him further, that he would at present set him over his flocks, and give him authority over all the keepers of his sheep; and that if any time hereafter he should have a mind to return, he might assure himself of a consideration and reward answerable to the merit of such a kinsman. Jacob was well enough con-

Rachel's tenderness toward Jacob.]

Jacob's discourse with Laban.

The cause of Jacob's withdrawing himself.

tent to undergo the labour, provided he might continue in the family; and he told Laban as much, upon condition he might have Rachel in marriage for his service; a person that he loved not only for her singular worth and virtue, but as the providential instrument of introducing him into the family; professing that it was only his excess of love that made him speak what he did. Upon this profer, Laban immediately concluded the match, with all imaginable cheerfulness; solemnly protesting, that there was not a man in the world whom he would chuse for a son-in-law so soon as himself; only he must have patience to stay a while; for he should be loth to send his daughter so far as Chanaan; and truly he had almost repented sometimes of sending his sister thither too. Jacob submitted to wait, and so bound himself to his father-in-law for seven years, to shew that he had no other views in what he did, than that of love, generosity, and justice.

Jacob serves seven years for Rachel, Gen. xxix. 20.

Leah put upon Jacob for Rachel, ver. 23.

At the end of the term, and upon the precise day, Laban prepares the wedding-feast, and late at night, unperceived by Jacob, privately convey'd the elder sister to his bed instead of the younger; and so they lay together, wine and darkness contributing to complete the mistake. When Jacob came to awake in the morning, and find how he was imposed upon, he fell to expostulating the matter with Laban, as a violation of common faith and justice: Laban only excusing himself under the pretence of a necessity, without any malice at all, it being the custom of the country, he said, not to marry the younger sister before the elder: but this, says he, shall be no obstacle to your marrying of Rachel; for after seven years more, you shall have her bare-faced, and by day-light, when you may see and know what you do. Jacob, who was under the influence of a very strong and violent passion, could not but comply with his proposals, and so bound himself for the other seven years; after the expiration of which he had Rachel given him to wife.

The original of the Israelites, Gen. xxix & xxx.

THESE two sisters had two maidens allow'd them by Laban: *Zelphah was with Leah, and † Bala with Rachel; not in the quality of servants, but yet in subjection to them. Leah underwent great affliction of mind to see that her sister had a greater share in Jacob's affection than herself; but lived in hope still that the bringing of him children, which was her daily prayer, might gain her a greater share in his love. And in the end it did so; for being delivered of a son, whom she called || Rubel, (or divine mercy, for so the word signifies,) it wrought upon her husband's affections; and after this she had three other sons; Simeon, (i. e. God is favourable,) Levi, (i. e. the support of society,) and Judah, (that is to say, Thanksgiving.) Rachel was mightily in pain lest the fruitfulness of her sister might take off somewhat of Jacob's kindness to herself; and therefore contrived the putting of her woman Bala in her place, which she did accordingly, and Jacob had a son by her, called Dan, (i. e. the Judgment of God.) And a while after this, she brought him Nephthalim, (which signifies artificial;) alluding to Rachel's contending with her sister for children by craft. Leah after

this, made use of her sister's stratagem, and put in Zelphah to Jacob, by whom he had two sons; the first Gad, (or by chance,) and afterwards Aser, (which signifies Beautifying,) because they got honour by it.

ONE time, when the two sisters were got together, Rubel, the eldest son of Leah, brought his mother some Mandrake-apples, which Rachel would fain have had a part of; but the other told her with some passion, that it was too much to have her husband and her apples too; but Rachel, to pacify her, made her an offer of having Jacob to herself that night. Leah accepted it, and they lay together accordingly. Jacob after this had more children by Leah; as Issachar, (i. e. born for hire,) Zebulun, (that is, a pledge of love,) and a daughter named Dinah. Rachel stay'd a long time, and at last brought forth a son, whose name was Joseph, (or an addition.)

Rachel longs for Leah's Mandrakes.

It was already full twenty years that Jacob had served his father-in-law, in the quality of an overseer of his shepherds and herdsmen; so that it was now high time, he thought, to think of returning homeward again, and to take his wives along with him. But this was to be privately managed, since his father-in-law had absolutely refused to give him leave. He was not willing to come to any resolution, however, without consulting his wives first, to see how they stood affected to the journey. But finding them willing, they set out altogether without any delay: the two sisters and their women, and all their children, and all that belonged to them, and Jacob also, with one half of the flocks, without ever making Laban in the least acquainted with his intentions. Rachel took away with her the images of the Gods of the country, not out of any reverence she had for the idols; for her husband had taught her better things, and to contemn them; but she fancied to herself, that in case they should be pursued by her father and overtaken, by their help matters might be brought to a more easy composition.

Jacob steals away from Laban, Gen. xxxi. 17, 18.

THE day following, when Laban came to be informed of Jacob's departure by stealth, with his daughters, he called his people together in a fury, and with a strong body of men immediately pursued them. Upon the seventh day in the evening, they overtook them resting themselves upon a little hill; but being late, Laban and his people betook themselves quietly to their repose, without attempting any violence against them. That very night God appeared to Laban in his sleep, and bad him have a care not to offer any violence or indignity to his fugitive son-in-law and daughters, but rather dispose himself to make an amicable agreement, and cultivate a better understanding with them: "And do not you despise them, says the vision, for the smallness of their number; for if you do, I myself will fight their battles."

Laban overtakes him, ver. 25.

God warns Laban in his sleep not to hurt him, ver. 24.

LABAN early next day sent for Jacob, (who ventured to come to him in confidence,) and told him of the dream he had had; afterwards turning his discourse to reproaching and upbraiding him. "You cannot forget (says he) that I took you into my house a beggar, and a wretch indigent to the last degree; how generously I relieved and entertained

Laban reproaches Jacob, ver. 26, to 30.

Rachel veils away idols, V

A league twixt Laban and Jacob, Ver. 44.

* The Scripture calls her Zilpah.

† Scrip. Bilhan.

|| Scrip. Reuben.

"you, married you to my daughters as the highest obligation to an inviolable friendship and respect that I could lay upon you; And pray how comes it now, that without any regard to your mother and my sister, or to the alliance of blood betwixt us, the wives you have married out of my family, and the children of those wives who call me grandfather? How comes it, I say, after all this, that you should treat me at last at the rate of a profest enemy, seize my goods, force my daughters away from their parents, carry off the Gods of my country, which my forefathers have ever had so great a veneration for, as things most sacred? for you have laid your sacrilegious hands even upon them too; a violence which any honourable enemy would have forborn: And who is it that has done all this now, but my kinsman, my nephew, my son-in-law, my guest, and the man that I have fed at my own table!"

Jacob clears himself, Ver. 31, &c.

JACOB made answer, that he was not the only man who had a natural affection for his native country; and that after so long an absence, it was but reasonable to think of returning home again. As to the robbery or injustice, he was willing to appeal to any other judge than himself. "Now, says he, I expected rather that you should have given me thanks for managing and improving your estate, than think much of the small pittance I have taken out of it. And pray do not call it a violence neither upon your daughters; for as there is no evil intention in the case, so that which you mistake for a force is only a conjugal duty, both in my taking them away, and in accompanying their husband and their children." This he said in his own defence, and for the rest, only turned Laban's reproaches upon himself: wondering and complaining, that an uncle and a father-in-law, after the hardship of twenty years service, beside what he willingly suffered for the sake of Rachel, and more afterwards, should at last treat his son-in-law and kinsman at the rate of the worst of enemies. Jacob had great reason undoubtedly to complain of Laban's ill usage; who observing that God blessed Jacob in all he did, would be cajolling him with fine words, promising one while to give him all the white cattle that should be produced, another while all the black; and still as those designed for Jacob's part came to be the greater, he went from his word, and put it off to another year, in hopes to find it less then; but in case it should prove otherwise, with a resolution before-hand to depart from his promise.

Rachel conveys away the idols, Ver. 34.

As to the images, Laban having free liberty to search, Rachel convey'd them away into the stuffing of the camel's saddle, which she rode upon, and pretended to have the woman's sickness at that time upon her; Laban passed her over unsearched, upon a presumption, that in such a condition she would not come so near any thing that was sacred. Upon this, Laban entered into a league with Jacob, granted an act of oblivion to his daughters for all that was past, promising that for the future they should be as dear to him as ever they were, and all this was confirmed with an oath. The solemnity passed upon a certain mountain, where a pillar was erected in the form of an altar,

A league betwixt Laban and Jacob, Ver. 44, &c.

and they called it *Galad, as the hill of witness, which name was likewise given to the whole country thereabouts. After the ceremony of the league, they feasted together, and upon parting Laban returned to his own home.

* Scr. Galeed. Galad, or the hill of witness, Ver. 47.

C H A P. XX.

The greeting of Jacob and Esau.

JACOB went forward on his way towards Chanaan, and had several propitious visions in his passage, which gave him great hope of future success, calling the place where he saw them the Field of God. But the old grudge that Esau bore him was not yet out of Jacob's head, which made him send every where up and down to learn how his brother stood affected to him; beside several express messengers to find him out, with a commission in his name to address him to this effect.

Jacob's visions, Gen. xxxii. 1, 2.

"That Jacob finding himself under his brother's displeasure, voluntarily abandoned his country, and in confidence, that after so long an absence, all past unkindnesses are buried and forgotten, he is now returning with his wives, children, goods, and substances, to lay himself and all he has at his brother's feet; proposing to himself no greater happiness than to enjoy all the bounties which God in his goodness hath been pleased to bestow upon him, in common with his brother."

Jacob compliments, and presents Esau, Gen. xxxiii. 3, 4.

UPON the delivery of this message, Esau in a transport of joy advanced presently with a band of four hundred men to meet his brother. Jacob was not a little startled at the number; but put himself in a posture however, with God's assistance, to defend himself and his people in case of the worst. He disposed his body into two divisions; the one to advance, and the other to follow, within distance of either receiving or seconding the van, if it should come to an attack. When he had ordered his people after this manner, he sent his fore-runners to his brother with presents: some for use, others for curiosity, as creatures of burden, and several sorts of strange beasts that might be acceptable for their rarity sake. These were to march in loose order at some convenient distance, one after another, to make them appear more than they were; the messengers having this especially in charge, to behave themselves towards Esau with all possible smoothness and respect; not doubting but by this gentleness of proceeding to rectify all misunderstandings, if they were not already composed. It was a whole day's work to put Jacob's troops in order, and at night they marched. When they were got over the torrent of Jabac, Jacob being a little behind, a spectre engaged with him, and Jacob wrestling with this apparition had the better of him; whereupon a voice called out to him, and said, "Comfort thyself in what thou hast done, for it is not a common adversary that thou hast foiled, but an angel of the Lord. Take it for a presage, that your posterity shall continue for ever, and that you shall never be overcome." Upon this, he gave him the name of Israel, which in Hebrew signifies struggling with an angel of God. This was revealed to Jacob at his own request, and when he

Jacob wrestles with an angel, Gen. xxxii. 24, &c.

Jacob called Israel, or Struggling, Ver. 28.

Phanuel, or
the face of
God, Ver. 30.

found it was an angel spake to him, he befought them to reveal some other future events that were to befall him, which the spectre did, and so disappear'd. Jacob was so transported with what he had heard, that he gave this place the name of Phanuel,* (or the face of God.) He had a sinew of his thigh strain'd in the encounter, for which reason he would never afterward eat that part of any creature; and upon that account we do forbear it also to this day.

The greeting
of Jacob and
Esau, Gen.
xxxiii. 3, 4,
&c.

UPON the news of Esau's being advanced, and drawing near to his brother, Jacob ordered his wives to go before with their women, and to march apart from one another, so as to see the action at a distance, if Esau should think fit to put it to a battle. But when Jacob saw that Esau came towards him with peace and cheerfulness in his countenance, he went and threw himself at the feet of his brother. Esau in the mean while embracing him, ask'd him several questions about the women and the children, and gave him afterwards an earnest invitation to his father's house. Jacob excused himself, that his horses and cattle were very much tired, and not in a travelling condition; and then Esau departed to his habitation at Seir, so called from the hairiness of Esau.

CHAP. XXI.

The rape of Dinah. The children of Jacob.

Jacob goes to
the taberna-
cles, and so to
Sichem, Ver.
18.

JACOB for his part went to the place called the tabernacles, which name it bears to this day, and so to † Sichem, a city belonging to the Chanaanites. There happened to be a great festival there, and Dinah, the only daughter of Jacob, went thither to see the city, and the drefs and fashions of the women of the place. Sichem, the son of king ‡ Emmor fell in love with her, took her away, and ravished her, and liked her so well, that he begged his father's leave to marry her; who not only gave his consent, but went himself to Jacob with the same request on his son's behalf. Jacob was under a fore dilemma what answer to give; for he could not in conscience marry his daughter to a stranger; neither could he refuse any thing decently to the quality of a royal advocate. But upon second thoughts, he came to a resolution to desire time to consider of it; so the king went away, little doubting of his compliance with the proposals he had made. Upon this juncture, Jacob having conferr'd with his sons about the indignity that had been put upon their sister, and the request of Emmor, the greatest part

The rape of
Dinah, Gen.
xxxiv. 2.

of them had not a word to say, being at their wits end what to advise; only Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah by the same mother, laid their heads together, and agreed upon a design betwixt themselves, without speaking one word to their father of it, which they executed as follows: Upon the next festival at Sichem, late in the night they fell upon the guards, and easily master'd them, finding them drowsy and secure in their drunken revels. They took possession of the city, kill'd all the males they could meet with, the king and his son being in the number, sparing only the women; and upon the finishing of this exploit, brought home their sister again to their father. Jacob was struck with horror at the barbarity of so bloody an action, and highly incensed against his sons for what they had done; but God comforted him in a vision, bad him have a good heart, and purge his tents, and not forget the sacrifice he promised after his dream in his Mesopotamian progress. While Jacob was executing this command, he happened to find Laban's Gods, which Rachel had stolen and buried under a certain oak, without informing him any thing about it. From thence he went and sacrificed at Bethel, where he had that divine revelation upon his going into Mesopotamia. He went next to Ephrata, where Rachel died in labour, and there he buried her, the only person of his relations who died and was not interr'd at Hebron. This loss very sensibly affected him, but the child liv'd, and he gave it the name of Benjamin, || from the great grief it brought to the mother.

The massacre
of the Siche-
mites, Ver. 26.

Rachel dies
in labour at
Ephrata,
Gen. xxxv. 19.

Now the children of Jacob were twelve The children of Jacob, sons, and one daughter; eight of them legitimate, six by Leah, and two by Rachel; four more by Zilpah and Bala, two by each: their names we have given already. Ver. 22.

CHAP. XXII.

Isaac died at the age of one hundred and eighty five years, and was buried in Hebron.

FROM thence he went to Hebron in Chanaan, where Isaac dwelt; but they two did not live long together. Rebecca died before the arrival of Jacob, and Isaac follow'd her not long after. Esau and Jacob buried him, and laid him by his wife in Hebron, in the burying-place of the family. Isaac was a person acceptable in the sight of God, and attended by special providences in the course of his life, next to Abraham. He lived to the age of a hundred eighty five years, in a steady and eminent course of piety and virtue.

The death,
age, and bu-
rial of Isaac,
Ver. 28, 29.

Esau, or
Adom, Gen.
xxxvi. 6.

* Scr. Peniel. † Scr. Shechem. ‡ Scr. Hamor. || This is false. See Gen. xxxv. 18. in the LXX. and Cotelerius's notes to the second volume of his Ecclef. Gr. Monumenta, p. 548. See Vossius's Castigationum Auctarium, p. 363.

Esau sells
birthright,
Gen. xxv. 3.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK II.

From the Year of the World 2230 to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Esau and Jacob divide their possessions. Idumea falls to the former, and Chanaan to the other.



AFTER the death of Isaac, the two brothers kept no longer to their paternal estates, but divided their possessions; whereupon Esau yielded up the city of Hebron to his brother, and went and settled himself at Seir. He was lord and master of Idumea, and gave it his own name; that is to say, Adom*, which was a kind of a by-name given him upon this following occasion: One day when he was a youth, he had been out a hunting, and coming home very much tired and hungry, he found his brother making a soup of lentils for his dinner: they looked red, and the very colour of them set him a longing, and a begging with great importunity for a mess of this pottage; but Jacob absolutely refused so much as one drop of them to his brother, unless he would condescend to make over his birthright to him, which Esau, compelled then by hunger, submitted to, formally renouncing all the privileges of his seniority with a solemn oath. His youth-

ful companions made sport with him for what he had done, and nick-nam'd him Adom, from the colour of the soup; for Adom in Hebrew signifies red. This name went also to the country under his jurisdiction, though the Greeks have disguised and softened it a little, by calling it Idumea.

ESAU had five children by three wives; three of them by his wife † Alibama; that is to say, ‡ Jaus, Jalom, and Core; || Aliphaz by Adah, and ** Raguel by *† Bassemath.

ALIPHAZ had five sons lawfully begotten; Theman, Omar, *‡ Saphus, Gotham, and Canaz; for Amalek was a bastard that he had by *|| Thamna his concubine. These inhabited that part of Idumea which was called Gobilitis, and the country of the Amalekites, call'd so from Amalek. It was formerly a huge tract of ground that went under the name of Idumea; but the whole, as well as the parts of it, retain the name still of their first planters and founders.

From Adom came Idumea.

The race of Esau, Gen. xxxvi. 9, 10, &c. And 1 Chron. i. 35, 36, &c.

Esau, or Adom, Gen. xxxvi. 6, 7, 8.

Esau sells his birthright, Gen. xxv. 33.

* Scr. Edom. † Scr. Aholibamah. ‡ Scr. Jeush, Jaalam, Korah. || Scr. Eliphaz. ** Scr. Reuel.
*† Scr. Bassemath. *‡ Scr. Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz. *|| Scr. Timna.

C H A P. II.

Joseph's dreams. His brothers envy him, and conspire against his life.

Jacob happy in himself and family.

JACOB was one of the happiest men upon the face of the earth, and not another in the whole country to compare with him, either for wealth and command, or for well accomplish'd and virtuous children; who wanted nothing to make them great men, as well for action as for counsel; for they were indefatigably industrious, valiant even to the strictest punctilio's of generosity and honour; and, to perfect the character, endued with a talent of understanding that crowned all the rest; nay, and so wonderful a providence continually attended them in all the chances and encounters of their lives, that their very sufferings and afflictions turn'd to their advantage, in being made the instruments of Almighty God toward the bringing of our forefathers out of the bondage of Egypt. The story is this:

Joseph his father's favourite, Gen. xxxvii. 3.

The envy of his brethren, Ver. 4.

JOSEPH, the son of Jacob by his wife Rachel, was much the dearest child to his father of all the offspring, in regard of the excellencies both of his body and of his mind; for, over and above the gracefulness of his person, he was no less eminent and extraordinary for uncommon sense and understanding. This exceeding tenderness of the father drew upon the son the envy and ill-will of the rest of the brothers, and this factious malevolence was much embitter'd by certain dreams Joseph had, that look'd like presages of his future felicity and greatness. This he communicated to his father and brethren, and no wonder if it stirr'd up a dangerous emulation against him. The visions were these:

Joseph's dream of the wheat-sheaves, Ver. 7.

His father sent him out one day into the field with his brothers, in harvest time, to reap corn, where he had a dream quite of another nature than those phantastical images of things that appear to us commonly in our sleep. He told this to his brothers upon waking, and put it to them to expound it. Now the dream was this; "Methought, says he, I saw this last night my own sheaf of wheat standing upright, and all my brothers sheaves come running towards it, and falling down before it, as so many servants would do to their master." There went no great mystery to the unriddling of this dream; for they saw manifestly that it pointed at the power and authority which Joseph in time to come was to have over them, even to the degree of their becoming subjects to him. But to their brother they pretended ignorance, and could make nothing of it, they said; praying, however, within themselves still, that God would avert the omen, their hatred increasing all this while to Joseph yet more and more. Soon after this he had another vision, much more remarkable than the former, which was sent from God for the confounding of their malice. He saw in his sleep, he thought, "The sun, the moon, and eleven stars coming down from the heavens to the earth, and doing him reverence." Joseph communicated this vision also to his father, in the hearing of his brothers, (mistrusting no mischief from them all this while,) telling him that he should be very glad to understand what it meant. Jacob

And of the sun, moon, and eleven stars, Ver. 9.

was highly delighted with the dream, as a presage of happy and glorious days to his son Joseph; and that the time by God's providence would come, when both father and brothers should do him reverence and honour. By the sun and moon he understood the father and mother, under this analogy, that the office of one was to increase and nourish, and that of the other to give form and force. By the eleven stars were meant the eleven brothers who had their light and virtue from the sun and moon also.

Prefages of power and greatness, Ver. 10.

THIS was no idle interpretation of Jacob's; but it gall'd to the very heart the brothers of Joseph, quite contrary to the reason and duty of the matter in question; for they should have joy'd in their brother's good as in their own, without envying those graces and benefits to so near a relation, that they would have been less troubled at in a stranger. But their impious malice was now come to that height, that without any more ado, they fully intended to destroy him, and after this manner they resolved to put their project in execution. So soon as harvest was over, they went with their flocks to Sichem, (an excellent feeding ground,) but without ever speaking one word to their father of the place they were going to. When they had been gone a pretty while, and no news or certainty of what was become of them, Jacob fell into a terrible apprehension, lest some mischief might have befallen them, and so sent Joseph with orders to inform himself punctually upon the whole matter, and to bring him word back what was become of his brothers, and how they did.

A plot upon Joseph's life. The brothers steal away to Sichem.

C H A P. III.

Joseph sold by his brethren into Egypt, where he is highly advanc'd.

JOSEPH set forward upon his journey, according to his command and commission, and great joy there was among the brethren at his arrival, not as a brother or a messenger come from their father, but as an enemy whom God had delivered into their hands; and therefore they were for dispatching him immediately, without slipping the present opportunity. Rubel, the eldest of the brothers, found the conspiracy so strong and desperate, that he employ'd all his art and interest to prevent, or at least to divert it, setting before them the heinousness of the sin, and the indelible scandal and odium that they would draw upon themselves by an action so hateful in the sight of God and man. "It were an abominable wickedness, says he, to take away the life even of a stranger; but to destroy a kinsman, and a brother, and in that brother a father and a mother too, with grief for the loss of so good and so hopeful a son.—Bethink yourselves, says he, if any thing can be more diabolical; consider that there is an all-seeing God, who will be both witness and avenger of this horrid murder: Bethink yourselves, I say, and repent of your barbarous design, and consult the measures of humanity and moderation; for you must never think to consummate this flagitious villany, and divine vengeance not overtake you; for God's providence is every where," in

Joseph finds out his brethren, Ver. 17.

Who presides the killing of him out of hand, Ver. 20. Rubel intercedes for him, Ver. 21.

Joseph into a well, Ver. 22.

Taken and sold to Arabians, Ver. 23.

Rubel of his brother, Ver. 24.

"in the wilderness as well as in the city, and wheresoever there is a man there is a God; beside the horror of a guilty conscience to pursue you wherever you go, and, whether it be good or bad, to bear you company for ever. Or put the case your brother had done you wrong now, would you take away his life for it? when it is our part to pass over the slips of our friends, even though they may have fail'd in their duty. But what, in fine, has Joseph done against you? or if he had, the simplicity of his youth might plead his excuse; and his brothers, of all men living, should be his friends and guardians rather than his murderers: And then the very ground of your cruelty will be a severe aggravation, even of the sin itself. His life is to be taken away at present, for fear he should be great and happy hereafter; nay, and to be taken away by them too who are to go sharers with him. But the wrath of God will fall heavier upon you still, if you proceed to execute so barbarous a piece of cruelty; for you will thereby disappoint yourselves of enjoying a share in that prosperity and happiness, and those blessings which God for the sake of his virtues and goodness has promised he will confer upon him."

Rubel used all these and more arguments, either to deter or dissuade them from this accursed attempt; but when he found them so absolutely inexorable, that neither humanity, reason, nor religion could prevail, and that the peremptory sentence was pronounc'd, he bethought himself of a certain middle way of qualifying the matter. Well, says he, since the death of this our brother is absolutely decreed, you have nothing else to do but to make the sin, the envy, and the scandal of it as easy as you can; and therefore my advice is rather to cast him into the next pit, and there leave him to perish, without imbruing your hands in his blood. The motion was approv'd, and Rubel tied a rope about Joseph, by which he let him gently down into a dry well, and presently went his way to look after his sheep.

RUBEL had no sooner turn'd his back, but there appear'd in sight a troop of Arabian merchants (Ishmaelites) who came from Galaad with spices and Syrian commodities, which they were carrying into Egypt. * Judas, upon this occasion advis'd the taking of Joseph out of the well to sell him to these merchants, by which means they might be quit of him, and out of danger of ever seeing him again, and at the same time avoid polluting their hands in his blood. This was agreed to, so that they took up Joseph out of the well, and sold him to the merchants, being seventeen years of age, for twenty pieces of silver.

RUBEL was contriving all this while how he might save his poor brother, and without a word speaking to any of the rest, he went late at night to the well, where he call'd several times to Joseph; but hearing no answer, he presently concluded that his brothers had murder'd him, and accordingly charged them with the fact; but when he came to know what had pass'd, he was very well satisfied with the proceeding. The next thing now to be thought of, was how to excuse and palliate

the matter to the father, so that the brothers might not be suspected. They debated this point a while among themselves, and came in the end to this conclusion, that they should take Joseph's travelling coat, which they strip'd him of when they put him in the well, tear it and stain it with goat's blood, and so carry it to Jacob, that he might think his son was devour'd by wild beasts. They came to the old man with this pretence, (who had heard somewhat already of his son's misfortune,) shew'd him the coat all torn and bloody, (at least, said they, if that were the coat Joseph had on when he went out,) and so took it for granted that he was destroy'd by wild beasts; for neither had they seen him, nor could they imagine what was become of him, as they pretended. Jacob comforted himself till now with the hope he might be taken prisoner, or possibly that some gentler ill hap might have befallen him, but upon the sight of the blood and the coat, (for it appear'd to him evidently to be Joseph's,) he immediately cloathed himself in sack-cloth, and fell into so inconsolable a passion of sorrow and lamentation, that he would not suffer either his sons or his own reason to comfort him.

Joseph's coat shew'd to Jacob all torn and bloody, Ver. 33.

Jacob's lamentation, Ver. 34.

CHAP. IV.

Joseph tempted to lewdness by Petepher's wife. His exemplary continence.

WHEN the merchants who had bought Joseph came to Egypt, they sold him to † Petepher, the head officer over king Pharaoh's kitchen, who treated him not like an ordinary servant, with respect either of liberty or diet, but with the freedom of a generous education, training him up to letters, and in a short time advancing him to be overseer of the house. In this change of condition his mind and his virtue were still the same, and he gave evident demonstration, by the prudence of his conduct, that a wise man will stand his ground in all fortunes. He was a stripling of so gracious a person, and so agreeable an address, that Petepher's wife fell passionately in love with him, making no question, but upon the first disclosing of her mind to him, the vanity and ambition of so great an honour would win him over to her. But she made this judgment upon Joseph, more upon the consideration of the narrowness of his present circumstances, than upon any reason she had to suspect the unchangeable dignity of his soul. However, in this confidence and opinion, she told him in plain downright terms that she had a mind to lie with him. He begg'd of her upon the very first motion, to desist her solicitations upon that subject; for he could not be so ungrateful as to betray so kind a master, and to pay him with treachery and affront for all the obligations he had laid upon him. He advis'd her to smother that unruly passion, telling her he should never be induced to oblige her in so criminal a request. He should account it a glory, he said, to serve her in all lawful commands; but for any thing that was dishonest, he could never submit to it. This refusal did but set her more and more on fire,

Joseph sold to Petepher, Gen. xxxix. 1.

Petepher's wife tempts Joseph to lewdness, Ver. 7.

Joseph's exemplary virtue, Ver. 8.

Joseph's brethren inexorable, Ver. 22.

Joseph cast into a dry well, Ver. 24.

Taken out and sold to Arabian merchants, Ver. 28.

Rubel's care of his brother, Ver. 29.

* Scr. Judah.

† Scr. Potiphar.

for she could not imagine that Joseph would have rejected her offer. But when she came to find that this would not do, she set her wits to work upon another project. There was a great publick feast-day at hand, that commonly brought all the women of quality together. Petepher's wife made choice of this occasion to feign herself sick; whereupon she took to her chamber, and laid hold of the opportunity of being alone with Joseph. She got him, in short, into her apartment, and there treated him with wonderful tenderness and respect, in words to this effect: "It would have been much better for you, says she, to have complied fairly with my former request; though it had been but out of a regard to the dignity of the petitioner, or the excess of my passion; and it would have sav'd me the shame too of condescending to some words and expressions that I am yet out of countenance to think of; but I hope you will now have the wit to atone for your first error. If you waited for a second application, you shall have it now a little more artificial than it was before; for I have counterfeited myself sick on purpose to avoid the jollity of the day, and to shew you that I can quit all other conversation for the love I bear you; or perhaps you might make some doubt before, whether I was in earnest or not; but this is now to satisfy you that I meant you no ill, by that I persist still in the same mind; wherefore take your choice now, whether you will improve this opportunity of a present satisfaction in the embraces of a person who loves you, and from whom you may over and above expect yet greater things, or stand the shock of my hatred and revenge, if you shall presume to value yourself more upon the vain conceit of your own chastity, than upon my favour; and if it comes to that once, do not flatter yourself into a foolish confidence of escaping, with a dry ostentation of your virtue; for I will certainly accuse you to my husband of an attempt upon my honour; and when the word is out once, true or false, you will find more heed given to my charge by Petepher, than to your justification."

THIS speech was accompanied with prayers, menaces, and tears; but neither the one nor the other, neither compassion nor terror had the power to make any impression upon his virtue; for he stood firm against all her threatenings, in an unalterable determination, rather to abide the worst of extremities, than to yield to the lewd importunity of a dishonest appetite; being in his own conscience satisfied, that no punishment could be too great for a man who should do so base a thing to please a woman. He was not wanting neither to put her in mind of her duty, both to herself and to her husband, and of what she ow'd to piety, honesty, custom, and common fame. "What signifies, says he, a momentary pleasure attended with a certain remorse immediately consequent upon it? A heaviness of heart for a thing once done, and an utter impossibility of recalling and undoing it? Perpetual fears of discovery and disgrace? What does all this signify, I say, in balance with the most substantial comforts, and the most necessary duties of human life? whereas in a conjugal state, the self-same delights

"are all free, safe, innocent, and warrantable before God and man. Consider again, how it would lessen your authority, to make your servant your equal, by a shameful participation in one common crime. And pray, is it not better to trust to a good conscience that fears no light, than to commit wickedness in the dark, and spend all your days in a restless dread of being detected?" Joseph said this, and a great deal more, to try if it were possible by words to do any good upon the passion of an impetuous woman, and to reduce his mistress to sobriety and reason. But all this was only adding more fuel to the fire, so that what she could not obtain by intreaties, she attempted by violence, catching hold of his garment to force him to commit lewdness with her. But Joseph not being able to bear the extravagant folly of this shameless woman any longer, broke loose from her, and so fled out of the door, and left his coat in her hand. She was at first miserably distracted, betwixt the sting of the repulse, and the fear of being discover'd; but coming in an instant to a resolution of outfacing the whole story, and turning it upon Joseph, by which means she consulted her security and revenge both in one, she kept herself close to her chamber, all in tears and trouble, imputing the passion she was in at the disappointment of her lust to the scrupulous sense of an indignity offer'd to her honour. While she was in this disorder and confusion, in comes her husband, who taking notice of more than ordinary melancholy and disorder in her countenance, enter'd presently into a strict enquiry what might be the matter. "Alas! my dear husband, says she, you will not deserve to live, unless you make an example of this perfidious and base wretch your man. He has forgotten what he was when you took him into your house; how kindly and respectfully he has been treated here, to a degree beyond his very hope, as well as his desert; the charge of your whole family is committed to him, the command of the rest of your servants, and the trust of all you have. What will you think of this fellow now, that, in requital of all your bounties and good offices, could have the impudence to offer at the violation of your bed, and to take the opportunity of this day of freedom, when you were out of the way, to break in upon my privacy, and press the enjoyment of his beastly ends? This thankless villain that was effectually the master of all other things under your roof! would nothing serve him but he must have your wife too? What a countenance of modesty did this wretch put on to blind his master, without possessing one grain of it in his disposition and nature! Nay further, says she, in confirmation of all I have said, here is his garment too, which I laid hold of when he would have forc'd me, and which he was obliged to leave behind him upon the struggle."

THIS plausible course of words, and the tears that went along with them, wrought so effectually upon the easy credulity and affection of Petepher, that being thoroughly satisfied with the virtue of his wife, on whom he doted, and reckoning himself as good as a witness of it too, there was no need or thought of farther enquiry or examination into circumstances,

She makes a second attempt, Ver. 12.

Joseph's mistress lays hold of him to force him, Ver. 12. He breaks loose, and leaves his coat behind him, ibid.

She accuses Joseph to her husband, Ver. 17, 18.

Joseph stands firm, Ver. 8.

And reasons the matter with her, Ver. 9.

Joseph mitte comm upon

Joseph's nience signati

His kee kind to Ver. 22

Pharaoh butler's dream. xl. Ver. 10, 11.

Joseph's pounds it Ver. 12,

stances, but all was taken for granted, and his wife celebrated for a woman of a most inviolable unspotted faith. This was enough to cast Joseph into the common jail among the most infamous of malefactors.

Joseph committed to the common jail upon it, V. 20.

C H A P. V.

Joseph falsely accused, and committed to prison; and what befel him there. His interpretation of several dreams.

Joseph's patience and resignation.

His keeper kind to him, Ver. 22. 23.

Pharaoh's butler's dream. Gen. xl. Ver. 9, 10, 11.

Joseph expounds it. Ver. 12, 13.

JOSEPH, in this condition, never concerned himself, either to make apologies in his own vindication, or remonstrances of the truth of the story; but committed his innocence to the protection of the Almighty, and bearing his chains with patience, supported himself with this comfort, that the power of God, who knew the justice of his cause, was greater than that of his enemies, as it soon appear'd in this following providence: For the keeper was so charmed with his fidelity and careful diligence in all he commanded him to do, together with the comeliness of his person, that he discharged him of his irons, and by this means of a considerable part of his trouble; allowing him also better entertainment and better accommodations than the rest of the prisoners usually had. It was with Joseph and his fellow-prisoners, as it is commonly with other people in their conditions. They had their intervals of time from labour, which they would imploy in talking and getting together in companies, and would be naturally enquiring of one another what this and t'other was in for. Upon this occasion Pharaoh's butler, a man much in the king's esteem, though at that time upon some unlucky dissatisfaction he was a prisoner there, had contracted a familiarity with Joseph. This butler had an high opinion of Joseph's parts and understanding, and so took liberty to tell him of a dream he had, and to consult Joseph about the interpreting of it. He was very unhappy he said, to be not only fallen under his master's displeasure, but perplexed also with dreams and visions of a more than ordinary quality. "Methought I saw (says he) three branches of a vine, and a bunch of grapes upon every branch, all ripe and ready to be gather'd. I pressed them myself; methought, into a cup the king had in his hand; after which I presented his majesty with the wine, and he found it excellent." This was his dream, and he desired Joseph, if God had endow'd him with any skill that way, to give him an explication of it. Joseph spake a word of comfort to him, and bad him "have a good heart, for in three days time he should be set at liberty. The king had occasion for him, and he should have his place again." "The fruit of the vine, says Joseph, is a gift of God, for the use and comfort of mankind. God accepts it himself in his sacrifices; it creates friendships, composes differences, dissolves cares and melancholy, and turns sadness into joy. The king, you say, received the cup and the wine from your hand; this imports great good to you, and intimates that within as many days as you saw branches, you may assure yourself of your deliverance. Now, says

Joseph, when you find this to be true, think on me, when you yourself shall be free and in prosperity, and do not forget those you have left behind you. I am not here a criminal, but only punished for preferring the duty and honour of my master to a carnal pleasure." This interpretation could not but please the butler, and he waited cheerfully for the event.

PHARAOH's chief baker was at that time in the same prison: And finding so favourable an exposition given of the butler's dream, he pleased himself in the hope of as fair an interpretation of a dream of his own too; consulting Joseph as the butler had done before, for the unfolding of it. "Last night (says he) methought I had upon my head three baskets, two of bread, and a third of flesh, with other delicacies for a royal table. The birds of the air fell violently upon them, and devoured them, notwithstanding all I could do to fright them away." Now the baker expected as favourable a construction of his vision as the butler had; but it proved the contrary: For Joseph told him that he could not speak so comfortable things to him as he wish'd to do. "The two baskets, says he, signify that you have only two days to live; and that upon the third, you are to be crucify'd upon a tree, and exposed to the fowls of the air; and there is no possibility of avoiding it."

EVERY thing came to pass as Joseph had foretold it; for upon the precise day, according to his prediction, the festival of Pharaoh's birth-day, the king order'd the baker to be crucify'd, and the butler to be restor'd to his office. When Joseph had been two years a prisoner, and as a man utterly forgotten by the ungrateful butler, providence made use of this means for his deliverance. Pharaoh had two dreams in one night, and the vision was expounded to him: He remembered the dreams, but forgot the interpretation of them any further, than that in general, they boded him no good. This so much disturb'd Pharaoh's thoughts, that he summon'd a convocation of the learned'st doctors of the Egyptians to attend him early next morning, and to expound his visions. They met, and consulted; but finding themselves unable to resolve them, Pharaoh grew more out of humour than before. This occasion brought the butler to bethink himself once again of Joseph, and of his skill in that way of interpretation. Upon this he went to the king, and told him of Joseph, and a vision of his own that he had expounded to him, while they were together in prison. And for the greater authority of his predictions, he himself was restor'd to his office, and the baker hang'd, upon the very day which he foretold. Joseph, he said, was the servant of Petepher, and at that time a prisoner upon his account. He avers himself to be an Hebrew, and of no obscure family. You may be pleased, says the butler, to send for him, without any exception to the meanness of his present condition; for he will certainly inform your majesty in the signification of your dreams. Let him be call'd immediately, says Joseph sent the king; and so the servants went all in haste, and brought him. Pharaoh treated the young man very respectfully, and taking him by the right hand, spake to him courteously after this manner:

Pharaoh's baker's dream. Ver. 16, 17.

Joseph's interpretation of it. Ver. 18, 19.

Two dreams of Pharaoh's. Gen. xli.

Pharaoh consults his wise men. Ver. 8.

Joseph sent for out of prison. Ver. 14.

Pharaoh's
dream of
Oxen, Ver.
17, --21.

Pharaoh's
dream of ears
of corn, Ver.
22, 23, 24.

Joseph ex-
pounds Pha-
raoh's
dreams, V. 25,
--32.

Joseph's ad-
vice to pro-
vide against
a famine,
V. 33, --36.

manner: "There is a servant of mine, says he, that hath given you the character of a wise man: He tells me that he hath found you so himself, and very curious in one particular faculty, wherein I have at this instant a special occasion to employ you. He tells me you have a singular talent in expounding of dreams, and that you unfolded one for him; pray do as much for me, and I shall take it very kindly; but be sure you make things neither more nor less than they are, either for fear or favour; but speak the truth freely, whether it makes for me or against me. I was walking, methought, along the river, and I saw seven large and well-fed cattle come out of it, and go their ways towards a pasture: After which I saw seven lean ill-favour'd beasts coming from the pasture to the river: They met, methought, and the seven lean ones devoured the fat, and were never the fuller for it." After this vision I waked; and while my thoughts were at work upon the meaning of the dream, a sudden heaviness came upon me, and dropping asleep again insensibly, I had a more wonderful apparition than the former, which put me into a great trouble and affright. "Methought I saw seven ears of corn sprung from one root. They were ripe and ready to cut, and so heavy laden, that their heads bow'd under their burden. Not far from this, I saw seven other ears, thin and blasted; and these starv'd ears to my astonishment devour'd the other."

JOSEPH upon this, told the king, That these two dreams, how differing soever in appearance, however denoted but one and the same event. "The ox, says he, is a creature design'd by providence for labour and tillage. By the seven fat oxen, and the seven lean ones; and so by the seven plump ears of corn, and the seven blasted ones, is intimated seven years of plenty to come in Egypt; and after that seven more of famine; and by the lean oxen devouring the fat, and the blasted ears of corn, the full and plump ones, is given to understand that the first seven years will hardly be sufficient to supply the scarcity of seven others to come; which I take to be demonstrated in this, that when the lean oxen had devoured the fat, they were not yet satisfied; so that most certainly the extremity will be very great. Now God doth not reveal his secret purposes to mankind, only to terrify and afflict them; but for a timely warning to them, that they may either provide against or prevent the worst. So that if your majesty shall be pleased to order the laying up of stores out of your abundance in the years of plenty, for a reserve against a time of need, the following scarcity will be the less grievous." The king stood in admiration at the sagacity and wisdom of Joseph, and so demanded of him, what course he would advise in the present case for the obviating of those difficulties to come. Joseph proposed a Regulation of expences; for parsimony, and the retrenching of superfluities, would go a great way in the work. He was of opinion also, for laying up magazines of corn in barns and elsewhere, to be deliver'd out by allow-

ance, and no more to be distributed than what was absolutely necessary for bread and feed.

PHARAOH was as much delighted with Joseph's notions in oeconomics, as with his skill in dreams; and so with great honour to his judgment and counsel, he gave him full power and authority, as supervisor of all his stores, to put his project in execution, in such sort and manner as he himself should judge meet for the service of his master, and the good of the publick. Upon the conferring of this commission, the king deliver'd him his signet, and granted him certain privileges of wearing purple, and riding in a chariot through all his dominions. Joseph went now about his business, storing up the corn wherever he came, and distributing among the husbandmen only such a proportion, as might be barely sufficient for their sustenance, and for seed to sow their grounds, without making any body acquainted with the reason of his proceedings.

Joseph highly
advanc'd
by Pharaoh,
Ver. 40, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Joseph highly in the king's favour. The adventures of himself and his brethren upon their coming into Egypt.

JOSEPH was now thirty years of age, and so remarkably great in the king's favour for his extraordinary wisdom, that he gave him the name of * Psothomphanec, Psothom- which in the Egyptian tongue signifies, the phanec, finder out of hidden things.

He took to wife Aseneth, the daughter of † Petephra, † high-priest of Heliopolis, which was a match of the king's making, and a very great honour. He had two children by her before the famine; the elder he called Manasses, or Oblivion, because Joseph's better fortune made him forget the worse; the younger Ephraim, or Restitution, because he was re-instated in the freedom of his ancestors.

Joseph mar-
ries Aseneth.
Ver. 50.

Manasses and
Ephraim,
V. 51, 52.

JOSEPH's seven years of plenty in Egypt were now past, and in the eighth began the famine, according to his prediction. The calamity was a surprize, and brought huge multitudes of people into distress, flocking from all quarters about the king's gates. Whereupon Joseph was presently call'd, who took such care for their relief, that with one voice they celebrated him as the saviour of the nation. Nor did he open the stores only to the people of the country, but to foreigners also; Joseph reckoning upon it, that the universality of mankind are, in truth, all of a blood, and that it is the duty of men in prosperity to assist their brethren in distress.

A Famine in
Egypt, V. 54.

Now this misery did not fall upon Egypt alone, but several other countries suffer'd under the like scarcity, and Chanaan in particular; so that Jacob being informed that strangers were admitted to deal for corn in Egypt, sent all his sons thither to buy provisions, save only Benjamin, the son of Rachel, and own brother of Joseph.

Jacob's sons
all but Ben-
jamin, sent
into Egypt
for corn. Ge-
xlii V. 3, 4.

So soon as the ten brothers were come into Egypt, they made their application to Joseph, only for leave that they might have corn for their money. Now Joseph was in so great favour with the king, that there was nothing

Joseph
ders h
thren
taken
custod
16, 17

* Or Psothomphanec. Scr. Zaphnath-paaneah;

† Scr. Potiphra.

‡ Scr. The priest of On.

to be done at court, but by his influence. Joseph knew his brothers at first sight, though they knew not him; for alas! he was taken away young, and age had alter'd his features, and given him the air and fashion of quite another person; besides, that no body could have expected Joseph either in that country, or in that post of authority. Finding himself not known, and not so much as any suspicion of him, Joseph resolved within himself to make some trial of his brothers, to see how they stood inclin'd; and so for a countenance, he not only denied them corn, but charged them as spies, and criminals of state. "My friends,

Joseph pre-
tends to take
his brethren
for spies, Ver.
9.

says he, you say you are brothers, whereas you appear to be no better than a cabal of conspirators, and of several nations too. "How can any body believe so many extraordinary persons, as you undoubtedly are, to be only the sons of one private man? when hardly any prince can boast of such an issue." Joseph put this upon them to try if he could pump out any thing concerning his father, and how matters had been managed in the family since his time, and what was become of his brother Benjamin; for he was not a little afraid lest that they might have served him as they would have done himself. This way of proceeding put them all into a consternation, they found themselves in danger, and the end of a long journey, as they thought, wholly disappointed. But something must be said however to clear themselves from the imputation of so foul a charge, and Rubel the eldest brother, in the name of the rest, undertook the defence of the common cause. "We

Rubel speaks
for himself
and his bre-
thren, Ver.
10, 13.

are not come hither, says he, to pry into matters of state, or attempt any thing upon the person of the king, or the peace of his government. It is mere want of bread that hath driven us hither for refuge, or I might say, that your humanity hath effectually invited us, in granting the freedom of your markets for corn to strangers, as well as to your own people, as we are informed you have. That we are one man's children, may in some measure be collected from the very resemblance of our faces, and it is true we are so. Our father's name is Jacob, by birth an Hebrew. There were twelve sons of us that he had by four women, and so long as they all liv'd, things went well enough with us; but one of the number, whose name was Joseph, being taken away, we fell into misfortunes. Our father lives still a mourner for that loss, and his insoluble sorrows are no less an affliction at this day to us, than was the untimely death of our dearest brother. We come hither, under your favour, to buy corn, and in our absence the care of our good father is committed to our youngest brother Benjamin. If it be doubted whether we speak truth or not, it is but sending a messenger to our father to learn the certainty."

THIS was Rubel's speech, for the satisfaction of Joseph, and on the behalf of himself and his brothers. Now Joseph finding that his father and brother were safe and well, commanded the brethren to be all taken into custody, upon pretence of calling them to a stricter account at better leisure. At three days end they were brought to him again; "And well, my friends, says Joseph, here

you affirm to me that you are come hither without any malicious design upon the government; and that you are all the sons of the same father Jacob. Now for the truth of all you say; you shall leave one of your brethren with me as an hostage, that when you shall have deliver'd the corn you come for to your father, you shall return back again, and bring along with you the other brother that you say you have left behind. In the mean time your hostage shall be well used: this, and nothing else, will convince me that you are honest men." These words went to their hearts, for they fancied themselves upon the very brink of ruin: they deplored their ill hap, and were continually crying out to one another, that all this was only a divine vengeance that pursued them for their barbarity to their poor brother. Rubel reprimanded them for the vanity and the folly of a late and unprofitable repentance; telling them frankly, that there was no remedy but patience under the judgment of a just God, upon a wicked brood of brothers. These discourses passed among themselves, in confidence that no body there understood Hebrew. Rubel with this cutting liberty wounded them to the souls, lamenting one to another, why they could not think of this in time, and their consciences still suggesting to them, that the wrath of God had justly overtaken them. These reflections put the brothers into such a horror of desperation and confusion, that Joseph was fain to withdraw for fear of discovering himself, being no longer able to forbear weeping. After a little stay, he came in again, took Simeon for a pledge of their return, and gave them a licence for their corn; but a servant was order'd underhand to convey the money they paid for it into their baggage, which was accordingly done, and so they departed.

UPON the return of Jacob's sons into Chanaan, they told their father the whole story of their adventure in Egypt; how they were seized for spies, and could not be believed, either that they were all brethren, or had left another brother behind them; so that they were forc'd to leave Simeon for a pledge that they should come back again, and bring Benjamin with them to vouch what they said, begging earnestly of their father to let him go without any further hesitation. Jacob was very much displeased, and highly disapprov'd of what they had done, in leaving Simeon: but it cut him to the very heart, like a death-wound, to think of parting with Benjamin also, though Rubel offer'd to answer with the lives of his own children for the other's safety and return. They were in a dreadful perplexity what to do; and nothing stagger'd them more, than when they came to find their money in their sacks. But their provisions wasting all this while, and their wants increasing, Jacob through compulsion, not inclination, was half in the mind sometimes to venture his son Benjamin with the rest; for there was no thought of ever returning to Egypt, without keeping their conditions. Their necessities pressed harder and harder upon them, and the brothers importunities were not wanting neither; but nothing could move Jacob yet, till in the conclusion, Judas, a man of a bold and free spirit, took the liberty to argue

Troubled in
conscience
upon Joseph's
account, Ver.
21.

Jacob's sons
return to
their father,
Ver. 29.

The brothers
sent back for
Benjamin,
and Simeon
kept for a
pledge, Ver.
24.

Joseph or-
ders his bre-
thren to be
taken into
custody, Ver.
16, 17.

the case with his father after another manner. "Methinks, says he to his father, you are a little too solicitous for Benjamin. He must submit to the will of God, whether he be abroad or at home; and we are all to be delivered to a certain destruction in the loss of Pharaoh's friendship, for fear of I know not what, that may possibly befall our little brother; but what will you say now, if the Egyptians should destroy Simeon, while you are demurring and trifling away time about Benjamin. Trust God in all events, and rest assured, that I will either perish myself, or bring him safe home again." Jacob was at length prevail'd upon, and deliver'd up the child; gave them double the price of the corn with them, and presents of the fruits of the land of Chanaan for Joseph, the person with whom they treated; as balm, myrrh, turpentine, honey, &c. and so with a flood of tears on both sides, they tenderly parted; the father in a desperate anxiety for fear he should never see his sons again, and the sons under as dismal apprehensions for fear this very separation should be the death of their father. They spent a whole day upon this mournful subject, and in the end Jacob betook himself to his solitude, and the sons prosecuted their journey, in hopes of somewhat to come that might balance their present affliction.

Jacob sends Benjamin with presents, Gen. xliii. 15.

The brethren address to Joseph, Ver. 20, 21, 22.

Simeon set at liberty, Ver. 23.

Joseph treats his brethren at supper, Ver. 32, 33, 34.

So soon as ever they came into Egypt, they address'd themselves to Joseph; not a little concern'd for fear the money they found in their sacks should be charg'd upon them as a cheat. But upon laying the matter before Joseph's steward, and telling him, how that finding their money in their sacks without knowing how it came there, they had now brought it back again to restore it, the steward answer'd them boldly that he knew nothing of the business. Their hearts upon this were a little more at ease, especially when they saw their brother Simeon at liberty. Joseph, by this time was come from waiting upon the king, and while they were making their presents, he fell to asking them questions; as how their father did, and the like; they told him well. His fears for Benjamin were now over too; for he saw him in the company, and asked them again, if that were the youngest of the brothers, and they told him yes; whereupon he said no more than this, "God's providence is over all things," and so went out, though against his will, to weep in private; for the emotions of natural affection had drawn tears into his eyes in such abundance, that he could not forbear venting them any longer. That evening he gave them an invitation to supper with him, where he ranged them in the same order they used in their father's house, treating them all with exceeding courtesy, but Benjamin's portion was double to any of the rest.

AFTER supper, when the company was retir'd, Joseph order'd the measuring of their corn, and bad his steward put the money into their sacks as before, and to convey into Benjamin's sack a certain silver cup that he himself had a particular fancy for, and always used to drink out of. This he did to try whether they would stand by Benjamin, in case he should be charged with the theft, or abandon him in distress, and so return to their father without him. This was all done according to

order. By break of day the next morning, they set forward on their journey, not in the least suspecting any trick to be put upon them, and mightily pleased at the thought that they had got Simeon safe, and Benjamin so far on his way back again, according to their engagement. As they were travelling on, they found themselves all on a sudden surrounded with troops of horse, amongst whom was the servant who had put the cup into the sack. This surprize transported them into clamours and exclamations against the inhumanity of such a practice from the same people who had but just now treated them with so much hospitality and honour. The Egyptians, on the other side, tax'd them with villany and ingratitude for returning only injuries, where they had received so many civilities and benefits; and threatened they should be speedily brought to condign punishment, for the theft they had committed. They might, indeed, put tricks, they said, upon the butler; but there was an all-seeing eye above that would certainly detect them. They had brought matters now to such a pass, that there was nothing to be expected but immediately to receive the just reward of their treachery. At this insolent rate they insulted them, but the servant above all the rest; insomuch, that they who were intirely ignorant of the plot, could not forbear reproaching the man with folly and indiscretion for accusing them of theft, who when they found the corn money in their sacks, had the honesty to bring it back and restore it, though none besides their own consciences knew any thing of the matter; but searching, they said, would gain more credence, and prove or disprove the fact better than the most positive denial of it; and so without any more words they offer'd up themselves, bag and baggage, to the scrutiny; and if any one of them should be found guilty, they were all willing to suffer for it; so secure did they reckon themselves in the conscience of their own innocence. The Egyptians took them at their words, and fell to searching; "but heaven forbid, they cried, if any one of them should be detected, the innocent should suffer for the guilty." They took them in order, and so passed from one to another, till they came at last to Benjamin; not that they were ignorant in whose sack the cup was, but that they might seem to make a more strict and methodical search. All the rest were now safe and clear, and the whole concern they were now in was for him only: they confided, however, that he would be found as guiltless and innocent as themselves, and therefore they might, they thought, take the more liberty and freedom to retort upon the Egyptians the ill language they had given them, and shew their resentment of their troublesome and unnecessary impertinence, who from groundless suspicions, and ill-founded conjectures of their dishonesty, had stopp'd them on the road, and been a considerable hindrance to them in their journey. Being now come to Benjamin's sack, out came the silver cup at once, which they that put it there could have found as well at first, if the method of the contrivance would have born it. Upon this discovery they all broke out into tears, extravagant actions, and passionate lamentations; tearing their garments, and crying

The brothers depart, Gen. xliv. 3.

A cup found in Benjamin's sack, Ver. 12.

Judas e
tulates o
Benjami
behalf,
xliv. 16,

ing out like men distracted, their brother was undone! what would become of that poor brother of theirs! how should they answer for him to his father! and then to miscarry now too, when they thought all was over! "It was not for nothing, they cried, that the good man was so unwilling to part with him, and we must be pressing of him to let him go; so that our father is ruin'd, and the blame of all this must be laid at our door."

Benjamin seized, and carried to Joseph.

THE officers carried Benjamin away to Joseph, and his companions went along with him. Benjamin being now a prisoner, and his brethren standing round him in a sorrowful condition, Joseph looking upon them, reproach'd them in words to this purpose; "And is it so then, says he, ye vilest of men, that without any regard either to the good offices of hospitality, or to the dispensations of divine providence, you should put so ungrateful an affront upon your patron and benefactor?" The brothers interposing their requests, that their persons might be accepted of in exchange for that of their unfortunate brother, and the punishment due to his offence inflicted upon them instead of him; and then they made mention of Joseph's name over and over again, how happy it was for him that he was out of this miserable life, (at least if he was so,) or if yet living, how much it was to his honour, if that the severe vengeance of God should be inflicted upon them for his sake. They went on, accusing and condemning of themselves, as the authors and instruments of their father's afflictions, in reviving and increasing his old sorrows with the addition of this new one; Rubel at every turn reproaching them with the execrable wickedness they had been guilty of with regard to their brother. Joseph, as upon consideration, told them at length, that truly for the innocent, as he did not think it fair to make one man bear the punishment of another man's transgression, so neither did he judge it reasonable to discharge the offender at the instance of the guiltless, or to punish them all alike; wherefore, says he, you may return when you please, and it shall be my care to provide you a safe passage; and for your brother, I shall content myself with him alone for an example.

Judas expostulates on Benjamin's behalf, Gen. xlv. 16, &c.

THESE words struck them all dumb, save only Judas, who was a man of wit and courage, and the only person who persuaded Jacob to part with his son. This Judas took up a generous resolution, upon this occasion, of running any risque to save him, as he had promised his father; and hereupon applied himself to Joseph in these words: "We cannot but confess, most excellent governor, that the fact now in question is a heinous transgression, and a crime that deserves punishment. The guilt, it is true, falls only upon one of us, and the youngest; but though we are not all in fault, we are all ready yet to suffer for it. As to the poor young man, we should give him for lost, if it were not for the confidence we have in your clemency and goodness. We must therefore appeal from the strict consideration of the fact, to the benignity of your own nature; and to your native tenderness, from the heat of your indignation, anger being a passion only for narrow souls; and

therefore we make no doubt but your virtue and moderation will set bounds to your displeasure; for with submission, it would not be for your honour to destroy a sort of people that voluntarily deliver up themselves to your justice, and desire only to become indebted for their lives to your mercy; which in effect would be but the bounty of giving us the same lives over again; for when we were in distress for want of corn, what was it but the dispatch and generosity of your relief, that preserved us and our whole family from perishing by famine? now to relieve men in extrem necessity for want of food, and to forgive an offender that stands in need of a pardon, is but an effect of the same tenderness, in another way of expressing it; the one saves the life, and the other spares it. You are now but to save whom you have fed for the very end of saving them; which end is lost, if you do not preserve the lives you have given; and in so doing we shall become your debtors, not only for the necessities of life, but for life itself. This occasion looks as if God himself, for your greater glory, had furnished express matter for your virtue to work upon; and that the world may see you are merciful as well as liberal, and take more delight in doing good offices to others, than in revenging injuries done to yourself. It is, I must confess, a generous disposition to be human and charitable; but there is no ornament that becomes greatness like clemency, especially when that clemency is exercis'd upon the forgiving of affronts offer'd to the forgiver himself. Now if it be praise-worthy to pass over even the smallest faults, it is little less than divine, for a man to moderate the resentment of a capital crime, and in his own case too. It is not for the sake of our own safety that I am thus solicitous, but out of a sense of the anxious tenderness of a father for a child, which I am the more sensible of, by the experience I have had of the violence of my father's passion upon the loss of our dear brother Joseph. We should not think our own lives worth the struggling for, were it not for the deplorable consequences that our ruin would bring upon our aged father when we are gone; saving that we have some sort of ambition likewise to become indebted to your virtue, and to declare ourselves the monuments of your fame and goodness. We do not beg, nor are we so much concerned for ourselves, though we be a company of young men in the prime and vigour of our youth, who have tasted as yet but little of the pleasures and enjoyments of life, as for an ancient father, a person wasted with age and cares. It is in his name, and for his sake only, that we implore your compassion upon us his sons, who have all rendered themselves obnoxious to punishment by this day's misdemeanour. He himself is undoubtedly a good man, and it is none of his fault if we are not so too. He has a thousand griefs and terrors upon him at this day, for fear we return not in safety; and it were great pity so worthy a person should suffer under so mortal a calamity. When he shall hear that we are dead, and upon what account, he will most

"infal-

“ infallibly die likewise. The single thought
 “ of the infamy, nay, the very rumour of it
 “ will kill him. We cannot deny, after all
 “ this, the provocation to be great, and your
 “ displeasure just; but we may yet petition,
 “ that the vengeance for it may not fall upon
 “ our innocent father, and that for his sake
 “ you will be gracious to us. Be pleased but
 “ to consider his age and his condition, and
 “ you may conclude that when we are gone,
 “ he neither can nor will live without us.
 “ Consider but our father in your own, and
 “ then in ours the common case of all fathers.
 “ There is something sacred in the very name
 “ of father, as being an appellation which
 “ God himself vouchsafes to assume; and
 “ God the father of all will certainly bless
 “ you and your posterity, for all the good you
 “ shall do under the honour of that common
 “ name, and on the behalf of a father that
 “ otherwise must be left childless. Our lives
 “ are in your hand, and it is at your choice
 “ whether to give or take; the one you may
 “ do with justice, and the other will be an
 “ act of grace; and having both indifferently
 “ in your power, you may grant the latter in
 “ imitation of God himself, without putting
 “ the other to the stress, and employ your
 “ prerogative for the good and preservation of
 “ mankind. Now the more lives you save,
 “ the more honourable will be your fame,
 “ and in preserving our brother, you preserve
 “ us all; for upon his safety depends ours, and
 “ we are never to see our father again without
 “ him; so that whatever he suffers, we must
 “ suffer too. Neither have we, most illustrious
 “ governor, any thing more to crave, if we
 “ cannot obtain this, than that we all may
 “ be join’d in the punishment, as if we had
 “ been complices in the fact; which would
 “ be much easier to us, than to be forc’d by
 “ an insupportable despair to lay violent hands
 “ upon ourselves. I might offer further on
 “ his behalf, that he is young, and has not
 “ seen much of the world; and that under
 “ these circumstances it is a very rare thing to
 “ put people to extremities. But to come to
 “ a conclusion, if we are condemn’d for want
 “ of a competent defence, it must lie at my
 “ door; if acquitted, we shall ascribe it wholly
 “ to your generosity and goodness; adding
 “ this further to your honour, that in the sa-
 “ ving of us you give us a new life, and con-
 “ sult better for us than we could do for our-
 “ selves; but if it shall yet be found absolutely
 “ necessary that somewhat be done for the sa-
 “ tisfaction of a rigorous justice, I must affec-
 “ tionately beseech you to accept of me in the
 “ place of my brother, that I may abide his
 “ punishment, and the young man be sent
 “ away to his father. Or if the sentence should
 “ be slavery, my body may be able to do you
 “ the better service of the two; and I am
 “ ready indifferently to submit either to the
 “ one or to the other.”

When Judas had said and offer’d all that
 was possible toward the pacifying of the go-
 vernor, and the easing of his brother, he threw
 himself at Joseph’s feet, and all the rest after
 him, in a joint mediation for Benjamin.

JOSEPH by this time found himself so over-
 come with tenderness and natural affection,

that he could no longer act the part of an
 angry judge, and therefore he order’d all that
 were present to withdraw, that he might make
 himself known to his brethren, without any
 witnesses; so that having got them by them-
 selves, he made a discourse to them to this
 effect: “ I cannot, says he, but be exceedingly
 “ delighted to find you so friendly and com-
 “ passionate to your brother; which I must
 “ confess exceeded my expectation, considering
 “ some past circumstances in my own case that
 “ were not so good-natur’d. It was my end,
 “ in what I have now done, to make some
 “ trial of your brotherly love upon this occa-
 “ sion; which I have now receiv’d so fair a
 “ proof of, that I cannot impute any thing
 “ you ever did against me to gall or malice;
 “ but the hand of God was in it, whose pro-
 “ vidence hath now made use of that action,
 “ as the means of a present comfort to you,
 “ in giving us the hope of greater blessings
 “ yet to come, by the continuance of God’s
 “ favour and protection. But since I am now
 “ come to understand that my father is in such
 “ a state, as I could better wish than expect, and
 “ my brothers the tender men that they ought
 “ to be, all past injuries are as if they had
 “ never been; and I am rather to give you
 “ my thanks, as the instruments of divine pro-
 “ vidence for our common advantage, than
 “ to upbraid you now with former actions,
 “ which at that time perhaps carried a coun-
 “ tenance of evil: and pray let these things be
 “ forgotten on your part too, and set your hearts
 “ at rest, without discomposing yourselves for
 “ errors not to be recall’d, and for lewd pur-
 “ poses that never took effect, since it hath
 “ pleased God to bring good out of evil. Go
 “ your ways back therefore to your father, with
 “ all joy and comfort, and tell him the won-
 “ derful things that God hath done for you.
 “ Go and dispatch, for fear of any disaster his
 “ very grief and apprehension may bring up-
 “ on him else before you see him, which would
 “ utterly blast all the hopes I have of happi-
 “ ness, both in the sight of him, and in an
 “ enjoyment with him of all the blessings that
 “ I am possess’d of; wherefore be gone, and
 “ make haste back again; and be sure you
 “ bring my father, your wives, children, and
 “ all your kindred along with you; for I
 “ should be loth to have my dearest friends at
 “ such a distance from me, when there are five
 “ years of famine yet more to come.” With
 these words Joseph embrac’d his brothers, who
 could not but burst out into tears and lamen-
 tations, reflecting upon their wicked practices
 against him. But nothing went nearer their
 hearts, than to consider how basely they had
 dealt with so worthy a brother. After this a
 sumptuous banquet being prepared, they all
 feasted together.

When the king came to understand that Jo-
 seph’s brothers were come, the news was as
 welcome to him as if some great good fortune
 had befallen him, insomuch that he order’d
 wagons with corn, gold, and silver to be sent,
 and presents for their father, beside what Jo-
 seph gave them; some for the father, some for
 the brothers themselves, but the best of all for
 Benjamin, and so they return’d.

Joseph make
 himself
 known to his
 brethren,
 Gen. xlv. 1.

Joseph sends
 his brothers
 for their fa-
 ther, &c.
 Ver. 13.

Jacob
 comes to
 Egypt
 5, 6, 7

The ch
 of Jaco
 Ver. 8,

Gen. xl
 Hezron
 ib. Carn

Ver. 11
 Coath.

Ver. 12
 lah.

ib. Zerah
 Ver. 12.
 mul.

CHAP. VII.

Jacob hearing how splendidly his son Joseph liv'd in Egypt, repairs to him there with his family.

The history of Joseph's adventures, Ver. 26, 27.

UPON the arrival of Jacob's sons with their father, they told him the whole History of Joseph's adventures: How he was not only living, after so long and sad a mourning for him, but in great power and splendor: Pharaoh's first minister; and, next to the king himself, the most eminent person in his dominions. Jacob made no difficulty of believing what was told him, but enter'd into a contemplation of God's infinite Grace and favour to him, tho' for some time seemingly discontinued, and so without any delay, he and his people hasten'd away to Joseph.

Jacob sacrifices at Beer-sheba, Gen. xlv. 1.

WHEN Jacob came to the well called the Well of Oath, he offer'd up a sacrifice; but somewhat uneasy within himself, for fear the plenty of Egypt should debauch his sons, and tempt them to settle there, and so divert his posterity from returning to Chanaan, and the land which God had promis'd him. He had some scruple too, lest God should strike him and his family with some judicial calamity, even for undertaking the present journey, without imploring counsel and direction from above; or that he himself should die before he came to Joseph. As he lay pondering with these thoughts in his head, he fell fast asleep; and God appeared to him in a vision, calling him twice by his name. Jacob asked who was there, and the vision made him answer, "Hast thou forgotten thy God then, Jacob? the God of thy forefathers that never failed, either them or their posterity, in a time of need? That God who appointed you the head of your family, contrary to your father's intent; and when you went single into Mesopotamia, blessed you with an advantageous match, and brought you back again full of wealth and children? That God who hath still been the protector and guardian of your family, and advanced your son Joseph, whom you gave for lost, to a degree of honour next to the king in Egypt? I am now coming to be your conductor in your present Journey, and to foretel you, that you shall end your days in the arms of your son Joseph; that your posterity shall be powerful and famous for many ages, and come at last to the land I have promis'd them."

God appears to Jacob in a vision, Ver. 2.

Jacob advances towards Egypt, Ver. 5, 6, 7.

JACOB, putting confidence in this vision, marched cheerfully on himself toward Egypt, and his people, to the number of seventy persons. Their names are a little uncouth, and I should have pass'd them over, but for the satisfaction of those that will have us to be Egyptians, not Mesopotamians.

The children of Jacob, Ver. 8, &c.

JACOB had twelve sons. Joseph being gone away before, we shall only give an account now of the rest severally, and of their issue.

Gen. xlv. 9. Hezron. ib. Carmi.

RUBEL had four sons; Anoch, Phalles, Esaron, and Charmi.

Ver. 11. Coath.

SIMEON had six sons; Jumil, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zoar, and Shaul.

Ver. 12. She-lah. ib. Zerah.

LEVI had three sons; Gershon, Chaath, and Merari.

Ver. 12. Hamul.

JUDAS had three sons; Salah, Phares, and Zarah.

PHARES had two sons; Efron, and Amyr.

ISSACHAR had four sons; Thulas, Phuas, Jacob, and Samaron. Ver. 13. Tola, Phuvah, Job, Shimron.

ZABULON had three sons; Sarad, Elon, and Jalel. Ver. 14. Sered, Elon, Jahleel.

JACOB had these children by Leah; who carry'd with her her daughter Dinah; and all these together amount to the number of thirty three persons.

JACOB had over and above, by Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin.

JOSEPH had two sons; Manasses and Ephraim.

BENJAMIN had ten sons; Bolau, Baccharis, Afabel, Gera, Naaman, Ies, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, and Arad: And these fourteen persons added to the other thirty three, make the number of forty seven. These were Jacob's legitimate sons, beside Dan and Nephthali, which he had by Bilhah. V. 21. Belah. ib. Becher. ib. Ashbel. ib. Ehi, Ros. ib. Muppm, and Huppm, and Ard.

DAN had but one son; and he called him Ufis. Ver. 23. Husim.

NEPHTHALI had four sons; Jesel, Guni, Isfares, and Sellim; and these added to those above, make the number of fifty four. Ver. 24. Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem.

JACOB had also by Zilpah, Gad and Asser.

GAD had seven sons; Saphonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, and Ariel. V. 16. Ziphion, Hag-gai, Shuni, Esbon, Eri, Arodi, Areli.

ASSER had one daughter, Sarah, and six sons; Jomnes, Ifus, Ifuis, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. Now these fifteen added to the other fifty four, if we include Jacob, amount, as is said before, to the exact number of seventy. Ver. 17. Jimnah, Ifuah, Ifua, Beriah, and Serah.

As they were advancing upon the way, Judas went before with the intelligence to Joseph, that Jacob was coming, who presently set out to receive him, and they met at a place call'd Heropolis. Jacob, at the greeting, had like to have expir'd in a transport of joy; and Joseph's surprize was not much less: But his own danger did not hinder him from taking care of his father, being the weaker of the two. After this, he took five of his brethren along with him, and posted away to the king with the tidings of their arrival, ordering the rest to advance by easy journeys. The king was very glad of the news, and enquir'd of Joseph what business or profession they chiefly apply'd themselves to. Joseph answer'd, that their employment was wholly pastoral, and that they minded nothing else. He gave this answer for two reasons: First, to keep them together that they might be within distance of serving their father: Secondly, to prevent strife and emulation with the Egyptians, by interfering with any of their commissions; for these people were not allow'd to concern themselves in flocks and pastures. Jacob, upon his arrival, was brought before the king, who asking him his age, he told him, an hundred and thirty: Pharaoh seeming mightily surpriz'd at his great age, Jacob added further, that his ancestors commonly liv'd a great while longer; so the king appointed Jacob, and his sons to go and live in Heliopolis, where the king had his flocks and shepherds. Jacob conducted to Pharaoh. Gen. xlvii. 7, 8, 9. Heliopolis assign'd Jacob for his Habitation. Gen. xlvii. 11. Rameses.

THE famine at this time increased grievously in Egypt, and no redress. The overflowing of the Nile that was wont to water the country, and make it fruitful, was suspended, no rain at all, and the generality of the people, for want of foresight, utterly without stores, and no grain to be had but for ready money; and when that fail'd, they gave their land, cattle, and slaves, in exchange for corn. By this means

all came into the king's hands, while the miserable multitude went, some one way, and some another, submitting to any misery rather than starving; only the priests preserv'd their freedom, and their estates. This necessity in the conclusion made the people's minds as servile as their bodies; for they accounted nothing mean or scandalous that would procure them bread in their mouths, which way soever they came at it.

The famine abates.

UPON the return of the Nile to its usual state, and course of watering and refreshing the earth, the famine began by degrees to abate, and every thing to return to the condition it was in before. Joseph hereupon visited all the great towns and cities, call'd the people together, and put them into possession of their lands again, which they had parted with to the king, reserving a fifth part of the profits of them as a duty to the royal prerogative; charging them to be as good husbands for the king as they would for themselves, if the grounds were entirely their own. The men were so surpriz'd with joy at this unlook'd for restitution, that they fell presently to work upon tillage and improvement. This most generous piece of justice did mightily advance Joseph's interest and authority, and engage the affection of the people to the king. And after this concession, the aforesaid fifth part was settled by an act of state upon the crown for ever.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Jacob, and of Joseph.

Jacob dies in the arms of his children, Gen. xlviii. xlix.

Jacob recommends Ephraim and Manasses to his sons, Gen. xlviii.

The death and character of Joseph.

WHEN Jacob had been seventeen years in Egypt, he departed this life in the arms of his children, wishing them plenty and prosperity, and foretelling them that their issue should in time to come possess part of the land of Chanaan, which came afterwards to pass. He mightily recommended to them the generosity of Joseph, for his goodness, in returning only kindnesses and benefits for the most provoking of injuries; and expressing more tenderness for his mortal enemies, than was usual with others to the best of friends; wherefore he laid his commands upon them to receive Ephraim and Manasses, Joseph's children, into their number, when they should come to share the land of Chanaan, (but of this hereafter;) desiring them at last, that his body might be buried in Hebron. He died at a hundred and forty seven years of age, not inferior for piety and virtue to any of his predecessors, and by the goodness of God he was crown'd with all sorts of blessings. Joseph, with the king's leave, caused his body to be transported to Hebron, where it was magnificently buried. The solemnity being over, the brothers made a great difficulty of going back again, for fear least Joseph should execute revenge on them, now the father was dead, and no body left that could interpose to hinder mischief; but Joseph soon dispossessed them of their fears, and prevail'd with them to return with him back again; bestowing upon them large possessions, and upon all occasions treating them with the most generous respect imaginable. After this Joseph also died, at the age of a hundred and ten years, a man of the strictest

and most exact virtue; of profound wisdom and prudence, and one who made so modest a use of his power, that no calumny, no not so much as that of Petepher's wife, nor the consideration of his being a foreigner was of any disservice to him. In fine, he master'd all difficulties, and was advanced to the highest station in the government, which he enjoy'd without either the envy or censure of any person whatsoever. The rest of the brethren liv'd and died happily in Egypt too, and their bodies afterward, by their posterity, were transported to Hebron, and there interr'd. The bones of Joseph were last of all carried out of Egypt, when the Hebrews relinquish'd the country, according to his own appointment, and the oath which he made his sons swear to him before he died. As to the history and adventures of these people, and how they made their way into the land of Chanaan, we shall treat of it in another place. But it should be first seen how they came to quit the land of Egypt.

CHAP. IX.

The miserable slavery of the Hebrews in Egypt, for four hundred years. The birth of Moses, and the providence of his preservation, by the means of Pharaoh's daughter.

THE Egyptians are naturally a peevish, lazy sort of people, abandon'd to their pleasures, and their very souls set upon worldly riches, let them come which way they will. So that it was no wonder they should cast an envious eye upon the Hebrews, whom they found (just in a contradiction to their humour) a laborious, industrious people, abounding in men and treasure; a people, in short, whose happiness they were not able to bear; beside a jealousy they had that their increase in wealth and number might make them dangerous. Joseph's old services being now forgotten, and the government of Egypt translated into another family, the Israelites were no longer treated as friends, but as slaves; for all servile and coarse offices of drudgery were imposed upon them, even to the degree of putting their wits to work, to find out new ways of vexation and oppression. They put them to the draining of rivers into channels, walling of towns, casting up of dikes and banks, to keep off inundations; nay, the erecting of phantastical pyramids, forcing them upon the learning of several painful trades, and tying them up to a perpetual restlessness of labour: this was their life for a matter of four hundred years. The Egyptians, on the one hand, striving to kill as many of them as they could by hard labour, while the Israelites on the other, patiently made the best of their misfortunes in all difficulties.

WHILE the Egyptians were thus intent upon the destroying of them, there went a discourse about, that made their malice against them yet more implacable, even to the degree of resolving to root them out from off the face of the earth. There was a certain scribe, as they call'd him, a man highly esteem'd for his predictions, who told the king that there was a Hebrew child to be born about that time, who would be a scourge to the Egyptians, and advance

The Egyptians a luxurious, envious people.

The Egyptian slavery, Exod. i. 13, 14.

A prophecy of a Hebrew child that should curb the Egyptians.

An order to
drown all the
Hebrew
males, Ver. 16.

advance the glory of his own nation; and, if he liv'd to grow up, would be a man eminent for virtue and courage, and make his name famous to posterity. The king was so affrighted at this prediction, that by the counsel of the scribe, he order'd the Egyptian midwives carefully and strictly to attend the labours of all the Hebrew women; preserving the females, and casting the males into the river. He committed this trust to the Egyptians, as the least likely to be partial; and upon pain of death to them and their family, who should presume to conceal any child, or act contrary to this command.

THE barbarity of this bloody decree look'd several ways; first, as it depriv'd so many parents of their children; secondly, as it made those parents themselves accessory to the murder of their own issue; and then again, as they had in prospect an utter extinction of the whole race, for want of males to continue it, they were now brought to the last extremity. But there is no opposing of craft and violence to God's will and providence; for this child, of whom the scribe had foretold, was born and brought up privately and safe, in despite of all precautions, and liv'd to make good the scribe's predictions. The matter was carried thus:

Amaram's
prayer for the
Hebrews.

THERE was one * Amaram, a Hebrew, a man of eminent quality and credit, who found himself in a great streight upon this decree, both in a publick and a private sense; one way, out of a respect to the whole nation that was to be extirpated by it; the other, in regard to his own particular, for his wife was then with child. In this distress of sorrow he offer'd up a prayer to Almighty God, "That he would look down in pity upon a people that had never departed from his worship; that he would guide and protect them, and in his good time put an end to a calamity that struck at no less than the rooting out of the whole stock." His prayer was heard, and God appear'd to him in a dream, telling him, "That as he had not forgotten the piety of his predecessors, so neither would he fail to reward them as he had done their ancestors;" encouraging Amaram to hope for better things. "It was I, said the vision, who made you so mighty a nation from so small a beginning; that brought Abraham in his own single person out of Mesopotamia into Chanaan, and beside, other blessings, gave him children by a woman, who according to the course of nature, was past child-bearing, and left vast possessions to those who came after him; to Ishmael the country of Arabia; Troglodytis to the children of Cheturah, and to Isaac the land of Chanaan. You cannot (without extreme wickedness and ingratitude) forget the glory and successes of all your exploits when I fought your battles. My blessings upon Jacob and his posterity, who of † seventy persons only that came into Egypt, are at present multiplied to six hundred thousand. The vision also assur'd him, that he would provide for the common good of them all,

God answers
Amaram in a
vision.

and for himself in particular; for the child that the Egyptians stood in such dread of, and for whose sake all the Hebrew males were to be put to death; that child, the vision said, should be born to him, come happily into the world, escape all spies, have an education provided for him, beyond what could be expected, and in good time deliver the Israelites from the Egyptian bondage, and make his name glorious to eternity, through all nations. This, and more, says the vision, will I do for you and yours; and he shall have a brother whom I will honour with the high-priesthood, and it shall descend from him to his heirs for ever."

AMARAM, upon waking, gave his wife Jochabel the history of this vision, and the discourse put them both in great perplexity what to think of it; for they were now not only solicitous for the child, but to the highest degree incredulous also of the wonderful good things that were to come to pass; but after a while, Jochabel fell in labour, and her pains so short and easy, that all was over before the Egyptian midwives could take notice of it; by which providence they were brought to have more faith in the vision. After the child had been kept close three months, Amaram at last, for fear of a discovery that would destroy father, mother, child, and all at once, and likewise disappoint the prediction, determin'd to leave all to providence, reasoning upon it after this manner: If the child could be concealed, (as it was very difficult to do it, and very hazardous to attempt it,) they must live in danger every moment; but as to the power and veracity of God, they made no doubt of it, or of his ability to save them; so that whatever he had promised, he would certainly bring to pass. Upon this discourse they came to a resolution, and made a small cradle of bulrushes, ‡ fit for their purpose; twisted them together, pitched the joints, and when they had made it tight, and dressed it to hold water, they put in the child, and so committed them to the river, and to God's merciful protection. In this manner it was set a-float, and the stream carried it along. || Mariam the child's sister was sent by her mother's order to watch it on the other side of the river, and see what became on't. This may serve now to convince mankind, that it is in vain for human wisdom to think of defeating the will and pleasure of the Almighty; and to instruct us, that they, who for their own interest or security, meditate mischief to other men, though with never so much art and address, shall probably meet with many disappointments in the end; as they on the contrary, that cheerfully resign up themselves to the good pleasure of God, shall find relief, even by miracle, where ordinary means fail; as in the case of this innocent child.

THERMUTHIS, the king's daughter, was at this time taking the air upon the bank of the Nile, and happening to see somewhat pass floating along the current, she presently sent out some swimmers to bring it a-shore; which s-

Amaram tells
his wife his
dream.

Moses is
born, Exod.
ii. 2.

The child
kept close
for three
months.

Moses set
a-drift upon
the river in a
cradle, Ver. 3.
Mariam the
child's sister
sent out to
watch it,
Ver. 4.

Thermuthis,
the king's
daughter, gets
the child
a-shore, Ver.

* Vid. Amram. † See above Chap. VII.

‡ This by some called a rush, by others a reed, was a flaggy shrub of great use among the antients, which grew to the height of ten feet, chiefly in the marshes of Egypt, and the stagnated places of the river Nile, of which they made cloaths, mats, ropes, sails, sailing-vessels, &c. as Pliny informs us, B. XIII. c. 11. Of this also was made the paper of the antients.

|| Scr. Miriam.

when it came to be examin'd, proved a fair goodly child, expos'd in a kind of cradle or basket, as aforesaid, which the princess was exceedingly delighted withal. Such was the grace and favour of God to Moses, that he was preserv'd, brought up, and provided for, by those very persons that were in the design of cutting off the whole race of the Hebrews for his sake. So that Thermuthis order'd some women to be call'd to give it suck: But several being brought, and try'd, one after another, the child turn'd away with such an aversion, that they could not make it take the breast. Mariam being there present, and seemingly more out of curiosity or by chance, than any thing of concern or business, she told the princess that this would never do; "For, (says she) if this child be of one country, and the nurse of another, it is possible the milk of a stranger will not agree with it: But if there was ever a Hebrew woman, the child would perhaps allow that to suckle it." That which Mariam said seem'd so reasonable, that the princess order'd her to try if she could get such a nurse herself.

Jochabel the mother nurse it, Ver. 8.

Why call'd Moses, V. 10.

Moses the sixth from Abraham.

Moses a miracle of a child.

SHE went away presently to look after one, and in a short time brought the real mother herself (whom no body there knew) to make the experiment. She had no sooner offer'd it the breast, but the child immediately fell to drawing and sucking it with all the eagerness that could be. And the princess observing it, desir'd Jochabel to take charge of the infant; which she very readily accepted of. The child had a name given him according to the event of the providence, and it was called Mo-Yses: * Mo, in the Egyptian language signifying water, and Yses, as much as preserv'd: So that putting them together, Moyse signifies preserv'd out of water. This Moses, beyond all controversy, proved in time the wisest man in the whole nation of the Hebrews, which was but according to what God had foretold of him. He was the sixth generation from Abraham: Amaram his father being the son of Caath; the son of Levi; the son of Jacob; the son of Isaac; who was the son of Abraham.

As he grew up, he shew'd a pregnancy of understanding much above those of his years. Nay, the very gaiety of his little plays and sports was not without somewhat of serious and instructive in it: Doing every thing with such a grace, that in his very childhood he gave the world to understand what might be expected from him in time to come. After three years of age, he came to be such a miracle of a child, for beauty and comeliness of stature, that people would stop and stand gazing at him with delight and admiration whenever they saw him; and there appeared such a charming sweetness and winning gracefulness in his mien, that it wrought upon the most unsociable and morose of men: Nor did he so much as move any where, but all eyes were upon him; and let people be upon never such urgent business, or so much in haste, it was with difficulty and unwillingness that they departed from him.

So it was, in fine, that Thermuthis, out of a pure affection to the child, and wanting issue of her own, took a resolution to adopt him for her son; carry'd him to her father, and told

him that she came to present him with a successor, in case he should die without male issue. "This (says she) is the sweetest towardly child that ever was born. I have brought it up myself, and it was the bounty of the river Nile that deliver'd it into my arms. This child do I intend to adopt, and make yourself a present of it for your successor." With these words she gave the child into the hands of her father. The king receiv'd him, and with an affectionate tenderness, pressing him towards his heart, took off his crown to gratify his daughter, and placed it upon the child's head; who wantonly turning it up and down, let it drop to the ground; the child, after that, trampling upon it with his feet. This passage was look'd upon as an ill omen to the king and his government: Insomuch that the scribe (being then at hand) vehemently cry'd out aloud to have the boy kill'd; for that is the child, (says he to the king) that I foretold you would be the destruction of Egypt, and he has now confirm'd the prophecy by the affront he has put upon your government, in trampling your crown under his feet. This is he, in fine, by whose death alone you can promise yourself to be secure; and take him but away once, the Hebrews have nothing more to hope for, nor the Egyptians to fear. Thermuthis, upon this outcry, took him instantly away without any opposition from the king, it being God's will, for the good of Moses, that he should give no heed to what he said. The princess gave him all the advantages of a generous and polite education, which put the Hebrews in hope of some great good that was shortly to accrue to them. The Egyptians on the other side, were as jealous of mischief; but having no prospect of any successor to the crown whom they could hope to be much the better for, the bloody design of putting him to death dropt.

Thermuthis adopts him, and presents him to her father.

Moses preserv'd by a special providence.

CHAP. X.

The war of Moses with the Ethiopians.

THUS was Moses born, and brought up; and still, as he advanc'd farther into the world, he gave every day more and more proofs of his character and courage, and of what consequence his valour and conduct might be, either to his friends or his enemies. As for example:

THE Ethiopians made an inroad upon the borders of Egypt, rifling and spoiling that part of the country. The Egyptians highly resented the affront, and march'd out against them with an army to revenge both the dishonour and the injury they had suffer'd. It came to a battle, and the Egyptians were routed; some kill'd in the action, and others shamefully beaten home again. The Ethiopians were sufficiently puffed up with this success, and follow'd the blow so close, that they were not without some hope of over-running even their whole country. They burnt and ravaged without controul, took booty in abundance, and carried all before them without resistance; insomuch that they march'd to Memphis itself, and so to the sea, and all without

The Ethiopians break in upon the Egyptians.

They put them to the rout, and over-run their country.

* Scaliger in his notes upon the fragment of Berofus, p. 48. confutes this etymology of Moses, which the scripture seems to countenance.

opposition. The Egyptians were hard press'd, and in this extremity had recourse to their divines and oracles, what they had best to do. The answer was, that they should call in a certain Hebrew to their assistance. The king forthwith upon this, tells his daughter that he was resolv'd to levy an army against the Ethiopians upon this occasion, and that he should be glad to have Moses undertake the command of it. The princess promis'd to do her part toward the engaging of him, as a thing of great importance to her father's service; but first of all bound him under the obligation of a solemn oath, that no mischievous practice should be attempted upon his person; casting it in the teeth of the priests, how wretched a shame it was, first to contrive and advise the death of him, and then most pitifully to implore his friendship.

MOSES at the intercession of Thermuthis and the king, was easily prevail'd upon to undertake this commission, which was highly pleasing to the holy men of both sides. The Egyptians flatter'd themselves, first with the hope of victory under his conduct, and then with the likelihood of an opportunity, when their own work was done, to destroy Moses. The Hebrews, on the other side, delighted themselves with the thought, that under the command of so great a general, they might one day find themselves in a condition to shake off this Egyptian yoke. Moses bethought himself upon this expedition how he might come to attack the enemy unawares. The passage over land was horribly infested with serpents; many of them fierce and venomous, terrible to the very sight, and several sorts among them that are not to be found any where else; some with wings, that seize men by surprize, and are as mortal in the air, as upon the ground. This way was so deadly hazardous, that all people were against the venturing of an army through it; so that for that very reason he rather chose the inland passage than that by the Nile; and this he did upon a true judgment of the reason of the thing. Moses was only in the first place to provide against the perils of this desperate passage, which he did by this wonderful stratagem. The bird Ibis is a mortal enemy to all sorts of serpents; they fly from the pursuit of it as from deer, till they are overtaken and devour'd. This bird is only fierce to those poisonous creatures, and gentle to all others. I shall need say no more of it at present; for the Greeks are very well informed in this history. Now Moses's invention to secure his army against the assaults of serpents, was to carry with him so many of these birds in cages of bulrushes to clear the way for him.

MOSES was no sooner advanc'd to this dangerous quarter, but he let loose his birds upon the serpents, as against so many enemies, and under their protection went forward without any harm or interruption; so that pushing hard to overtake the Ethiopians, he came up with them before they were aware, fought and defeated them; and having bank'd their hopes of conquering Egypt, he drove them back again in confusion to their own country, destroying a great many of their towns and ci-

ties, and committing terrible slaughter upon their people.

THIS victory of Moses infus'd new life and vigour into the Egyptians, while the Ethiopians, on the other hand, had nothing but death, destruction, and slavery before their eyes. They were at last driven into Saba, the metropolis of Ethiopia, which Cambyfes afterward called by the name of Meroe, having a sister of that name. Moses sat down before this place, though in all appearance impregnable, being surrounded by the Nile, and two other rivers, Astapus and Astabora, falling in to strengthen it; which made the passage so much the more difficult; beside, that standing in an island, and being encompass'd with a strong wall, it is likewise fortified with ramparts, and other works of defence, to secure it from any attacks or inundations from the river.

MOSES was not at all pleas'd with this siege, for the army lay idle, and there was no forcing the enemy to come to an engagement. But while this pass'd, there happen'd a very extraordinary accident; the king of Ethiopia had a daughter he called Tharbis, who had the fortune once to see and to observe Moses with his sword in his hand, drawing up his arms and behaving with great honour and bravery under the walls of the town. She was so infinitely taken with the courage and gallant behaviour of the man, looking upon him also as the balance of the two kingdoms, and having recover'd the affairs of the Egyptians when reduced to the last extremities, and at the same time humbled the Ethiopians in the very height of their victories, that upon all this together the princess fell violently in love with him; and her affection growing upon her still more and more, she broke her mind at last to some particular confidants she had, and sent them over to Moses to offer herself in marriage to him. Moses agreed to it, but upon this condition, (which was ratified with an oath too,) that upon delivering up the city, the marriage should be consummated, which was accordingly perform'd very soon after. Moses gave God thanks for his conquest over the Ethiopians, and at the same time solemniz'd the nuptials; which being done, the army of the Egyptians return'd home victorious.

CHAP. XI.

The ungrateful Egyptians conspire against the life of Moses, who flies from Egypt to Madian.

BUT so far were these ungrateful wretches from acknowledging the benefits they had received from their deliverer and preserver, that they returned him only a mortal ill-will and hatred in requital; proceeding even to foul practices upon his person. They were afraid the reputation and interest he had acquired by his mighty achievements, might, perhaps, put him in a condition to set up for himself; and so to give a check to his career, they exhibited an information of * murder against him, which the king himself was

Y

well

* The scriptures say, that Moses fled to Midian for fear lest Pharaoh should put him to death for killing an Egyptian, who had struck an Hebrew, one of his brethren. But Josephus seems to palliate this; and excuse Moses of

Moses marches against the Ethiopians at the head of an army.

The passages infested with serpents.

Moses destroys the serpents with his Ibis.

Surprizes the Ethiopians, and ravages their country.

Moses lays siege to Saba.

Tharbis, the king's daughter, falls in love with Moses.

The place render'd up on condition of marriage.

A conspiracy against Moses.

well enough content to entertain; partly out of envy to the fame of his valour and wisdom, and partly for fear of that destruction which the priests and scribes were continually ringing in his ears; for they never left spurring him on to mischief, till in conclusion they brought the king himself over into the plot. Moses, in fine, was certainly design'd for death, and he escaped it so narrowly too, that if by providence he had not got some intelligence of the design just when he did, and in that instant stole privately away, he had undoubtedly perished. He was inform'd that the ways were laid, and therefore he was forc'd to take his flight through a desert, where he might reasonably presume no body would look after him. He travelled without finding any thing to eat upon his journey; so that there was no remedy for hunger but patience. In this condition he pass'd travelling forward, till he

Moses makes his escape to Madian, Exod. ii. 15.

came about noon, within a little of * Madian, a city upon the coast of the Red Sea, that took its name from one of the sons of Abraham by Chetura. He was now come within sight of the town, where he sat down by a fountain, to refresh and rest himself. In this place there happened an accident that took its rise from somewhat of the custom of the country; and it gave Moses an occasion not only of shewing his resolution and justice, but, as the consequence prov'd, of making his fortune also. Water is so scarce in that country, that the shepherds strive who can get first in the morning to the fountain, lest it be drawn dry, and not enough left for their cattle. At this time there stood by the fountain seven maiden sisters, the daughters of † Raguel, a priest, and a person of great reputation in that quarter. These maids had their father's flocks under their care, which is commonly the women's business among the Troglodytes; and when they had taken what they thought sufficient, they emptied it into troughs, the better to divide it among their sheep; but some shepherds coming up at the same time, they rudely forced the virgins away from their station, in order to take the water to themselves. This was so brutal, and so unmanly an indignity to be put upon women, that Moses thought it a duty incumbent upon him to vindicate their cause; so he drove the shepherds away, and help'd the virgins, as it well became him to do.

The daughters of Raguel affronted, Ver. 17.

Moses rescues them, ib.

The gratitude of Raguel and his daughters, Ver. 20.

The daughters had so generous a sense of this civility and obligation, that upon returning to their father, they gave him the whole story at length, both of the shepherds rudeness and violence, and of the stranger's courtesy and respect; joining in a request to their father, that he would be pleased to make him some handsome requital for the favour they had received. The good-nature and gratitude of the daughters towards their benefactor, was so highly approv'd by the father, that he commanded them to bring the stranger to his house, that he might make him some acknowledgment suitable to his desert. Moses being accordingly

introduced, the father told him what a character his daughters had given of him, and how much they were all indebted to him for his assistance and protection. He had a great admiration for his virtue, he said, and would give him very speedily to understand, that his kind offices should not pass either unregarded or unrewarded; for he should quickly make him an ample recompence for his civilities. Hereupon he took him for his adopted son, Raguel adopted Moses, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and made him head and master of all his cattle, which at that time was all one with the entire possessions of those people. Ver. 21.

C H A P. XII.

Of God's appearing in the fiery bush, and of Moses's rod.

UPON this advance of Moses in his fortune, under the favour of † Jethegleth, otherwise Raguel, he liv'd with his father-in-law, and had the charge of his flocks, which he drove some time afterwards up to mount Sinai, where there was excellent grass, and feeding, and the highest mountain in the whole country. The people had an old tradition, that God dwelt there; so that in ancient time, out of pure reverence to this tradition, people forbore either feeding or walking there. Upon this mountain there appeared to him a wonderful prodigy: A fire seen in a bush, the bush burning, the flame fierce and violent, and yet neither leaves, flowers, nor branches blasted or consumed. The very spectacle itself, and the surprize of it, struck Moses with astonishment; but he was much more amazed when he heard a voice out of the fire calling him by his name, and speaking to him; "How durst you presume, says the voice, to set foot upon this ground, where never any man living trod before you, out of a veneration to the very holiness of the place?" Commanding Moses to withdraw himself from the fire, and to rest content with what he had seen, and what he was thought worthy of, as the righteous offspring of so many glorious ancestors; charging him over again to carry his curiosity no farther. The voice foretold him, that through God's assistance his name should be great and honourable among men; bidding him fear nothing, but go to Egypt, where he should have the absolute command of all the Hebrews, and deliver his countrymen from their present tyranny and oppression; "For," says the voice, they shall come to inhabit the lands, and to enjoy all the good things that their first father Abraham was possess'd of, and by your wisdom be put in to the full enjoyments of all those blessings; but be sure to remember, that so soon as ever you shall have brought the Hebrews out of Egypt, you offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving in this very place." Thus said

Jethegleth, or Raguel, Exod. iii. 1.

Moses drives his flock to mount Sinai.

A tradition that God inhabits there.

God speaks to Moses out of the fiery bush, Ver. 4.

A voice bids Moses go to Egypt, V. 10.

of the murder, by giving it a different turn, and connecting it with the preceding chapter, which gives us an history of actions in that interval of time, betwixt Moses's childhood and manhood; the credit of which depends entirely upon his own authority, the holy scriptures not making the least mention of any of the particulars therein contain'd.

* Scrip. Midian. † Scrip. Reuel.

† According to the ancient Latin version. In the original 'tis Ιεθραΐος, perhaps for Ιεθραΐος, which in the Scripture is Jethro.

|| Scrip. Horeb.

the

the voice that spake to Moses out of the fiery bush.

Moses reasons
the matter
with the Al-
mighty, V. 11.

THE prodigy of the vision gave Moses a frightful amazement, but the voice much greater. "Lord, says he, I know, and I adore thy power, and so have all my predecessors done before me; so that I must be worse than mad, to make any doubt of obeying it; but how shall I yet, a weak private man, find either words or credit to prevail with such a number of people; first to forsake a place where they are at present settled, and then to follow me upon uncertainties, whithersoever I shall think fit to lead them? Or otherwise, supposing that I had interest enough to draw them after me, who shall compel Pharaoh to let them go yet, when so great a part of the Egyptians happiness and revenue depends upon their labour?" The voice commanded him again to rest satisfied upon the whole matter, promising to be with him upon all occasions; and that if there were need of words, the faculty of persuasion should be put into his mouth; or if of works or actions, he should be strengthened and supported. But for the fuller confirmation and conviction of Moses, the voice commanded him to throw a rod down upon the ground that he had in his hand. He did so, and it was presently turn'd into a serpent, rolling itself into folds, and menacing with the head, as if it threatened an assault; and then this serpent in a little time became a rod again. The voice, after this, bad Moses put his hand into his bosom, which he did, and it came out again as white as chalk, returning in a very little time to its native colour. Moses was again commanded to take fair water, and throw it upon the ground, where it seem'd to be turn'd into blood. Moses standing aghast at the miraculous operations, God commanded him to cast himself wholly upon him, and to depend upon the assistance of an Almighty power, which should enable him also to work the same miracles, and give him the credit of a person acting by a divine commission, and in obedience to the will of God.

God promises
to support
Moses both
with miracles
and argu-
ments, Exod.
iv. 2-9.

Moses's rod
turn'd into
a serpent,
Ver. 3.

A leprous
hand, Ver. 6.

Water turn'd
into blood,
Ver. 9.

God hastens
Moses into
Egypt, Ver.
19.

UPON this deliberation God commanded Moses away immediately for Egypt, and to pursue his journey night and day without intermission; for the longer he staid, the longer would the Hebrews remain in affliction and slavery. It was not for Moses, after what he had seen and heard, to doubt of God's power or justice; for nothing could be clearer than the certainty of the grounds he went upon. He made it his petition yet, that he might have the same power of working miracles continued to him in Egypt, which he had exercis'd here, with this further supplication, that God would vouchsafe to reveal unto him the name of that infinite power which he had seen and heard, to the end that in his sacrifices and invocations he might know more explicitly under what appellation to offer up his address. God was pleased to grant him his request, but it is a name that was never known, nor heard of before by any of the children of men, and I dare not so much as mention it. Moses had the gift of working miracles confer'd upon him, not only for this particular time, but so often as there should be occasion for it; so

The gift of
working mi-
racles.

that without the least doubt or distrust of the certainty of the revelations and predictions from the bush, or of the assurances of a divine assistance to go along with him wherever he went, he settled his thoughts in a firm confidence of living to see the happy deliverance of the Hebrews, and the utter confusion of their Egyptian enemies.

CHAP. XIII.

Upon the news of Pharaoh's death, Moses and Aaron go into Egypt to the new king.

MOSES had news by this time of the death of that Pharaoh who sought his life, and for fear of whom he had abandoned the country; so he ask'd Raguel's leave to return to his friends and relations in Egypt, for their common good. His desire being granted, he took his wife * Sepphorah, the daughter of Raguel, and his children by her, Gershom and Eleazar, and with all speed posted away with them into Egypt. Now Gershom in the Hebrew language signifies a foreigner, and Eleazar the help of God; because it was by the aid of divine providence that Moses escaped the snare the Egyptians had laid for him. By the time that he was gotten near the borders, his brother Aaron, by God's direction, came to him. Upon their meeting, Moses gave him an account at large of the wonders upon the mount, and of all the commands, instructions, and revelations that he had received from God. He was met upon the way a little farther by great numbers of the principal men among the Hebrews, who upon notice of his approach came out to bid him welcome. To them Moses communicated his commission from God; and, that there might be no room left for their diffidence and incredulity, in confirmation of the truth of what he said, he gave them ocular demonstration of his gift of miracles, as a certain and undoubted proof of his authority and power. This evidence did so absolutely confirm, as well as amaze them, that they made no longer any doubt but it was a token of assurance from Heaven, that God would provide for the relief and security of his people by some extraordinary means.

The death of
Pharaoh.

Moses goes
into Egypt.

Aaron meets
him upon the
way, Exod. iv.
27.

Moses has
recourse to
his gift of
miracles, Ver.
30.

THE Hebrews being thus inspired with the love and hopes of gaining their liberty, very readily came into Moses's measures, promising him for the future all respect and obedience; upon which he went directly to the new king; minded him of the services he had done the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, when they insolently and contemptuously made an irruption into his country, and ravaged it; the toils and hazaards he had undergone, and the care he had taken to manage the war for the advantage of the Egyptians, as if they had been his own countrymen; not forgetting at the same time to recount to him the base and ungenerous returns they had made him for these good offices. He told him likewise of the vision upon mount Sinai, and very particularly what God had said to him, and what signs he had given him by miracles and revelations, to fix him in a firm belief of all his promises;

Moses moves
the new king
on behalf of
the Hebrews,
Exod. vii. 10.

* Scrip. Zipporah.

Pharaoh ridicules him. Moses does his former miracles over again.

Pharaoh sets up his priests and enchanters against Moses, Exod. vii. 11.

Moses's rod devours the enchanters rods, Ver. 12.

Pharaoh doubles the Hebrews task, Exod. v. 9.

Moses solicits Pharaoh for the Israelites again; and precautions him for fear of the consequences.

befeeching Pharaoh not to oppose God's will by a fruitless infidelity.

PHARAOH turn'd all these things to ridicule. Moses, for his better satisfaction, did all those miracles before his face which he had wrought upon mount Sinai; upon which Pharaoh broke out into a violent outrage of passion and ill language. "You, says Pharaoh, a scandalous runagate! First you ignominiously fled out of Egypt to save yourself, and you are now come back again, instructed in the arts of magick and enchantments, to seduce the people from their allegiance and duty. You take upon you, says Pharaoh, as if you were the only man skill'd in this divine mystery, and value your reputation upon that idle pretence at such a rate, as if the multitude were to fall down and worship you. But after all this vanity and ostentation, my priests, says Pharaoh, I would have you to know, can do all your feats as well as you." So the priests were call'd, and bid to throw down their rods, which was done, and they were immediately turned into serpents. "This does not move me at all, says Moses, for I am neither a stranger to the learning of the Egyptians, nor a despiser thereof; but I may well affirm, that the operations I perform are as much more excellent than theirs, as the power of God is above that of their magick, or things divine more illustrious than human; and I shall make it instantly appear, that what I do is not a fancy of imposing illusions upon a credulous multitude, under the resemblance of truth, but the very power of an omnipotent God, which will rise in judgment against those unbelievers, who shall shut their eyes against so clear an evidence." With these words he threw his rod upon the ground, and commanded it to become a serpent; it did so, and while the magician's serpents were winding themselves upon the earth, Moses's serpent devour'd their serpents one after another; and then when it was return'd to its former shape, Moses took it up again.

THIS miracle was so far from having any good effect upon the king, that instead of admiring the power by which it was wrought, he burst out into indignation at the fact, protesting that he would do nothing in his favour, nor believe otherwise than that the wisdom and power of the Egyptians was equal to his; ordering at the same time the overseers not only to keep the Hebrews to their work, but to increase their task; which was forthwith done, by withdrawing their former allowance of straw toward the making of brick; so that they were obliged to work all day, and in the night fetch straw, which doubled their labour.

MOSES was not in the least discouraged at these hard words and menaces, but stood firm, both against the king's displeasure, and the murmurings of his own people, who would needs have dissuaded him from his enterprize, since his interfering did but, they said, make their oppression more grievous, and increase their misery. But the heart of Moses was set upon the liberty of his countrymen; wherefore he went again to the king, to beg leave for the Hebrews to go to mount Sinai, and offer sacrifice to God, as he had commanded them; telling Pharaoh also, "That there was no opposing

of God's will; wherefore he should do well not to seem to despise his favour, but rather let the people go, for fear of drawing those judgments upon his own head another day, which do certainly one time or other fall upon the unbelievers and the disobedient. In such a case, the very earth and the air, he said, would fight against him; his women would be barren, and all the elements would conspire to avenge God's cause upon him; all things would go cross with him, and no avoiding it, even though the Hebrews should leave his country, unless it were with Pharaoh's licence and free consent; and rather than fail, God himself would bring it about at last, if Pharaoh would not."

CHAP. XIV.

The ten plagues of Egypt.

THE king gave no heed at all to what Moses said, and upon this hardness and contempt, the Egyptians suffer'd most dreadful calamities; wherein I shall be very particular, both for the novelty sake, and to shew also that the predictions of our prophet were not idle. Beside, that finally it is for the good of mankind to know these things, both for their caution and instruction, that people may keep clear of crying and provoking sins, which bring down dreadful judgments upon mankind.

IN the first place, the water of the river Nile was turn'd to blood, which was the only water they had to drink; and it was not so in colour only, but it immediately affected the Egyptians who drunk of it with the most pungent pains and wracking tortures, and the Egyptians only; for to the Hebrews it was sweet and potable as at other times. This miracle put the king to his wits end; so that for fear of a total destruction, he gave the Hebrews leave to depart. So soon as the present evil was remov'd, he repented of what he had promised, and recall'd his word. God was so incens'd against him for his falseness and ingratitude, after the plague was removed from him, that he presently visited Egypt with another judgment; which was such swarms or shoals of frogs amongst them, that they cover'd the earth, and choak'd up the river, in which great numbers of them dying and rotting, they so corrupted the water that it was almost death to drink it; besides the dead frogs turn'd to mud, and produced others out of that putrefaction; so that they crawl'd into their bed-chambers, cups, dishes, meat, and drink; nothing escap'd them, and wherever they came, a poisonous stink went along with them. This fell so heavy upon the Egyptians, that Pharaoh sent for Moses a second time, and told him that he might now go and take the Hebrews along with him whither he pleased. The word was no sooner pass'd, but both land and water were all clear'd of the frogs, and every thing in its former state. This visitation was no sooner taken off, than forgotten; for Pharaoh detain'd the people still, pretending that what he promised was out of fear, and consequently not binding; for his will never consented to it, which looked as if he had done

Pharaoh is harden'd, Exod vii. 22. The plagues of Egypt.

1. The river turn'd into blood, V. 20.

Pharaoh discharges the Israelites, but remands them.

2. The plague of frogs, Exod. viii. 6.

Pharaoh promises again, and breaks his words, Ver. 8.--15.

Pharaoh shuffles off Ver. 20.

done it on purpose to make a further experiment. This base and treacherous breach of faith was follow'd with a judgment of lice: the bodies of the people bred them, and they were all cover'd with them, gnawing and tearing intolerably, and no remedy; for baths and ointments were of no service. Pharaoh was so confounded at this new plague, what with the danger, the scandal, and the nastiness of it, that as wicked as he was, he was half sorry for what he had done; for he gave the Hebrews permission to go their way; but so soon as the rod was off again, he demanded their wives and children as hostages for their return.

THIS was a practice that exasperated God more than the rest; for it look'd as if he thought to have over-reach'd providence, and as if Moses, not God, had punish'd the Egyptians for oppressing the Hebrews. Wherefore God sent numberless swarms of flies and insects, and such varieties of them as had never been seen before. They fill'd the whole country, destroy'd the people, and cover'd the ground so that there was no tilling of it; and they who escap'd present destruction, being infected with the contagion that was bred from the corruption of them, were seized by dangerous diseases: But all this was not yet enough to bring him to a sense of his sin, and a compliance with the will of God: But he was now only for letting some of the women and their husbands go, but keeping back their children.

THE wisdom of God did not want variety of plagues in abundance, and worse than the former, to inflict upon the whole nation for the wickedness of an incorrigible obstinate prince. So he visited the Egyptians with a plague of inward ulcers, which carry'd the people off in great numbers.

WHEN God saw that Pharaoh still persisted in the defiance of a divine power, he sent upon the Egyptians a judgment of hail, in the prime of the spring, which utterly destroy'd all their fruits and plants that were in the bud. This was not only a prodigy in Egypt, where they had never seen hail before, but beyond any other that ever had been heard of in the coldest and most northerly climates: And what the hail left was devour'd by a following plague of locusts; so that the whole product of the earth was lost for that year. Now, one would have thought, if this king had not been besotted as well as abandoned, these judgments would have convinc'd him of the vanity of contending with Almighty God, and have brought him to bethink himself of some way in time to prevent his final ruin: But Pharaoh was not so foolish all this while, as to be ignorant of the true cause of all his afflictions; but he seem'd to take a vanity in the haughtiness of a contumacious malice, to try masteries with God Almighty, who should get the better of it; and in this height of stomach he resolv'd to sacrifice himself and his people to his presumption. He came at length by degrees to yield, that the Hebrews should have licence to depart with their wives and children, only leaving their goods behind them, for the Egyptians, in consideration for what they had lost. Moses did

not think that condition reasonable; because, if so, they should not have any thing left for a sacrifice.

THIS dispute held so long, that before it was over, the Egyptians were all invironed with a profound thick darkness: Several of them perish'd by several ways; some were afraid of one thing, some of another; and not a few, of being all swallow'd up in the same abyss together. After three days and nights, Pharaoh still remaining obstinate in his resolution not to part with the Hebrews, Moses went and spoke to him in these words: "How long, says he, will you set up your own will against the will of God! It is his pleasure and command that you dismiss the Hebrews, and there is nothing else in nature to save you from the evils wherewith you are afflicted but that." The king was so enraged at this freedom, that he declared it should cost Moses his head, if ever he spoke one word to him more upon that subject. Moses made answer, that he had now said all he had to say; but that he was well assur'd it would not be long before the king himself, and the chief of his nobility should of their own accord speak to the Hebrews themselves to make haste to be gone: And with these words Moses went his way.

THE impenitent obstinacy of Pharaoh was so provoking, that God kept yet one plague more in store for him, which would be sure to humble his proud heart, and make him discharge the Hebrews. He commanded Moses to give notice to the people to prepare their sacrifice on the * thirteenth day of the month Xanticus, to be offer'd up on the fourteenth. (That which the Macedonians call Xanticus, the Hebrews call Nisan, and the Egyptians Pharmuthi.) Moses was appointed to bring the Hebrews along with him, and all that belong'd to them: which he did accordingly, gathering them together, and then dividing them into tribes and companies, but all in the same place. Early in the morning on the 14th, (the day assign'd) being all in readiness to depart, they sacrific'd, purifying their houses by sprinkling blood upon them with a bunch of hyssop. After supper they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just entering upon a journey. And this is our way of sacrificing unto this day upon the festival of our pascha, which signifies passing over, because God pass'd over the Hebrews without hurting them, when the Egyptians were struck with a disease; for the plague made such havock that night with the Egyptians first-born, that people of all conditions came thronging in troops to the palace with clamours to have the Hebrews forthwith sent away. Whereupon the King call'd for Moses, and gave immediate order for them to depart, upon an opinion that Egypt could never be happy so long as they staid in the country; and that the liberty of one would be the deliverance of the other. Several of the Egyptians presented them upon their going away, some for dispatch, others for acquaintance sake; and not without tears at parting: many of them repenting at the barbarous cruelty they had formerly exercis'd over them.

9. The plague of darkness. Ver. 22, 23.

Pharaoh continues obstinate. Ver. 27, 28.

The institution of the Passover. Ex. xii. 3.—27. 10. The plague of the first-born. v. 29.

Pharaoh orders the Israelites to depart. Ver. 31.

* See Bochart's Hierozoicon, part. I. b. ii. c. 50. p. 582. Ed. Lond.

CHAP. XV.

The march of the Hebrews out of Egypt, under the command of Moses.

They march out of Egypt. Ex. xii. 37.

The eight-days-festival. Ex. xiii. 6. 7.

They carry Joseph's bones along with them. Ver. 19.

Pharaoh pursues them. Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9.

THE Israelites took their way by Letopolis, a city at that time deserted: and Babylon was afterwards built in the place of it by Cambyfes, when he laid Egypt waste. They made long marches, and on the third day got to Beelzephon, by the red Sea. There were no provisions to be had upon the way in the wilderness; so that their food was only meal and water, kneaded and bak'd into cakes, and this was their entertainment for thirty days. They had now spent all they brought out of Egypt, having manag'd it as sparingly too as was possible, providing barely for their necessities, without filling their bellies. It is in memory of that scarcity that we celebrate the eight-days-festival, which we call that of unleaven'd bread. But the multitude of the travellers, with their wives and children, was almost innumerable; for there were full six hundred thousand men that were able to bear arms.

THE Hebrews went out of Egypt on the 15th day of the month of Xanthicus, Moses being now eighty years of age, and his brother Aaron eighty three. It was two hundred and fifteen years from Jacob's coming into Egypt, and four hundred and fifteen from the coming of our father Abraham into Chanaan. They carry'd Joseph's bones along with them, being a trust that he had committed to the charge of his sons.

THEY had not been long gone before the Egyptians repented that they had let them go; the King especially, who imputed all the Calamities that had befallen Egypt to the enchantments of Moses, and look'd upon them to be no more than the works of his practice and contrivance. This opinion brought them quickly to a resolution to follow them and fall upon them; in order to which having furnished themselves with arms and the other necessities of war, they pursued them with a full design to bring them back, if they cou'd but overtake them; concluding there was no reason to fear God would be offended with them for this action, since they had once consented to their departure: and as to their mastering of them, that they made no question would be effected with ease, since they were unarmed and weary with the fatigue of a march; whereupon enquiring of every body they met which way they journey'd, they pursued hastily; notwithstanding the difficulties of the passages were troublesome, even to a single traveller, and much more so to a marching army. But Moses had several inducements to make choice of this way: first, in case the Egyptians should change their minds, and send after them, the very fatigue of the expedition would make them repent both the perfidy and the undertaking: and then Moses held it imprudent and impolitic to lead them by palestine; for the phi-

listines, who were enemies to the Hebrews upon the score of an old grudge, and borderers upon Egypt, would perhaps have fallen upon them, if they could have had any intelligence of their march. He led them, in fine, by the way of the wilderness, tho' a great way about, and through many inconveniences, with an intent to sacrifice upon mount Sinai, as God had commanded him, and from thence to Chanaan.

By that time they were come to the Red Sea, they found themselves overtaken, and encompass'd by the Egyptians with an army of 600 chariots, 50000 horse, and 200000 foot; the main body being drawn up in order of battle. They had set guards upon all passes, secur'd all avenues, and shut the Hebrews up into so narrow a compass, betwixt impassable mountains and the sea, that it was utterly impossible for them to make an escape. In this streight, there was no thought of flying; and, if they had never so much a mind to't, there was no means of fighting neither; for they had no arms: and then, if they continu'd where they were, they must inevitably starve: so that there appear'd to them no visible means of saving their lives, but by basely yielding themselves slaves, and submitting to the will of their enemies. In this dangerous and desperate extremity the whole blame was laid upon Moses: They had forgotten the wonderful things that God had done for their deliverance, and the miracles he had wrought for the strengthening of their faith. They were so exasperated, in short, with the outcries of women and children that gave themselves for lost, that they were upon the very point of * stoning their false prophet, as they accounted him, and prostituting themselves once more yet to their former slavery; for they had nothing in sight but rocks, seas, and armed troops to encounter.

THE outrages and madness of this headstrong multitude had no effect at all upon the providence and courage of Moses; his whole trust was in God, who, he knew, after so many presages of liberty, would never fail him, or suffer his people to fall into the power of their enemies, to serve and perish; whereupon standing in the midst of the people, he address'd himself to them in the following manner: "Pray put the case, says he, that you had deposited some great trust in the hand of a person who had hitherto manag'd it well and wisely for you, might not you reasonably depend upon that man for the same care and kindness, and in the same case too over again? What a madness is it for you to despond then, where God himself hath taken you into his protection, and of his own free bounty made all good by me that might contribute to your freedom and security! Nay, the very danger and difficulty of the case is an argument to enflame your hope, rather than to discourage it. He hath brought you into this distress, on purpose to shew his power and kindness, in bringing you out again, even to the sur-

Moses leads them away by the wilderness. Ex. xiii. 18.

The Egyptians overtake them. Ex. xiv. 10.

The People ready to stone Moses.

Moses refers them to God's power and providence. Ver. 13, 14.

* The scriptures make no mention of the people offering to stone Moses, but only of some severe expostulations, Exod. xiv. 11, 12. when they saw the Egyptians at their heels, and ready to fall upon them.

"prize and admiration of yourselves, and
 "your very enemies. It is not God's time
 "to interpose with his Almighty power in
 "small matters, but in cases of judicial and
 "unaccountable calamities, when all hope of
 "human help fails us, that is the season for
 "God to work out the deliverance of those
 "who cast themselves upon him; wherefore
 "fear nothing so long as you have him for
 "your protector and defender, that is able to
 "raise the lowly and oppressed, and to lay
 "the honour of their persecutors in the dust.
 "Be not afraid of the Egyptians armed troops,
 "neither despond of your lives and safeties,
 "because you are at present lock'd up betwixt
 "the sea and the mountains, and no visible
 "way in nature to come off; for the God
 "whom you serve is able to level all these
 "mountains, and lay that ocean dry. His
 "will, in fine, be done."

C H A P. XVI.

*The Israelites pass through the Red Sea. The
 Egyptians pursue them, and are drown'd.*

Moses leads
 the Israelites
 toward the
 sea.

WITH these last words in his mouth,
 Moses led the Hebrews toward the sea,
 the Egyptians looking on; who having them
 in view, and being extremely harass'd out
 with the pursuit, thought it advisable to re-
 fresh themselves, and put off fighting till the
 day following. So soon as Moses was come
 to the sea side, he took out his rod, and cal-
 led upon God, imploring his divine aid and
 assistance in a prayer to this effect: "Lord,
 "says he, thou seest thy servants here reduced
 "to so miserable an extremity, that it is not
 "in the power of any natural means, whether
 "of arms, or human policy, to deliver us;
 "but it is the God alone whom we serve and
 "trust in who is able to do it. Lord, be
 "merciful to these thy people who are now
 "come out of Egypt, in a pure simplicity of
 "obedience to thy holy will and command-
 "ment, and reposing themselves entirely upon
 "thy gracious promises. It is to thee, Lord,
 "that we fly for help, who alone canst rescue
 "us out of the hands of our unmerciful ene-
 "mies. Speak comfort to thy servants, and
 "exert thy power; let thy relief be speedy,
 "and inspire them with a new life and confi-
 "dence, now in the depth of their despair.
 "Lord, we are under great difficulties, hem-
 "med in with the sea and mountains; but
 "that sea and those mountains are thine, and
 "if thou dost but say the word, the one shall
 "be levell'd, and the other turn'd into dry
 "land; or otherwise, thy providence may
 "carry us off among the very birds of the
 "air, if it shall be thy will to employ thy
 "power that way to save us." Immediately
 upon this prayer, Moses struck the sea with
 his rod, whereupon the waters parted and re-
 coil'd; by that means leaving a way open for
 the Hebrews passage and escape. The sea be-
 ing now divided, and a way opened. Moses
 perceived the thing proceeded from God; so

Moses calls
 upon God.

people
 of stone

refers
 to God's
 and
 cence.
 3, 14.

Moses strikes
 the sea with
 his rod, and
 the waters
 part, Exod.
 xiv. 21.

putting himself at the head of the people, who
 with great alacrity follow'd him, he bad them
 give God thanks for the blessing of so unexpect-
 ed and unaccountable a deliverance, and in
 the name of God to follow him chearfully
 through the way which Almighty God had
 provided for them. The Hebrews, without
 delay, marched forward, and the Egyptians
 look'd upon them as so many fots and mad-
 men, to throw themselves headlong into to
 certain a destruction. But when they saw
 them a great way in the sea, and pressing fur-
 ther still, without any inconvenience and im-
 pediment, they posted away after them, not
 making any doubt but the same road would
 serve them both. They therefore placing their
 cavalry in the van, made their descent from
 the shore into the sea, the infantry following
 after. But the Egyptians having spent some
 time in making ready, and being also heavy
 armed, the Hebrews got out of their reach,
 and arriv'd safely on the opposite shore, leav-
 ing their enemies behind them. This happy
 success of the Hebrews made the Egyptians
 yet more eager to pursue, and more secure too;
 for they did not understand that this miracle
 was not wrought for the opening of a com-
 mon way to them both; and that divine jus-
 tice had made use of it at the same time for
 the preservation of the people of God, and
 the confusion of their oppressors. They fol-
 lowed the pursuit however, and when the
 whole army was advanc'd within compass, the
 sea return'd upon it, and drowned them all.
 The judgment of this reflux was accompanied
 with high and fierce winds and tempests,
 storms of hail and rain, terrible thunderings
 and lightnings, and nothing, in short, wanting
 to make the calamity more dreadful, or to set
 forth the horrors of their condition that fall
 under the displeasure of an angry God. They
 were also overtaken with a dark pitchy night;
 so that the whole army was destroy'd, and
 not so much as one soul left alive to carry the
 tidings.

Moses advan-
 ces, and his
 people fol-
 low him,
 Ver. 22.

The Eryp-
 tians pursue
 them, and
 are all
 drown'd,
 Ver. 23-28.

It is not in the power of words to express
 the transports of the Hebrews upon this deli-
 verance; a blessing so unlook'd for, and God
 himself the immediate and the profess'd au-
 thor of it; beside the destruction of their ene-
 mies before their faces, to secure them in the
 possession of their liberty, and their oppressors
 all drown'd to a man too. God's hand was so
 eminently visible in the whole process of this
 affair, that never had creatures such cause of
 rejoicing. And so they spent that whole
 night in hymns and thanksgivings; Moses in
 particular composing a song in hexameter
 verse, to the honour of God upon this occa-
 sion.

Moses's song
 of thank-
 giving, Exod.
 xv.

I HAVE been the more particular in these
 relations, because I find them in holy writ,
 and let no man think this story incredible of
 the sea's dividing to save these people; for we
 find it in ancient records, that this hath been
 seen before, whether by God's extraordinary
 will, or by the course of nature, it is indiffe-
 rent. The same thing happen'd one time to
 the * Macedonians, under the command of

* As it is related by Calisthenes in Eustathius upon Homer's third iliad. See Huetius's Alnetan. Quæst. lib. ii. p. 206.

Alexander, when for want of another passage, the Pamphylian sea divided to make them way; God's providence making use of Alexander at that time as his instrument for destroying the Persian empire. This is attested by all the historians who have pretended to write the life of that prince. But people are at liberty to think what they please.

THE next day after this memorable judgment upon the Egyptians, the winds and the waves forc'd their arms a-shore just at the

place where the Hebrews had pitched their tents; which Moses understood to be another providence, in furnishing the people with arms that they so much wanted; so they were gather'd together, and distributed among the Hebrews, man by man. After this, and the arming of the people, he led them to mount Sinai, there to offer sacrifice, and present oblations for the deliverance of the people, in obedience to the command of God, as afore-

Moses goes to mount Sinai, and sacrifices.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK III.

From the Year of the World 2454 to 2455.

CHAP. I.

The passage of the Israelites from Egypt to Mount Sinai. Their hardships by the way. Their murmurings against Moses. The miseries they endur'd by hunger and thirst, till they were reliev'd by miracle.

The Hebrews
hardships in
the wilder-
ness.

THE joy of the Hebrews, for so wonderful and unthought-of a deliverance, was not a little damp'd by the extreme hardships they were put to in their way through the wilderness to Mount Sinai. There was no food to be got; the water foul, very scarce and bad, and no nourishment in it; insomuch that the very cattle could not drink it, much less the men; but this was the way they were obliged to take for want of another. By the advice of their conductor, they brought a provision of water with them into the desert; and when that was spent, they digg'd pits, but with very great difficulty; for the ground was hard, and the water very bad and bitter when they came at it, and not enough of that neither.

The waters
of Marah bit-
ter, Exod. xv.
23.

IN travelling forward, they came about the evening to a place called Marah, from the taste of the water; for Marah in Hebrew is bitterness: they were quite tired with the journey; beside that their provisions falling short, they began to be pinch'd with hunger. But however they agreed to make some little stay there; and the rather, because of a pit they had the fortune to find there; which though it could not answer the necessities of their vast numbers, there was yet some sort of consolation in it, the country considered, and

that there was no more water to be expected from that place forward. This was as bitter as the other, and a drink that agreed neither with man nor beast.

MOSES found the people's hearts beginning to sink, and not one word of comfort that he could give them; for the enemies they had now to deal withal were not to be encounter'd with wisdom and valour; but men, women, and children were equally in danger, and it was a hard matter for him to advise others, who had the whole burden of the common calamity upon himself; for in their distress they all came thronging to him, women begging for their children, husbands for their wives, men for themselves, and all imploring relief, when there was none to be had. Moses betook himself to his prayers again, beseeching God that he would be pleased to correct the bitterness of those waters, and make them sweet. This was granted him at the first request, and so he took a piece of wood that lay there by chance, cleft it lengthways in the middle, and cast it into the water; telling the Hebrews, that God had heard their prayers, and promised them a supply of water to their liking, upon condition that they should readily and chearfully do whatever he commanded them. They ask'd him what he would have them do to get bet-

Bitter waters
made sweet,
Exod. xv. 25.

The Israelites
encamp at
Helim, Ver.
27.

Their wants
increase upon
them.

The people
threaten to
stone Moses.

Moses reasons
the case with
them.

ter water. Why then, says Moses, let the well be drained, and the lustiest young fellows among you set their hands to the work; you shall find upon emptying out the better half of it, that the remainder will be potable, and for your turn. They did as they were directed, and the water was so purg'd by the continual agitation of it, that it went down with the multitude for no contemptible drink.

UPON decamping from hence, they went to a place call'd Helim. The prospect of it was pleasant enough at a distance, for there appear'd a plantation of palm-trees; but upon a nearer approach, they found themselves much deceiv'd in their expectation; for there were but seventy of them in all, and those but dwarfs neither; for the droughtiness of the place starv'd whatsoever grew upon it; nay, though there were twelve springs there, the plants were not one jot the better for them; for they never mounted so high as to distribute their waters into rivulets for the refreshment of the earth. The soil was sandy; no veins of water in it; or if now and then a small quantity appear'd, it was so foul and dirty there was no drinking of it: this scarcity of water spoil'd the fruit-trees too. The multitude, upon these melancholly thoughts, were so impatient under the sense of this miserable calamity, that they fell into direct mutiny against their leader, and charg'd the whole blame of it upon him. Their thirty days store was spent; their wants increas'd, and no supplies to be got in the wilderness. These thoughts all together put the people into a downright desperation; and the sense of their present necessities made them forget all former providences and blessings, whether immediately from God himself, or instrumentally by the hand of his servant Moses; proceeding in their ingratitude to such a degree of outrage, that they were within a very little of stoning their commander to death, as the man, they said, who had caused the ruin of them all. While the people were as yet in the heat of their malice and rage, with stones in their hands, and clamours and menaces in their mouths, and nothing less than the life of the commander to pacify this fury, Moses, in the fear of God, and with a good conscience, stood forth among them, and with a grace of language and address, peculiar to himself, opposed argument to violence in words to the following purpose: "You must not think, says he, to

"cancel past obligations with a pretence of
"present sufferings; but the difficulties you
"now labour under should rather move you
"to a thankful contemplation of God's boun-
"ties and mercies to you in times past, even
"beyond all hope and expectation. And
"why may not the same providence attend
"you now again? why may not this affliction
"be laid upon you for a trial, to see if you
"have courage, patience, and sense enough
"of gratitude to stand the test, and if you
"can distinguish betwixt the force and reason
"of past benefits and present troubles, as you
"ought to do? Have a care that you do not
"make yourselves unworthy of God's favour,
"by impatience under crosses, and by un-
"thankfulness for favours, and by opposing
"your present passions to the divine will and
"power; for it was God that brought you
"out of the land of Egypt, and it is with his

"order and good pleasure that you now con-
"tend. And so for your quarrel with me
"now, his minister, my fault, says Moses, is
"only the obeying of my master's order. I
"have done nothing without a commission,
"and you cannot say I have ever deceiv'd
"you." When Moses had laid before them
the reason of the matter, he had then recourse to instances, and particularly what judgments befel the Egyptians for keeping the Hebrews in slavery, and detaining them contrary to the declar'd will of God; how the river was turn'd into blood; and how the same water, that became poisonous to the Egyptians, was yet preserv'd salutary to the Hebrews; how the sea opened to make a lane for the Hebrews in their flight, and how the waters closed again to drown the Egyptians in the pursuit; the former at the same time being spectators of the overthrow of their enemies; and receiving a large supply of arms by that providence too, which they were wholly unprovided of before; and then how many miraculous deliverances out of the very jaws of destruction God had wrought for them, even beyond the force of human imagination to conceive. "Now God's omnipotency, says Moses, is
"everlasting, and his providence as gracious,
"and as extensive at this day as ever it was;
"wherefore you are not to despair of the
"goodness of heaven, but to bear all chances
"and turns with moderation, and to consider
"that the assistance that is defer'd may come
"yet time enough, and in season; for so long
"as there is life there is hope. You are not,
"says Moses, to look upon yourselves in this
"case as neglected or abandoned, but it is
"God's pleasure to put your greatness of
"mind and love of liberty to the trial, and
"to see whether you had rather submit to a
"pinching necessity, for want of meat and
"drink, or lead the life of brutes in slavery,
"that are only fed and fatten'd up for the
"benefit of their master. It is not for my-
"self, continues he, that I fear any thing;
"for what am I the worse for an unjust vio-
"lence upon my person; but for the sake of
"your safety, I reckon myself bound to take
"some care of my own; for every stone you
"cast at me in this cause, imports a condem-
"nation of the counsels and the doings even
"of God himself."

THESE words brought the maddest of the company, in some measure, to their wits again, and made them cast away the stones they had prepar'd for his execution. Moses having convinc'd them of the lewdness of their intention, and modestly imputing that to their necessities which could not be justified in reason, though the temptation they lay under might seem in some sort to extenuate the offence. Upon this Moses had recourse to supplications and prayers, and withdrawing up to a rock, he besought God in mercy to grant these miserable people some relief; for it was in his power only to save them; beseeching him likewise to forgive them their intemperate passions, and to cast all the things that they had said and done amiss, upon the account of human frailty. God gave him this answer, that he would take care of the people, and send them a speedy succour. UPON this promise and concession, Moses went down again to the multitude with joy in his countenance; which the people presently took

Moses minds
them of for-
mer mercies.

The people
pacified.

Moses calls
upon God.

Moses's
prayer is
heard.

A flight of
quails drops
into the
camp, Exod.
xvi. 13.

took notice of, and in the strength of that good omen, after all their sadness, put on an air of cheerfulness themselves too. Moses told them what had pass'd, and that God would relieve their present necessities very suddenly; and so it prov'd, for soon after this came a wonderful flight of quails. There are vast numbers of them by the Arabian Gulf, and these birds were so tir'd with crossing it, that they dropp'd quite weary into the camp of the Hebrews. They look'd upon this as a relief immediately sent from Heaven; all people living with earnestness to have their share of the bounty. Moses went now to his prayers again, returning God thanks, both for what he had promised, and what he had done.

A fall of man-
na, Ver. 14,
15.

AFTER this first repast, God presently sent them another; for as Moses was at his prayers, holding up his hands, there dropt from Heaven a kind of dew upon them, and as it fell it stuck to them, and thicken'd. Moses presently fancied it to be a second supply, and upon tasting it was overjoy'd to find it so. It was now winter, and the common sort of people would needs have this dew to be snow. Moses told them they were mistaken, and that this was no common dew, but such a nourishment as they would find to be a competent remedy against famine; and so he first tasted of it himself, and then gave it them to try; who after his example lik'd it exceedingly well; for it had the taste of honey, and some resemblance also of Bdellium, and was about the bigness of a coriander-seed. There was great striving for it in the gathering, till the matter was order'd by an edict, appointing that all people should gather every day alike, and the measure of an omer to be the proportion; being assured at the same time, that there should be no want of that food. This was order'd in favour of the weak, that they might not be run down, and to keep the stronger from taking more than came to their share. Whoever should exceed his measure, in contempt of this edict, did only take so much the more pains to no manner of purpose; for whatever they kept till the next day was good for nothing; for it bred worms, and turn'd bitter. There was one divine and incredible quality in this food, that whoever tasted it desired nothing else. They have in that country to this very day certain dews and rains, which seem to have somewhat of resemblance to this that fell upon the intercession of Moses. The Hebrews call it Manna, and * Man in our tongue signifies an interrogation, as if we should say, What is this? They celebrated this blessing with great joy, as coming from Heaven; and this was their food for the forty years they continued in the wilderness.

Manna their
food for forty
years, Ver. 35.

They want
water at Re-
phidim, Ex.
xvii.
They mur-
mur again,
Exod. xvii. 2.

AFTER their removal from hence to Rephidim, they found themselves parch'd up with an intolerable thirst, having met with very little water for some days before. Being now come into a country where there was no water at all, they began to murmur against Moses again; but he left them for a while by themselves, and stept aside once more to his prayers, "Beseeching him, who gave them meat when they were ready to starve, now to supply them with drink to it when they were ready to choak; for the one without the other

"would not satisfy their appetites." God without any delay promis'd Moses a fountain and a flood of water, where he least expected it; commanding him to strike a rock near at hand there with his rod, and that rock should supply them abundantly with what they desir'd, beside that it should come without labour too. Moses having receiv'd this answer went back to the people, who were now waiting with great impatience for his return; for they saw him coming down from the mountain, looking intently upon him, to see what tidings they could read in his countenance. Upon his returning back to the people, he told them, that God would deliver them also from this affliction of thirst, by a way that they least suspected; that is to say, by a river which should issue out of that rock. They fancied that they themselves were to penetrate the rock to make way for the passage; which would have been a hard piece of work, they thought, for people to undertake, who were spent and half dead with thirst and toil already. Moses quickly undeceived them herein, by striking the rock with his rod; which in that very instant threw out a large stream of water as clear as chrystal. It was hard to say, whether the spectators were more amaz'd at the operation, or delighted in the drinking of it; for they found it sweet and agreeable, and such as became the dignity of the presenter and the present. They extoll'd Moses to the skies, when they saw how much he was in God's favour, and offer'd sacrifices and thanksgivings for the benefits received. We find it written in the holy scripture, which is deposited in the temple, that God had foretold to Moses this miracle of the water out of the rock, in such manner as we have heard.

Water gushes
out of a rock,
Ver. 6.

CHAP. II.

The kings of the Amalekites join in a confederacy against the Hebrews, and are routed by Joshua. The arrival of the Hebrews at Mount Sinai.

THE fame of the Hebrews was by this time in every body's mouth, and their reputation so great, far and near, that the provinces were all alarm'd at it, and entered into a consultation together how they might keep them at a distance, or else utterly exterminate and destroy them; and to this purpose they sent their ambassadors up and down from one to another to manage the counsel of the league. The chief instigators of this design were the inhabitants of the country of Gobol, and the city of Petra, who commonly went under the appellation of Amalekites, and were the most martial people of that quarter. The kings of these places not only concerted measures among themselves for carrying on a war against the Hebrews, but drew in as many as they could of their neighbours to join with them. "These people, they said, were only a vagabond army of fugitives, who ran away out of Egypt, because they would be no longer slaves there, to make war upon others. Now the best way to deal with them, they said, without either neglecting or making too slight of them, would be to

The Amale-
kite kings
in a confede-
racy against
the Hebrews.

* Drusus in his *Quæst. Hebr. lib. i. q. 62.* and in his *Difficil. loc. Exod. xxvi.* rejects and confutes this interpretation.

“ fall upon them, and subdue them in time,
 “ while their men were raw and undisciplin’d,
 “ and as yet never a plentiful province in their
 “ possession to supply them with refreshment
 “ to recover their strength, but their army
 “ weak and feeble, and in want of all ne-
 “ cessaries. In short, the safest policy would
 “ be to begin first, and not stand looking on,
 “ till they should have the confidence to be
 “ the aggressors. It would be but attacking
 “ them in the wilderness, before they could
 “ make themselves masters of any places of
 “ strength and importance, and the business
 “ would be effectually done. They laid it
 “ down as a piece of necessary prudence, to
 “ nip the growing power of an enemy in the
 “ bud, and not stand waiting till by success
 “ upon success he makes himself stronger, both
 “ in power and reputation; and that it was
 “ better to prevent the danger than to run
 “ the risque of overcoming it.” Upon the
 debating of the whole matter in the confederate council, it was resolv’d at last by common consent to carry on an invasive war against the Hebrews, and so to force them from their borders.

An invasion
 resolv’d up-
 on.

Moses and
 the people
 startled at it.

MOSES at that time not in the least suspecting any opposition from the inhabitants, was not a little surpriz’d at this resolution, and his people were also in the greatest confusion imaginable, at the necessity of so unexpected a war with an enemy who wanted nothing, and themselves at all points so unprovided. He minded them of God’s multiply’d declarations in their favour, his bringing them out of the land of Egypt, what he had done for them already, and what he would do further; and so encourag’d them, in confidence of his power and goodness, to think of nothing but victory.

Moses keeps
 up their
 hearts.

“ Never reckon upon the advantages, says
 “ Moses, of arms, money, and provisions,
 “ but consider that, to counterbalance all this,
 “ you have God on your side to fight your
 “ battles, and then no matter for the odds of
 “ number and stratagem. You have all that
 “ and more in him who is your helper, who
 “ by his Almighty power hath brought you
 “ out of greater difficulties already. Have
 “ you not found that God a friend still to you,
 “ and an enemy to your enemies? Witness
 “ his miraculous preservation of you in your
 “ extremities of hunger and thirst, and in
 “ making that a safe retreat to you thorough
 “ the sea, which at the same time swallow’d
 “ up your adversaries. For a conclusion, says
 “ he, the gaining of this victory will put you
 “ in possession of all the good things of this
 “ world; wherefore behave yourselves like
 “ men.”

THIS discourse put new life into the people, so that Moses calling the heads and principals of the tribes together, address’d himself to them all, both in general and in particular; admonishing the young men to hearken to their elders, and inculcating to all the rest obedience to their commander. They were by this time so perfectly cured of their former apprehensions, that they look’d upon any thing of danger with a contempt, and under a kind of impatience to come to action, in the strong hope and expectation of such a victory, as would put a final end to their misery; inasmuch, that

they press’d Moses, with great earnestness, to bring them immediately to the enemy, and not to lose so critical an opportunity of fighting by an unreasonable delay, when the soldiers were in so good a humour for it. Moses upon this drew out a detachment of the choicest men he could find for service in the whole multitude, and set Joshua the son of Nun, ^{Joshua is made general, Exod. xvii. 9.} and of the tribe of Ephraim over them; a man equally qualified both for arms and counsel; eminent for piety, a disciple of Moses, and one who did not shame his master. He sent out several troops of guards; some to secure their water, others their tents; and some again to take care of the women and children. All things were now in readiness for an engagement; the soldiery in arms all night, waiting only for the word of command from Moses, who was himself also the whole night in counsel with Joshua, and giving order about the battle. When it began to draw toward day, Moses recommended it to Joshua to make good by his actions what the world expected from him upon that occasion, and by the glory of that day to perpetuate his name to posterity. He did the like to all the chief of the Hebrews apart, and so in course to the whole body of the army.

They pre-
 pare for a
 battle.

HAVING thus inflam’d their resolutions into a generous sense of piety and honour, Moses commended them to God, and to their general Joshua, himself going up to the mountain. The two armies join’d immediately, with all sorts of encouragement from their leaders, and the battle was fought with great fury on both sides. So long as Moses held up his hands, ^{Ver. 11.} the Hebrews prevail’d; but when he could hold them up no longer for weariness, the Amalekites had the better of it. But Moses observing this, spake to his brother Aaron, ^{Ver. 12.} and to Hur, the husband of his sister Mariam, to stand by him and support his hands for him, and to take care not to let them fall again. The Amalekites after this were totally defeated, ^{The Amalekites utterly defeated, Ver. 13.} and had been all entirely cut off, if the darkness of the night had not cover’d the miserable remainder of them in their flight.

THIS was a victory so glorious and seasonable, that the whole history of our ancestors cannot pretend to any thing beyond it; * for it was a total and an absolute overthrow, gain’d upon an invading enemy, and an action of so great a reputation, that it struck a terror into all the neighbouring provinces, beside a prodigious booty over and above; the pillage of the Amalekites camp being of an inestimable value in gold and silver plate, curious brass vessels of all sorts, minted money, fine imbroided cloaths, rich arms, and soldiers equipage, horses, baggage, cattle, &c. both to small and great, and to those who themselves were but in a starving condition the day before. This success, in fine, made the Hebrews more daring, industrious, and forward for any virtuous exploit; and it was of a mighty advantage, even at present, but not comparable to what it was in the issue, and in the consequences of it; for this battle broke the very hearts, as well as the bodies of the enemy, and from that time forward, all the adjoining provinces stood in awe of the Hebrews. This was the event of the battle; and

A vast booty.

* Here a little liberty is taken in the translation, yet so as not to injure the sense of the author.

on the day following, Moses caused all the dead bodies to be stripp'd, and the scatter'd arms of them who fled, to be gather'd up and employ'd for service; rewards also to be distributed to those who had made themselves eminently remarkable in the battle. He did right also to the general, in form, and with the solemnity of a publick declaration to the honour of his bravery and conduct; the whole army seconding that illustrious character with praises and acclamations. The slaughter of the Amalekites was so great, that they could make no estimate of the number, and not so much as one Hebrew slain in the action. Moses erected an altar after this victory, inscrib'd to God the conqueror, where he worshipped with sacrifices and thanksgivings, foretelling at the same time the utter extirpation of the Amalekites, for the baseness of their attempt upon the Hebrews, when they were in distress, and ready to perish in the wilderness. Moses concluded the solemnity with feasting and rejoicings, treating the general, the officers, and the whole camp with soldierly entertainments suitable to the occasion.

THIS was the first battle the Hebrews fought after their coming out of Egypt, to the utter ruin and confusion of their enemies. When they had spent some few days in jollity and refreshment, they march'd forward with a better order'd army than before, and a much greater too; for the enemies arms that were taken upon the rout had much increas'd their number. Advancing at this rate by easy marches, they reach'd Mount Sinai, the place where Moses saw the vision of the burning bush, which we have spoken of already. This was the third month after they left Egypt.

CHAP. III.

Raguel repairs to his son-in-law Moses, to give him joy of his success.

RAGUEL had no sooner heard of the wonderful success of Moses, but he presently took a journey to congratulate his son-in-law, and to see how it fared with his daughter Sepphora, and their children. Moses was overjoy'd to see him, and so offer'd a sacrifice, and feasted the whole multitude, in the order of their tribes and families, at a small distance from the burning bush that the fire could not consume. Aaron, in the mean while, with Raguel and the rest, chanted forth hymns of praise and honour to the author of their safety, freedom, and deliverance; not forgetting their admirable leader, and how all things prosper'd that he took in hand. Neither was Raguel behind hand in doing right to the army, and to the dignity of their preserver, by whose authority and direction so many wife and brave men were conducted and govern'd.

CHAP. IV.

Raguel gives Moses advice about religion and government; and for the ordering of his army.

RAGUEL took notice one day, as his son-in-law was hearing of causes, how in-

tolerably he was oppress'd with the importunity of attending so much business; but he could not well say any thing of it at present, without giving an interruption to the course of publick justice; beside that the people had so great a reverence for the authority of Moses, that he became their sole arbiter of causes, they thinking no other person so well qualified to ascertain justice among them as he; so that even they, against whom he gave judgment, would contentedly abide by his sentence, and acquiesce in his determination, being fully convinced that he was actuated by a principle of honour and impartiality, and not of avarice and corruption. So soon therefore as ever the hurry of the day was well over, Raguel took Moses apart, and gave him his opinion upon the matter. "You have, says he, more work

"upon your hand than 'tis possible for one man to dispatch. As for the matter of private personal causes, they are so numerous you can never go through with them; wherefore you should do well to imploy other people, as you have choice enough, for the discharge of that function. But, says Raguel further, as to what concerns religion and government, that must be your particular province; for there's no man so fit to be trusted with the care of so many thousand souls as yourself. You cannot but be sensible of the excellent faculties where-with God hath endowed you; how instrumental you have been to the saving of the people under your charge, and how necessary your counsel and assistance will yet be to them for the future; wherefore do you attend the worship of God, wherein you shall highly contribute to the common welfare of yourself, and of those under you; and for the trial of causes betwixt man and man, you may leave it to such ministers as you think proper. Now with respect to your other affairs, the thing I would advise you is this. Take a muster of all your troops, and divide them into so many bodies, of ten thousand men a-piece, placing officers over every one of these bodies; you shall afterwards subdivide them into thousands, five hundreds, hundreds, and fifties, with officers over them too; and so divide them again into thirties, twenties, and tens, with distinct officers also belonging to them, to take their names from the number of men they command, and all these to have their proper judges to determine controversies; those judges to have the approbation of the people for men of probity and virtue; yet in cases of great difficulty and importance, let them repair to you. By this means the people shall have right done them, and you yourself be at liberty to attend God's worship for the good of the army, without any interruption." Moses was so well pleased with this scheme of Raguel's, that he order'd the project to be put in execution, not as any contrivance of his own, but as the advice of

his father-in-law, to whom he ascrib'd the sole honour of it before the people. Moses has declar'd as much in his writings also, ever accounting it more laudable to give worthy men their due, than for one man to usurp to himself the reputation of another man's merit. But this will be fitter for another place.

Raguel's advice to Moses, Ver. 14.

The justice and modesty of Moses, Ver. 24.

CHAP. V.

Moses goes up to the mount, where he receives the two tables of the decalogue from God, which he communicates to the people.

WHILE they continued in this place, Moses call'd the people together, and told them that he was going to the top of Mount Sinai to converse with God, and not without hope of bringing them comfortable news at his return; commanding them in the mean time however to pitch their tents at the foot of the mountain, where they might be near at hand; and so Moses went up.

Moses goes up to Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 20.

MOUNT Sinai is by much the highest eminence in all those countries, and betwixt the extreme height and the cragginess of the rocks, it seems not only inaccessible, but wearisome to the very eye to look up at it. The place is accounted sacred, upon the credit of an ancient tradition of God's having his habitation there. The Hebrews removed their tents, and posted themselves at the foot of the mountain, as Moses had commanded them; lifting up their hands to God, and musing within themselves what those good tidings might be, which Moses, when he went up, promis'd to bring them at his return. In his absence they kept their festivals, purifying themselves, and living in continence for three days, even from their own wives, as they were order'd; soliciting Almighty God with hourly prayers to be gracious to Moses, and grant them somewhat by him that might conduce to the peace and happiness of their lives. They feasted upon this occasion with great magnificence, and had their wives and children dress'd up with more pomp and ornament than usual. This lasted two days; but upon the third, before sun-rise, in as clear a sky as ever was seen, there appear'd a cloud which cover'd and encompass'd the whole camp of the Hebrews; the first prodigy of that kind since the creation. This was afterwards follow'd with a terrible tempest of thunder and lightening, wind and rain; intimating that God had met Moses there in a propitious manner. The reader may take this as he pleases; but it will not become me to depart from the least tittle of what I find written in holy scriptures. The Hebrews were so terrified at what they had seen and heard, as well for the novelty and strangeness of the thing, as for the common rumour of God's dwelling upon this mount, that they durst not so much as put their heads out of their tents, but fell into a consternation, giving it for granted, that God in his wrath had taken away Moses, and that they themselves were to expect the same fate. As they lay ready to sink under this dreadful apprehension, Moses appear'd; but with so much joy and majesty in his countenance, that all their fears vanish'd, and this change made way for hopes of better things; the air also recovering its former serenity.

A terrible tempest of thunder and lightening, Exod. xix. 18.

The people thought Moses had been lost.

WHILE this pass'd, Moses summon'd the people to attend, and hear what God had given him in charge to deliver: whereupon they drew together, and Moses betaking himself to a rising ground, where he might be best seen and heard, address'd himself to the people in manner following:

"You men and brethern, Hebrews: as our most gracious God hath been always hitherto propitious to your prayers, so I am now to tell you, upon this present Occasion, that he hath received your messenger with infinite grace and goodness: and you are likewise to rest assured, that he will take your army into his protection, and prescribe to you such ways of living that you yourselves cannot so much as wish to be more happy, than a careful observance of those Rules will make you. Wherefore as you have any reverence for that God, and for all the mighty things that he hath done in your favour, do not make flight, I beseech you, of what I am about to say. Do not think the worse of the matter for the meanness of the bearer of it; but know, that at this instant it is God who speaks to you, tho' by the tongue of a man. You are only to consider the goodness, and the advantage of the commands I bring you; and to adore the Majesty of that God, who for the promoting of your happiness, hath condescended to make use of me for the reporter of his gracious will and pleasure towards you. Do not any longer look upon me as Moses the son Amaram and Jochabel, but as the instrument who for your sake caused the water of the Nile to be turned into blood, and with variety of plagues broke the hearts of the Egyptians: He who pay'd you a way thro' the Sea, and fetch'd Food for you from Heaven, and Water out of the rock, for you to drink: He who made Adam Lord of the world; sav'd Noah from the Deluge; put Abraham, our progenitor, in possession of the Land of Chanaan: he who made Sarah bring forth Isaac in the old age of his parents, bless'd Jacob with twelve very godly sons, and made Joseph governor of Egypt; it is he, in fine, who by my hand, honours you with these precepts and commands; and you are to value me only as the interpreter of his holy will. Keep these commands sacred and inviolate, and let them be dearer to you than your wives and children: your obedience shall make your lives happy, the sea calm, your wives fruitful, your lands shall bring forth increase, and you shall be a terror to your enemies: for, says Moses, I have spoken with God face to face; I have heard his divine voice, and I am likewise to assure you, that he hath a fatherly tenderness for you, and will take care of your posterity."

Moses sets forth God's mercies to the Israelites.

At the end of this discourse he conducted the people with their wives and children to a place where they might hear the voice of God speaking to them, and teaching them what they were to do. This he did for the authority of the promulgation; for it would not have made so deep an impression upon the minds of the hearers from the lips of any mortal: so they all heard a voice descending from above; and it was so distinct too, that they all understood it. But for the commandments that Moses left in writing in the two tables, we are not to publish the very words; but the minutes of them are as follow. We are taught,

The voice of God speaking to the people.

I. THAT there is but one God, and that he alone is to be worshipped.

II. THAT no image of any living creature is to be ador'd.

The ten commandments, Exod. xx. 2--17.

III. THAT

III. THAT no man is to swear rashly.

IV. THAT the seventh day is to be kept holy, and not to be profaned by any common work.

V. THAT parents are to be honour'd.

VI. THAT we are not to commit murder.

VII. THAT we are not to commit adultery.

VIII. THAT we are not to commit theft.

IX. THAT we are not to bear false witness.

X. THAT we are not to covet any thing that is our neighbour's.

The people solicit Moses to provide them laws for the civil government.

Moses goes up again to the mount, where he continues forty days, Exod. xxiv. 13--18.

sets God's to the people.

WHEN the people had heard the same things over again from the voice of God, which Moses had told them of beforehand, they were abundantly satisfied, and so the assembly broke up. But before many days were over, they came frequently to Moses's tent, soliciting him earnestly to procure them a body of laws for the ordering of civil matters; who gratified them with a provision also of such laws, prescribing what to do, and what not, and how to govern themselves one with another. But I shall refer the greater part of those laws to a tract by itself.

IT was about this time that Moses went up again to the mount, having first told the people of his intent, that he might not want witnesses of his ascension. His stay being longer than they expected, (for he was forty days absent,) the people began to be in pain, for fear some mischief might have befallen him; and in all their troubles nothing gave them so sensible an affliction as the apprehensions of his being destroyed; but several persons were of several opinions: they who had the least kindness for him, would have it that he was devour'd by wild beasts; others had the charity to fancy that God had taken him to himself; but the wiser sort divided their opinions betwixt these two. "If it should prove, they said, that he was indeed torn to pieces by wild beasts, what was there more in it than a mishap in one of the common accidents of life?" And then for the supposition of his being taken up to God, it was in truth but a conjecture suitable to the reverence they had for his virtue. Betwixt these two surmises, they were not cast down so much for his sake, as for their own, in the loss of such a governor and patron, as was never to be repair'd. their grief and desperation left them no place to hope for any thing; and in these hopeless circumstances they could not yet forbear lamenting: Nay, they durst not so much as move their camp, because of the order they had to wait his coming back.

voice of speaking people.

Moses fasts forty days and forty nights.

orders the building of a tabernacle, Exod. xxvi. 1.

ten commandments, i. xx.

AT the end of forty days and forty nights, and without either meat or drink in that interval, Moses returns and shews himself, to the unspeakable joy of the whole army. He told them how much they were the care of divine providence; for in these days of his absence he had been instructed in the measures and conduct of a good and happy life. He told them that it was God's command they should build him a tabernacle for himself at any time, to come down to, when he pleased, and be among them; but rather as to a visit, than to a place of abode. After this, there would be no further need, he said, of travelling up into Mount Sinai; for he would come down to them. This tabernacle was still to go along with the army, where God would be always at hand to receive their prayers.

As to the measures and model of it, Moses told them that he had his instructions, and that there was nothing more for them to do, than presently to enter upon the undertaking. With this he produced the two tables of the ten commandments, five in each column, and of God's own writing.

The model and measures of it, ibid.

CHAP. VI.

Moses builds a tabernacle according to God's appointment for his holy worship.

THE people's affections were so elevated with the discourse and presence of Moses, that they made collections in strife who should do most toward the advancing of this structure. They presented gold, silver, copper, curious wood that would not take the worm, goats hair, purple and scarlet-colour'd sheep-skins, and some white, some blue; wool of the same tincture; fine linnen, precious stones for ornament set in gold; perfumes of all sorts; and all this toward the use and service of the tabernacle, which was, in effect, but a kind of an ambulatory portable temple. So soon as the contribution was made, some giving to the uttermost of their abilities, others even beyond them, Moses sets his architects at work upon it without delay, as God had commanded; and they were so great masters in their way too, that the people would have pitch'd upon the same persons, even if it had been left to their own choice. Their names we have upon record in the holy scriptures; as Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah, the son of Uri, and Mariam the sister of Moses; Aholiab, the son of Ahesamach, of the tribe of Dan. Nay, the people were so free of their money, goods, and pains, that Moses was forc'd to restrain them by a proclamation, and bid them hold their hands, there being more than enough brought in already. And the master-builders were of that opinion, so that they were now to begin the building of the fabrick; Moses directing the magnitude and the proportion of it, according to what God had appointed in the mount. He gave particular orders also for the sacrificing vessels, with the size and number of those who were to be employ'd in the divine worship. The zeal and bounty of the women too was very remarkable, in the sparkling magnificence and curiosity of the sacerdotal vestments, and whatever else might serve to illustrate either the place or the duty.

Large contributions toward it, Exod. xxxv. 21--29.

The names of the chief master-workmen, Exod. xxxv. 30--34.

THINGS being thus prepar'd, and the gold, silver, brass, loom-work, and other materials all in readiness, Moses proclaim'd a festival, where every man was to attend, and sacrifice according to his ability: and so soon as that solemnity was over, he went immediately in hand with the erecting of a tabernacle according to this following Model.

Moses erects a tabernacle, Exod. xxxviii. 9, &c. The model of it.

THE outward court was to be fifty cubits in breadth, a hundred in length; twenty brazen pillars on each side long ways, ten a-cross, and every pillar five cubits in height, with rings and borders to it of silver: the bases of brass curiously wrought and gilded, and fasten'd into the ground with pins of a cubit in length, pointed at the end like the foot of a pike: which with the help cords that pass'd through the

the rings bound the whole frame together, from top to bottom, and kept it firm and steady against the strongest blasts. It was also encompass'd with a veil of curious fine linnen, that hung from the cornishes down to the very bases, which serv'd for a wall to the enclosure.

THESE were the dimensions of three sides of the work, and it was also fifty cubits in front: twenty of them left open for a door or entrance, with two planks or quarters, like gate-posts on each side of the passage. They were cover'd all over with silver work, only the bases were brass. There were likewise six other planks, three on each hand, that for strength's sake were jointed one into another, and a curious curtain drawn over them. The gate space being twenty cubits wide, was five also in depth, and cover'd with a delicate imbroidery of flowers and figures (living creatures only excepted) in violet colours, scarlet and purple, upon a veil of fine linnen.

WITHIN the court-gate stood a laver for water, being a large vessel of brass, with a foot of the same, for the priests to wash their hands and their feet in.

The position
of the taber-
nacle.

IN the middle of this court stood the tabernacle, fronting to the east for the advantage of receiving the beams of the rising Sun. It was thirty cubits in length, and twelve in breadth, and just as high as it was broad. One side of it look'd towards the south another to the north; and the back part of it to the west. The two sides were made up of forty wooden planks, twenty of a side, and the form of them quadrangular, a cubit and a half in breadth, and four fingers thick, plated all over with gold; two tenons to every plank, and two silver bases, with mortises to receive those tenons. On the west side there stood six other boards, which were likewise over-laid with gold, and so nicely put together, that they seem'd to be all of a-piece. Now these twenty boards, being each of them a cubit and a half over, make up the just length of thirty cubits; the six boards on the western side only nine cubits; but then there were two other planks to join them, one at each corner in the same position, and of the same length and breadth with the other, but much thicker, to bind the ends and that side of the tabernacle the faster together. Every plank had golden rings or staples driven into it, and all so orderly dispos'd, that they answer'd one another in a direct line. Through these rings there went several bars, of five cubits in length, and plated all over with gold; which reaching from end to end, kept the whole quarter tight, by framing one piece into another. On the back part, or the lower end of this structure, the boards were all rang'd and order'd after the same manner, by passing a gilt bar through as many rings as there were plates, and accommodating one bar to another. There were moreover bolts and staples at the corners to keep the ends and sides together; which, by the help of mortises to bind one piece to the other, secur'd the tabernacle against wind and weather.

The division
of the taber-
nacle, and the
mystery of it.

THE inside of this tabernacle was divided into thrice ten cubits in length. At ten cubits from the bottom there stood four pillars across, of the same workmanship, and the same matter, and upon bases of the same make and metal already spoken of, standing at equal distances one from the other. Within these

pillars was the most holy place, which was inaccessible even to the priests themselves; to whom the rest of the tabernacle was all open. This division of it into three parts seems to hold some analogy with the consideration of the universe. The first part, where the very priests were not permitted to enter, may be allow'd to have some resemblance to Heaven itself, as the throne of the divine Majesty; and for the other twenty cubits, where only the priests had admittance, it bore a resemblance, in some sort, to the earth and the sea. At the entrance into this tabernacle, there were five gilded columns planted upon bases of brass, and all cover'd with curtains of fine yarn, dy'd into blue, purple, and scarlet, and woven together. The first of these curtains was ten cubits square, and serv'd for a covering to the partition betwixt the most holy place and the holy, to keep the former out of sight. The temple itself was call'd holy; but the space within the four pillars bears the name of Holy of Holies. This curtain or veil was beautified with all sorts of flowers and curious figures, living creatures only excepted. There was yet another veil, that for size, colours, and imbroidery, was not inferior to the former; and this overspread the five pillars at the coming in. It was fasten'd at the top with hooks and eyes, and so down to the middle of the five columns, leaving the rest open for the priests to enter by. This veil had another over it, of the same largeness, and almost contiguous to it, but the web flaxen; and it had rings tack'd to it, with a string run through them, to draw at pleasure, upon festival days, to give the people the sight of the under curtain, with all the ornaments of its imbroidery and figures. At other times, and chiefly in foul weather, the upper curtain serv'd for a cover to preserve the former, being of a stuff that was proof against rain. This kind of curtain has been made use of at the door of the temple from the very building of it to this day.

The curtains,
Exod. xxxvi.
37.

The Holy,
and the Holy
of Holies.

THERE were likewise ten pieces of hanging, of eight and twenty cubits compass each, and four cubits deep, and so exactly coupled together with golden loops, as if they had been all but one intire piece. These hangings cover'd the whole tabernacle, top and sides, within one foot of the ground. There were likewise eleven pieces more of the same depth, but somewhat longer; that is to say, they were thirty cubits each, and made of hair, as the other were of wool, and the workmanship every jot as artificial. These curtains were a covering to the other ten; and as they hung down loose and flowing upon the ground, they carried some sort of resemblance to the canopy of a bed. The eleventh curtain was put over the door of the tabernacle, the odd number being specially design'd for that service. This covering of goat's hair had yet another of skins over that, for a shelter against heats and rains. The spectacle, in fine, was so great a surprize to people at a distance, by the sky-colour appearance of it, that it seem'd to the eye a perfect representation of the Heavens. Now these curtains of hair-cloth and skins were, as that over the gate, for a fence against the injuries of the season.

AFTER the finishing of the tabernacle as above, they went in hand with the ark of God, 1--6.

The frame
and figure
the ark,
Exod. x.

God, which was made of a wood that the Hebrews call Heoron, the strongest and firmest of all plants, and the most secure against rotting or taking the worm. The figure of the ark was this; it was two cubits and a half in length; one and a half broad, and as much in depth; cover'd all over with the purest gold, and so order'd both within and without, that there was no wood to be seen; the cover was cramp'd together with golden hooks, curious and firm to admiration, and every where so smooth, that there was no danger of one part galling another. At the two ends were riveted into the frame four golden rings, one at every corner; and through those rings two gilded bars laid across, on each side one, to remove the ark at any time from place to place upon occasion; for they used no other way of transporting it, than as the priests and Levites carried it upon their shoulders. Upon this cover were two figures, which the Hebrews call Cherubs; a kind of wing'd creature, answering the description of what Moses saw about the throne of God, and the like to which no mortal had ever seen before. In this ark were deposited the two tables of the decalogue; five of the commandments in each table, and two and a half in a column. This ark, in fine, was laid up in the sanctuary.

The cherubims, Ver. 7.

The two tables deposited in the ark.

The table of shew-bread, V. 10--16. and Exod. xl. 22.

The unleaven'd bread, Exod. xl. 23.

The golden candlestick, Exod. xxxvii. 17--22. and Exod. xl. 24.

IN this tabernacle Moses plac'd a table, not unlike that at Delphi*; two cubits in length, one in breadth, and the height a cubit and a half. The feet of it from the middle downward were exactly like those the Dorians make use of for their beds, and made round; but from thence upwards square, with a border of four fingers thickness, jutting out, and a crown of gold over and under it on every side. Under this border there were four rings of gold, fasten'd into the upper part of the four feet; one at each corner, and gilt bars of the firmest wood that pass'd through them, and serv'd for handles upon the removal of it from one place to another. This table stood in the temple toward the north, not far from the sanctuary itself. There were set upon it twelve loaves of unleavened bread, six on each side of the table, and piled in order, one over another. They were made of the finest flower; two Atticks in quantity, or seven Attick Cotyla's †, after the Hebrew measure. Over these loaves were two golden dishes of incense. At the end of seven days these loaves were taken away, and others put in their places. Now the seventh day is that which we call our sabbath; but we shall speak further of this in another place.

JUST over against this table, on the south side, stood a golden candlestick, the work of the founder, and cast hollow; the weight of it an hundred mines ‡, which the Hebrews call Cinchares, and the Greeks a Talent. This candlestick was set out with bowls, lilies,

pomegranates, and little cups and dishes of all pure gold, to the number of seventy pieces, that shot up out of the shank into seven branches, answering the number of the planets, and they were ranged in an order of uniformity one to another. On the top of these seven branches were as many lamps; which, as the candlestick stood sloping, faced toward the east and the south.

BETWIXT the candlestick and the table, as The altar of incense. afore said, there was a little altar for incense, of the same strong and incorruptible wood with the ark; one cubit square for length and breadth, and the height of double; a golden fire-hearth, and a crown of the purest gold round about it from corner to corner, with rings and staves through them, for the ease of carriage.

THERE was also another altar erected before the tabernacle, the frame of the same wood with the former; five cubits square, and three in height, finish'd after the same design with the former, save that it was plated all over with brass; and in the middle of it, betwixt top and bottom, a brazen grate of a kind of net-work, for the ashes to fall through. There were also funnels, vials, censers, cups and pans, and other necessities for the service of the altar, all of the finest gold. This may serve for an account of the tabernacle, and of the vessels thereunto belonging.

Exod. xxxviii.

CHAP. VII.

Of the priests and high-priest's vestments; purifications and festivals.

TO proceed now to the vestments appointed both for the ordinary priests, and the high-priest; as well those that they call Chanaans of the one, as for the || Anarabaches himself, which signifies the prince of the priests, of the other. We shall begin with the former. No priest was to officiate without being first purified, according to the order and direction of the law: his under garment was of fine twisted linnen, and made up much after the fashion of our trowsses or drawers: the Hebrews call it a Manachase, or a binder. The feet were to be put through it, and so drawn up over the thighs; open downward from the top, and fast girt about the loins.

The priests vestments.

OVER this was a coat of very fine linnen, which the Hebrews call Chethemene, that is to say, a linnen cloth; as Chethon is taken for the flax it is made of. It sat close to the whole body, with straight sleeves, and reaching down to the heels. This coat was fasten'd with a girdle about the middle, of four fingers broad, and so artificially set out with needle-work, in divers colours, that it had some resemblance to the skin of a snake. There

Manachase, or Machanase, or Michnase, Exod. xxxix. 28.

Chethemene, or Chethone, Ver. 27.

* Not that this was made after the fashion of the Delphic table, but that the Delphic table was made after the model of this.

† An Attick Cotyla being about our half pint, seven of them must make three pints and an half; and two Atticks being equivalent to seven Cotyla's, an Attick must be one pint and three fourths English measure. Admitting therefore a pint of flower to weigh a pound, each loaf must be about four pounds in weight; that is, about half a pound less than one of our quatern loaves.

‡ The Mines here meant we apprehend to be the common Attick Mina, which reduced to English troy weight, consisted of eleven ounces, seven penny weights, sixteen grains, and two sevenths, an hundred of which must amount to ninety four pound, ten ounces.

|| Or Chananarabbes. See Braunius concerning the vestments of the Hebrew priests, lib. i. c. 2. and 16. and lib. ii. c. 1. & 2.

Abaneth,
Ex. xxix. 29.

Masfabazanes
Ver. 27.

Masnaemph-
thes, Ver. 28.

The high-
priest's Me-
thir, or
Mecir, V. 22.

The Ephod,
Ver. 2, &c.

The Effen, or
Logion.

were wrought into this girdle several flowers and figures in blue, purple, and scarlet, but the ground was linnen. It went twice about the body of the priest, and for the better grace, hung down from his breast to his feet, saving only when he was in the exercise of his function, and in that case he cast it over his left shoulder, to avoid being incommoded with it when in the discharge of his office. Moses calls this girdle Abaneth, and we at this day call it Emian, a word that we have borrowed from the Babylonians. This garment was made without either plaits or folds, wide in the neck, and buckled together before and behind; the Hebrew name for it is Masfabazanes.

THE priest had also a kind of mitre or bonnet, like a small helmet, that cover'd little more than one half of his head; the name of it is * Masnaemphthes. It was made of linnen, and bound together with filleting over and over to keep it steady. There was yet another cap of curious fine linnen, that serv'd for a covering to the former, and came so low, that there was not so much as a stitch or a seam of the other to be seen; and every part of it was so secur'd one to another, that there was no danger of any thing loosening or falling, to disturb the priest in his office. This is enough said of the priests vestments in common one with another.

As to the high-priest, over and above all the ornaments already exhibited, he had others peculiar to his office; as a purple robe that came down to his ankles, which we call Methir; with such a girdle for colours and figures, as that which we have formerly mention'd, saving only that this has also an intermixture of gold. The skirt of this vest was trimm'd with a fringe, and hung round with pomegranates and golden bells of curious workmanship, which were interchangeably plac'd, and at equal distances one from another. This garment was all of a-piece, and without seam, and had no opening to it, but only lengthways, a little below the shoulders behind, and so to the middle of the breast before, with a border to it for decency's sake, to keep the gaping out of sight, with another border likewise to that part of it that was left open for the arms to pass through the sleeves.

OVER this vestment there was yet a third, which was call'd the Ephod, and much the same with the Epomis of the Greeks, according to the description. It was a cubit in length, embroider'd all over with gold, and a glorious variety of colours covering the whole breast; and it had likewise sleeves to it, so that it was no other in effect than a short coat.

UPON the fore part of this robe, and in the middle of the breast, there was left a void place of a span square for the † Effen, which the Greeks call Logion, as much as to say in Latin, the ‖ Rationale, or the Oracle. This square piece did just fill up that vacancy, which was in truth left on purpose for it. There were golden rings at every corner, and

purple ribbons run through them, to fasten the Ephod and the Rationale one to the other. And then to fill up all spaces, and cover the seams, the intervals were wrought over with strings of the same colour. The high-priest had upon each shoulder a sardonix set in gold, which two stones serv'd for buckles to clasp one part of the Ephod to the other, with golden rings to bind them and the Rationale together. Upon these stones were engraven in Hebrew characters the names of Jacob's twelve sons; the six elder upon that on the right shoulder, and the other six on the left. There were set also in the Effen, or Rationale, twelve stones of such a size and lustre, that both for the ornament and the value they were inestimable. These stones were dispos'd of into four rows, at three in a row; and divided one from another by little partitions of gold, to secure them from falling out. In the first row there was a sardonix, a topaz, and an emerald; in the second a ruby, a jasper, and a sapphire; in the third a ligyrus, an amethyst, and an agate; and in the fourth a chrysolite, an onyx, and a beril. In these twelve precious stones were set down severally the names of Jacob's twelve sons, which we look upon as the heads of our tribes; and so their names were there insert'd in the order of seniority and birth. Now whereas these hooks or fastenings were not sufficient of themselves to support the weight of so many precious stones, there were two larger and stronger pieces tack'd to the upper part of the Rationale, toward the neck that stood out above the work of the garment; and to these were fasten'd two wreath'd golden chains that were convey'd by secret passages up to the shoulder-piece. The upper end of these chains was carried about to the back, and so hook'd with a ring behind, upon the border of the Ephod; and this was the principal holdfast that kept all firm together. There was also stich'd to the Rationale, a girdle of the colour before spoken of, but interwoven with gold. It went twice round the body, and being tied by a knot before, the two ends were let loose to hang dangling down, and a curious gold fringe to each of them.

THE high-priest's Tiara, or mitre, was like that of other priests, saving only that it had another of purple or violet colour over it, and a triple crown of gold about it; over which crown was the resemblance in gold of a kind of cup, in form like the bud of the plant which the Hebrews call Saccharus, and the Greeks Hyoscyamos. But for the sake of those who have neither seen this plant, nor know any thing of it, or of others that perhaps may have heard of the name, and yet be strangers to the nature of it, it will not be amiss to give a short description of it. This plant rises commonly to somewhat above three spans in height; the root of it is extremely like that of a turnip, and its leaf like mint; it branches out into a round knob, with a coat over it, which sheds as the fruit ripens. The cup, as I told you, which was placed over

* Ansel, Solerius, in his book de Pileo, shews it should be read Masnephtes, or Misnephtes.

† Braunius for Effen reads Choschen, lib. ii. c. 20. p. 766.

‖ This was the breast-plate in which was put the Urim and Thummim, Lev. viii. 8. By this, upon emergent occasions, and in difficult matters, God, when consulted, sometimes revealed himself by the high-priest; for which reason Josephus calls it the λογιον, or Oracle.

the golden crown, was about the bigness of the joint of one's little finger, round and hollow, like the inside of a goblet; but I shall yet explain myself a little further for the benefit of the reader. The figure of it was a kind of hemisphere, narrowing a little upwards, and then enlarging itself toward the brims into the form of a basin, resembling a pomegranate cut in two; upon which there grew a round cover, so curious by nature, as if it had been turn'd on purpose for it; and it had sharp points rising out of it like the prickles of a pomegranate. Within this cup and cover the fruit was nourish'd and preserv'd. The seed of it is like that of the plant ironwort, or wall-sage *, and a flower like poppy. This was the ornament of the mitre from the neck round to the temples, but the forehead had a golden plate laid over it, with an inscription upon it of the holy name of God; and this I think is sufficient to be said of the dress and vestments of the high-priest.

I CANNOT but wonder in this place, at the hard measure we meet with in the world from people who hate and traduce us as blasphemers and deriders of the divinity they adore. Let but any man consider the structure of the tabernacle, the sacerdotal vestments, and the holy vessels which are dedicated to the service of the altar, and he must of necessity be convinc'd that our law-giver was a pious man, and that all the censures pass'd upon us and our profession, as impious, are nothing but calumny and scandal; for what is all this but the image of the whole world? as will appear to any man who will but be at the pains soberly and impartially to examine the matter. The tabernacle of thirty cubits is divided into three parts; that is to say, two for the priests in general, as a place in common to them all, and as free of access as the earth and the sea. The third place, where no mortal must be admitted to enter, is as the Heaven reserv'd only for God himself. The twelve loaves of shew-bread upon the table, signify the twelve months of the year. The candlestick is made up of seventy pieces, and refers to the twelve signs of the Zodiack, through which the seven planets take their course; and the seven lamps on the top of the seven branches bear an analogy to the planets themselves. The curtains, with the four colours that are wrought into them, represent the four elements. The fine linnen signifies the earth, as the flax takes its growth out of it. By the purple is to be understood the sea, from the blood of that shell-fish † which gives it the tincture. The violet colour is the symbol of the air; and the scarlet of the fire. By the linnen garment of the high-priest is design'd the whole body of the earth; by the blue the Heavens. The pomegranates answer the lightening; the noise of the bells the thunder. The four colour'd Ephod (since it pleas'd God to order it so to be) bears a resemblance to the very nature of the universe, and the interweaving of it with gold seems to me to have a regard to the rays which give us light. The Rationale, or Oracle, in the middle of it, intimates the position of the earth in the centre of the world; the girdle

about the body of the priest, is as the sea about the globe of the earth; the two sardonyx stones are a kind of figure of the sun and moon; and the twelve other stones may be understood either of the twelve months, or the twelve signs in the circle, which the Greeks call the Zodiack. The violet-colour'd mitre speaks a resemblance of Heaven, and it would have been an irreverence to have written the sacred name of God upon any other colour. The triple crown and plate of gold give us to understand the glory and the majesty of Almighty God. This is as plain an illustration of these matters as I thought needful; and I would not lose any opportunity, either upon this, or upon any other occasion, of doing all possible right to the honour and wisdom of our incomparable law-giver.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the priesthood of Aaron.

WHEN the work of the tabernacle was thus far advanc'd, the next thing in order was to be the dedication of it; before which God appear'd to Moses, and gave him in charge to settle his brother Aaron in the priesthood, as a person of all men living who best deserv'd the dignity. So Moses call'd the people together, and treated them with a moving discourse upon the virtues of Aaron; setting forth the zeal and passion he had for the good of the publick, even to the degree of hazarding his life upon several occasions for their sake. Moses found the whole congregation so well satisfied with the reason of what he said, and the choice of the person, that he proceeded to his business in these words:

"Good people of Israel, says he, we have now gone through the great work which God requir'd at our hands, to the uttermost of our power. But in regard that God himself will vouchsafe to honour this tabernacle with his presence, and that it is now to be consecrated, it will become us in the first place to make choice of a high-priest who is every way qualified for the exercise of the holy function, and to offer up prayers and sacrifices for us. I must confess, indeed, if the election were left to me, I should make no difficulty of assuming the honour to myself, not only upon the score of human frailty, as all men are naturally lovers of themselves, but I should reckon myself to have some sort of title to it as a requital for the dangers and hardships I have undergone for the common good: but so it is in the present case, that God, to whom belongs the power of conferring the office of high-priest, has already singled out and decreed Aaron to the dignity, as the most worthy of the sacerdotal robe; so that Aaron is design'd from this time forward to officiate at the altar, and to offer up vows and supplications to the Almighty on your behalf; which coming from an intercessor of God's own appointment, will be the more graciously receiv'd." The people were all highly pleas'd with what Moses had

Exod. xxviii.
& xxix.

Aaron declar'd high-priest by Moses.

The tabernacle and the priests vestments, a figure of the universe.

high-priest's mitre, 28.

* Gr. σιδνήρις.

† Viz. the Murex, the blood of which was the chief ingredient used by the antients in the dying of purple. deliver'd,

deliver'd, giving their assent unanimously and cheerfully to the choice; for no man had so fair a pretence to the sacred character as Aaron had, either in respect of his family, the gift of prophecy, which he had received, or the excellent qualities of his brother Moses. Now Aaron had at that time four sons; * Nabad, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

Aaron's four sons.

As to the remainder of what had been given toward the building of the tabernacle, Moses order'd the overplus to be laid out in veils and coverings for the tabernacle itself, the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, and other holy vessels, to secure them upon any occasion of removal from either wet or

Exod. xxxvii.

A tax laid, and six hundred five thousand and five hundred and fifty contributors.

The purifying oil.

Bezaleel and Aholiab, Exod. xxxviii. 22, 23.

dust. After this Moses gave the people a summons, and laid an imposition upon them, of half a shekel a head, toward the charge of the work in hand, reckoning a Hebrew shekel at four Attick drachma's†. They submitted to the tax, in fine, with all the cheerfulness in the world. The number of the

contributors was six hundred five thousand, five hundred and fifty, freemen all, and from twenty years of age to fifty; which money was all employ'd in the service of the tabernacle.

MOSES applied himself in the next place to the purifying of the tabernacle and the priests; and the manner was this: he took of the choicest myrrh five hundred shekels worth‡; and of iris the same quantity; cinnamon and calamus|| (which are wonderfully fragrant) the one half. These ingredients he order'd to be beaten together, and macerated in a hin** of the best olive-oil, (which hin is a vessel that holds as much as two Attick choa's.) This composition being then set over the fire, and prepar'd by the apothecaries according to art, produced an ointment of the most grateful odour imaginable; with which ointment Moses anointed the priests and the tabernacle, and this was the ceremony of purification, offering up several sorts of sacrifices also in the tabernacle. As to the golden altar, and the precious perfumes that were dedicated upon it, I shall rather pass over the particulars, than tire out the reader with many words. But in general, there was incense offer'd twice a day; that is to say, before sun-rising, and about sun-setting, and purifying oil preserv'd for the lamps of the holy candlestick; three to burn all day, and the rest to be lighted up in the evening. The fabrick was now finish'd, and the two master-workmen concern'd in it were Bezaleel and Aholiab, whose office it was to superintend the rest, improving other mens inventions, and supplying new ones of their own; but of the two, Bezaleel had the preference. All this was done in seven months time, and within the compass of a year from their coming out of Egypt.

IN the year following, and on the new moon of the month Xanthicus, according to the Ma-

cedonians; or Nisan, according to the Hebrews, the tabernacle was consecrated, and so were all the vessels belonging to it. Upon this occasion God Almighty gave the Hebrews to understand by a remarkable providence, how graciously he accepted of their zeal for his service, and that their labour was not lost in the erecting of that glorious structure; and this he manifested by descending to take up his habitation there, and vouchsafing them the blessing of his presence. As for instance, it was so clear a sky, that there was not one cloud to be seen, but just over and about the tabernacle. And this cloud was not either so thick as to threaten foul weather, nor so thin as to be transparent; but there issued from it so gentle a dew, that all who saw it, believ'd an Almighty power, and took it for a divine influence, and as an evident token that their prayers were heard, and that God himself honour'd them with his presence.

The tabernacle consecrated, Exod. xl. 17--38.

WHEN Moses had gratified the artificers who erected and beautified this structure, with encouragements and rewards answerable to their deserts, he sacrificed in the door of the tabernacle, as God had commanded him, a bullock, a ram, and a kid for the sins of the people. As to the ceremonies properly belonging to the sacrifices, I shall handle that point more particularly when I come to speak of the sacrifices themselves; and I shall likewise shew what those burnt-offerings are, which the law has appointed to be totally consum'd, and those again which the law permits to be eaten. When the beasts, as aforesaid, were now kill'd, Moses took of the blood, and sprinkled it upon Aaron and his sons, purifying them with water of the fountain, and anointing oil, and so hallowing them for priests of the Lord. This form of consecration was repeated in all the parts of it for seven days one after another successively, with the oblation of the same sacrifices, one of a sort every day. On the eighth day Moses appointed a festival, and order'd the people to come in and sacrifice according to their abilities; who were so ready and cheerful in their compliance, that they did not only contend in a pious emulation one with another who should go farthest, but made it a point of honour and conscience even to outdo themselves. The sacrifices were no sooner laid upon the altar, but there broke out a flame from them of its own accord, like a flash of lightening, which consum'd them all.

Levit. viii.

Levit. ix.

THERE was a dreadful calamity soon after this befel Aaron, and would have gone to the heart of him, both as a man and as a father, if he had not been endued with fortitude, and a person absolutely resign'd to God's holy will and pleasure. Nabad and Abihu, the two eldest of Aaron's four sons already spoken of, as they were about to sacrifice upon the altar, not according to the prescription of Moses,

Nabad and Abihu consumed by a judicial fire, Levit. x. 1, 2.

* Scrip. Nadab.

† A tetradrachm, or four Attick drachma's, was two shillings and seven pence in our money, the half of which being one shilling and three pence half-penny, was the sum paid by every contributor, and there being six hundred five thousand, five hundred and fifty contributors, the whole sum amounted to thirty nine thousand one hundred and eight pounds, eight shillings, and nine pence.

‡ A shekel being equivalent to the Attick tetradrachm, which was worth two shillings and seven pence in our money, five hundred shekels amounted to seventy seven pounds, one shilling, and eight pence.

|| The Calamus was a sweet aromatick cane growing in Arabia, Syria, and the East-Indies.

** An hin, according to Dr. Arbuthnot's tables of Grecian, Roman, and Jewish measures, &c. is one gallon and two pints.

but after a manner formerly in practice, were all on a sudden blasted and consum'd with a judicial fire, their bodies and their faces shrivel'd up, and themselves scorched to death with a flame not to be quench'd. Moses, upon this, order'd their father and their brothers to take up the bodies and carry them out of the camp, and so to give them a decent burial. The unexpected death of these brothers was so terrible a surprize to the multitude, that their grief was in effect inconsolable: but Moses earnestly exhorted the father and the brethren not to lay this tribulation to heart, and rather to consider that it did not stand with the dignity of the priesthood to prefer an impotent passion to the honour and glory of God, Aaron being at this time invested with the sacerdotal stole.

MOSES, in fine, deliver'd himself up so entirely to the service of God, that he never minded the addresses and acclamations of the people. He went no longer now to Mount Sinai for counsel, but into the tabernacle for divine instructions in matters of consequence, and whenever the necessity of affairs requir'd it; and in all respects lived like a private man, save only in the exercise of his charge and function, for the good and well-being of the publick. He gave them also the laws and precepts in writing, for the leading of their lives acceptable in the sight of God, and for the preserving of themselves in peace and unity, which laws and precepts were no other than the dictates of God himself. Of these laws I shall say somewhat farther in another place.

BUT before I proceed, I must here supply one remark about the vestments of the high-priest, which I have hitherto omitted. And it is this, that to prevent all possibility of putting any imposture upon the world, under the countenance of the holy robe, or a pretext of the gift of prophecy, it is to be observ'd that whenever God vouchsaf'd to honour these priests with his special presence, he never fail'd of accompanying that gracious descension with some signal visible circumstance or other, to convince, not only his own people, but strangers also, of the reality of that divine appearance. To instance, in the two sardonyx's on the high-priest's shoulders (which we have formerly spoken of, and which every body knows the nature of:) what a wonderful light does the stone on the right shoulder of the high-priest's cast at a great distance beyond the natural lustre, upon the occasion of God's shewing himself well pleas'd with the sacrifices, and not otherwise! and this to the admiration and satisfaction of all men living, save only such as set up to gain the reputation of wise men by a profess'd contempt of our religion. But there is another thing yet that is still more amazing: I speak of the twelve precious stones that the high-priest wore upon his Effen, or Rationale, when God presag'd a victory: for there came out of them so sparkling a glory that all the people look'd upon it as a divine influence, and as an earnest of God's assistance. And hence it is that the Greeks who have any sort of esteem for our rites and solemnities, and are convinc'd of the miracle by their very eyes, call this Effen Logion, which signifies an Oracle [as well as Rationale.] But it is now two hundred years and upward that this sardonyx and Effen have left shining, or at least

discontinu'd the manifestations of their miraculous light and splendor; for God hath been offended with us for the transgression of his laws, as I shall shew elsewhere, and so return to my Narration.

THE tabernacle being now consecrated, and all things dispatch'd that related to the service of the Almighty, the people were so transported with joy, to consider that God was come down to dwell among them, that they gave up themselves wholly to hymns and sacrifices, and to the thought of living at ease, without so much as dreaming of any more difficulties to come: some of the tribes, in general, and others in particular, presenting their respective oblations. The heads and princes of the twelve tribes brought six waggons, and a pair of oxen to each of them, for the service of the tabernacle, upon any occasion of removing, over and about a silver charger of a hundred and thirty shekels weight, and a silver bowl of seventy shekels, both full of fine flour mingled with oil, to be used in the sacrifices; with an incense-cup also full of perfumes, and valu'd at ten daricks. They offer'd likewise a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old for a burnt-offering; with a he-goat for a sin-offering. They had likewise their peace-offerings; that is to say, two bullocks a day, five rams, with as many lambs and he-goats of a year old. These sacrifices continu'd at one a day for twelve days successively.

MOSES, as I have said already, went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but into the tabernacle to receive God's directions about the laws and rules that were to be establish'd: which being wholly of divine appointment and institution, and above the reach of human understanding, it was but reason that the sacred authority and obligation of them should be perpetual. I have said enough elsewhere to prove these laws the gift of God, and indispensibly binding to the Hebrews, as well in the liberties of peace as in the necessities of war. But I shall have occasion to handle this point more at large in a tract by itself.

The oblations of the tribes, Num. vii.

Moses consults God in the tabernacle, Ver. 89.

CHAP. IX.

Of sacrifices.

BEING now to handle the point of sacrifices and purifications, I shall only mind the reader of some few laws upon that subject. There are two sorts of sacrifices; the one particular and private, the other popular and publick: And these two differ in the manner of the celebration. One of them is call'd a burnt-offering, or an holocaust; as who shall say, the whole sacrifice is to be burnt: the other is an offering of thanksgiving, and to be eaten by the presenters of it. To begin now with the former: When a private man makes an oblation of a burnt-offering, he brings a bullock, a lamb, and a goat, the two latter not above a year old, but the first may be allow'd to be somewhat older: they must all be males, and entirely consum'd by the fire. When they are kill'd, the priest sprinkles the blood of them round about the altar, and after they are well wash'd, cuts them in pieces, strows them with salt, and lays them all together upon it; where

Sacrifices, particular and publick;

A burnt-offering, Lev. i. 5 and 10.

D d

the

tabernacle
consecrated,
d. xl.
38.

Levit. viii.

Levit. ix.

The miraculous lustre of the sardonyx upon the high-priest's right shoulder.

Nabad and Abihu consumed by a judicial fire, Levit. x. 1.

The sparkling of the high-priest's jewels a preface of victory.

the wood lies ready kindled beforehand. He washes the feet and the entrails, and then casts them into the fire with the rest. The skin belongs to the priest. And this is the ceremony of a burnt-offering.

A peace-offering, Levit. iii. 1--16.

If the oblation be a peace-offering, or an offering of thanksgiving, the sacrifices are of the same sort of creatures, only they must be upward of yearlings, without blemish, and male and female that have had copulation. The priest, after the killing of them, sprinkles the blood upon the altar, upon which he lays also the kidneys, the caul and the fillets of the liver, with all the fat upon them, and the rump of the lamb. The breast and the right shoulder is the priest's due; and for the overplus, they who offer the sacrifice may eat of it during two days, and the remainder afterwards to be burnt.

A sin-offering, Lev. v. 7.

THE same method is observ'd in the sin-offering, only those who are unable to furnish these sacrifices, shall offer two young pigeons, or two turtles; the one for a burnt-offering, and the other for the priests to eat. But I shall explain myself more at large when I come to treat further of sacrifices.

Sins of ignorance, Ver. 15. &c.

If any man falls into the sin of ignorance, his sacrifice shall be a lamb, or a she-goat of the same age as before, for a sin-offering; and the priest, instead of smearing the altar all over with the blood, shall only sprinkle it upon the horns, or corners of it; the kidney, with the caul and the fibres of the liver to be laid upon the altar; the flesh and the skins are to be reserv'd for the priests, and the flesh to be eat up that day in the temple; it being against the law to leave any part of it till the next day. If any man commits a wilful sin, though so close that it is impossible to produce any legal proof against him, the law appoints a ram for his offering, and the priests to eat the flesh of it in the tabernacle the same day. The sin-offering of the heads of the tribes is the very same with that of private men, saving only that the sacrifices are to be a bull and a male-goat.

Wilful sins.

Laws for feasts and sacrifices, Lev. ii. 4--16.

ACCORDING to the law, in all sacrifices, as well private as publick, there was to be a certain proportion of fine flour; the quantity of one assar to a lamb, two to a ram, and three to a bullock; and this was to be consecrated upon the altar, with a mixture of oil. It was part also of the oblation; half a hin of oil to a bullock, (an antient Hebrew measure of about two Attick choa's,) a third part of it to a ram, and a fourth to a lamb: they were oblig'd likewise to provide just as much wine as oil, and to pour the wine about the altar. If any one shall make an offering of fine flour for the performance of a vow, without sacrificing, let him lay a handful of it upon the altar, and the priest to eat the rest, either boil'd, (for it is kneaded with oil,) or made into cakes; the sacrificer taking out of it what he finds necessary for burnt-offerings. The law forbids the sacrificing of the dam and the young one at the same time, if the young one be not at least eight days old. There are likewise other sacrifices for the recovery of health, and divers such like occasions, where cakes are eaten with the flesh of the sacrifice, and the priests to take their part; but nothing of it must be left till the next morning.

CHAP. X.

Laws and ordinances for the regulation of priest's sacrifices, festivals, and other matters political and civil.

THE law hath also order'd and appointed Numb. xxviii. a lamb of a year old to be sacrificed 3, 4 every day, morning and evening, at the public charge; and two upon the seventh day, or sabbath, after the same manner; and so likewise at the beginning of the month, over and Numb. xxix. above the ordinary sacrifices, two seven lambs 2, 3 of a year old, a ram and a he-goat for a sin-offering in case of any thing forgotten.

ON the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetæus, the offering was a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, beside those already mention'd, and a he-goat for a sin-offering.

ON the tenth day of the same month was a fast till night, and the sacrifices were a young bullock, two rams, seven lambs, and a he-goat for sin, with two other goats over and above. One of these goats was presented alive before the Lord, and so let go into the wilderness as a scape-goat to expiate for the people; the other was carried out into some sweet clean place near the camp, and there burnt to ashes, skin and all, without reserving any part of it; and the bullock was likewise burnt at the same time. Now this bullock was not provided by the people, but by the high-priest; who, after the killing of him, and the bringing of his blood with that of the goat into the temple, dipped his finger into the blood, and sprinkled the cover of the tabernacle seven times, and so in like manner the floor, the whole temple, the golden altar, and the great altar before the door of the tabernacle. After this, the extreme parts of these creatures, the kidneys and the fat, with part of the liver, were laid upon the altar, the high-priest furnishing a ram also upon his own account, and all presented to the Lord for a burnt-offering.

The scape-goat, Levit. xvi. 10.

UPON the fifteenth day of the same month, Levit. xxiii. winter drawing on, the people were command- 30--43. ed, with their respective tribes, to secure and fortify their tents against the rigour of the season; and likewise that, whenever they should come into the land that God had promis'd them, they should repair to the metropolis, as the seat of the holy temple, and there celebrate an eight days festival, with burnt-offerings, sacrifices, and peace-offerings; carrying boughs in their hands of myrtle, willow, palms, and little sprouts of the peach-tree.

ON the first day of the eight was to be presented a burnt-offering, of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat, for an offering of an atonement. The number of the lambs and rams, with the goat, was to be the same for six days; but one bullock to be abated every day till the number was brought down to seven. The eighth was to be a day of rest, and there were dedicated to God (as I have said before) a calf, a ram, seven lambs, and a goat for a sin-offering. This was the feast of tabernacles, upon the Hebrews erecting their tents; which being handed down to us from our ancestors, has been constantly

The feast of tabernacles, Lev. xxii. 3. Deut. xvi. 13.

stantly observ'd with all ceremony by our people.

Ex. xii. Levit.
xxiii. Num.
ix. Deut. xvi.

IN the month Xanthicus, which we call Nisan, and reckon upon as the beginning of the year; on the fourteenth of the moon, when the sun is in Aries, and that being the month when our forefathers came out of Egypt, the law enjoins us to offer the same sacrifice every year over again, which our forefathers did at their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, under the title of the feast of the passover. This festival we celebrate through all our tribes, without leaving any remainder of the oblation till the next day. The fifteenth is the feast of unleavened bread; which lasts seven days, and follows in order next to the passover. The sacrifices are two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs for a burnt-offering; to which is added a goat every day for a sin-offering, toward the entertainment of the priests. On the second day of the feast of the unleavened bread, and the sixteenth of the month, they make an offering to God of the first-fruits of their grain, before they taste of it themselves; judging it a reasonable thing that the author of all the blessings they enjoy should be serv'd first. And the method of the oblation is this: they take a quantity of corn-ears, and dry them before the fire upon a clean hearth. After this, they break and bruise them, and so offer upon the altar an Assar; one handful of it to be left there, and the rest goes to the priest. The people after this, are allow'd to reap at pleasure: and the offering in this case is a lamb for a Holocaust.

Feast of unleaven'd bread, Lev. xxiii. 6.

The first-fruits, V. 10.

scape-Levit. 0.

The feast of Pentecost, Ver. 16, 17.

ON the fiftieth day after the feast of the passover, that is to say, at the end of seven weeks or forty nine days, was celebrated the feast of Pentecost, so call'd by the Greeks, as denoting the number of fifty: the Hebrews call it * Assartha for the same reason. On this day they offered to God a wheaten loaf of two Assars, bak'd with leaven, and two lambs for a sacrifice; which serv'd for the priest's supper: But nothing was to be left of it till next morning. The burnt-offerings were three calves, two sheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats for a sin-offering. Now there are no feasts celebrated amongst us without burnt-offerings and a cessation from labour, according to certain rules and limitations prescrib'd in both cases by our law; with directions also which of the sacrifices are to be eaten.

THERE was likewise a provision order'd out of the publick stock of twenty four Assars of fine flour, to be made into loaves of bread with leaven, two and two to a loaf. Now this bread was to be bak'd on the sabbath eve, and set upon the holy table next morning; six loaves on each hand, and one directly against the other, with two golden cups of incense over them; which were there to remain till the next sabbath-day, and then given to the priest to eat, and others set in their places. The frankincense being also burnt in the holy fire, which consumes the burnt-offerings, there was fresh incense immediately supply'd upon fresh loaves. The high-priest moreover, at his own expence, offer'd twice a day of the finest flour drenched in oil, and a little bak'd, to the proportion of an Assar: one half of it to be cast into the fire in the morning, the other in the evening. But

without more words at present, I shall have occasion to be more copious upon this subject in another place.

CHAP. XI.

The tribe of Levi set apart for the service of the Altar. Of meats and persons, clean and unclean. Laws for women in child-bed, and in case of adultery and jealousy.

THE tribe of Levi being now set apart from the rest of the people for the peculiar service of God, Moses purify'd them with water of the fountain; and, offering of sacrifices to God upon the occasion, committed the tabernacle, the holy vessels, and all other things belonging to it, to their care and charge, under the orders and appointments of the priests; insomuch that they were now look'd upon as consecrated to God.

The tribe of Levi set apart for God's worship, Num. iii. 6---12.

MOSES at the same time made a difference betwixt meats clean and unclean, declaring what might be eaten, and what not; which we shall afterward give the reason of as it falls in our way. But for the blood of any creature whatsoever, it is absolutely forbidden; upon an opinion that the very life and spirit of the creature is in it: neither is the flesh of any thing to be eaten that dy'd, and so for the caul and fat of a goat, a sheep, or an ox, it is all prohibited.

Meats clean and unclean, Deut. xiv. Blood forbidden to be eat, Lev. xvii. 10---15.

IT was also order'd that all lepers, and such as labour'd under a gonorrhœa, should be turn'd out of the city; and so for women, during the time of their natural purgations, to withdraw from the conversation of men for seven days, and then be permitted to return as purified. And so for one who has assisted at the burying of a corps, he shall not be reputed clean till seven days after. But where the pollution exceeded seven days, the patient was ordered to sacrifice two lambs; one to be dedicated, and the priests to take the other. And the same sacrifice serves in the case of nocturnal pollutions; only the patient to plunge himself stript in cold water, as men usually do after coition with their lawful wives. But the lepers effectually and to all intents and purposes are banished the city and human conversation, as people little better than dead. But if it shall please God to deliver any man from this affliction upon his humble supplications, and to restore him to a sound habit again, there are several sacrifices which he is oblig'd to offer up to God in acknowledgment of the benefit he had receiv'd: But of this hereafter. This is enough to expose the ridiculous folly and groundless vanity of that story, which will have Moses driven out of Egypt as a leper, and therefore none so fit as he to conduct the Hebrews into the land of Chanaan, who were all tainted with this malady as well as himself. For if it had been true, he would never have established such a law, for his own honour; but on the contrary, he would rather have oppos'd it, if it had been propounded; especially considering that in several parts of the world lepers are so far from being subjected to indignities and contempt, that they are many times advanc'd to commissions of honour and trust, in charges

Of persons clean and unclean, Lev. xiii, xiv.

vit. xxiii. 43.

The feast of tabernacles, Lev. xxii. 34 Deut. xvi. 13

* Petavius confutes this in his notes upon Epiphanius, p. 63.

2 Kings v.
1-18.

Moses vindicated.

Laws for women in child-bed. Lev. xii.

Laws in case of adultery, or Jealousy, Num. v. 14, &c.

military, ecclesiastical, and civil. This is evident from the case of Naaman the leper, whom the king of Syria so highly esteemed, as to advance him to be general over all his army, leaning on his hand when he went to worship in the house of Rimmon his God. Now if Moses and the multitude were in truth tainted with this malady, how came it that he did not rather establish laws in favour of it? Wherefore it is as clear as day, that this scandalous report was only a malicious fiction, to make us and our profession odious. But Moses being clean himself, and conversing with those that were so, he ordain'd this law for the glory of God, and with a regard to those who were infected. But every man is at liberty to think of this matter as he pleases.

In the case of a woman that is newly deliver'd of a child, if it be a male, she is not allow'd to enter the temple, or to be present at divine service forty days after; nor, if it be a female, for twice as many. But at the end of the term aforesaid, she is bound to offer sacrifices; part to God, and the remainder to the priests.

If a man suspects his wife of adultery, his offering must be an Assar of barley-meal; laying a handful of it upon the altar, and giving the rest to the priests to eat. After this some one of the priests sets the woman at the gate that looks toward the tabernacle; uncovers her head, and writing the name of God upon a parchment, commands her to declare upon her oath, if she had ever been false to her husband's bed: To which she answers with this imprecation: "If I have (says she,) may my thigh rot, and my belly burst, and let me die miserable: But on the other hand, if it shall be found to be only an extravagant jealousy of my husband, proceeding from an excess of love, I beseech God to grant me the blessing of a male-child, within ten months from this day". After this oath, the priest took water, and wash'd the sacred name of God clear out of the parchment; and then straining the water into an earthen vessel, cast of the dust of the floor of the temple into it, and so gave it to the woman to drink. If she was innocent, and tax'd unjustly, she should suddenly conceive, and go happily through with her burden: But if guilty of incontinence and a false oath both together, she was sure to perish with horror and infamy, her thigh rotting, and her belly bursting, as is said before. These are the laws that Moses gave to his countrymen, concerning his sacrifices and purifications: Beside a prescription of other laws and provisions, as follows.

CHAP. XII.

Laws against adultery and incest. Priests restrain'd in their marriages. The seventh year's sabbath; and the Hebrews jubilee. Ordinances of war. The people number'd. Two silver trumpets, and the use of them.

ADULTERY was absolutely and expressly forbidden*; Moses very well understanding that there could be no true happiness in a conjugal state, but in a mutual faith

and confidence betwixt man and wife: And likewise how much it concerns, as well governments as families, that the members both of the one and the other should be lawfully begotten. He condemn'd incest as a most horrible wickedness; whether with the mother, the stepmother, the aunt; whether by father or mother, the sister, or the daughter-in-law. He prohibited the wife to live so much as with her own husband, in the time of her purgations. He pronounc'd it also a most abominable sin to have to do with boys, or beasts; and all these transgressions he made capital.

As to the priests, Moses laid them under a double obligation: For over and above the tying of them up to the same laws with other people, they were likewise under a prohibition of marrying with some sorts of women, as a mercenary prostitute, a maid-servant, a slave, a publick hostess, or a woman divorc'd upon any account whatsoever. Now there were some certain allowances also permitted to the priests in ordinary, and yet deny'd to the high-priest; as the marrying of a widow, when the high-priest was only to marry a virgin. He was also injoin'd not to come near the dead; whereas the other priests were suffer'd to pay all customary respects to the bodies of their dead fathers, mothers, brothers, or children; Moses commanding them to behave themselves with all candour and simplicity both in word and deed. If a priest happen'd to have upon him any maim or corporal defect, he had his part however of the oblations among his fellows; but Moses would not suffer him to officiate at the altar, or so much as to enter into the temple; looking upon it as the duty of a priest to demean himself with purity and reverence, not only in the exercise of his function, but in the government also of his life and manners. Those therefore who behave themselves as they ought to do in the sacerdotal robe, are sober, chaste, and spotless in all other respects, as well as in their office; neither are they allow'd so much as to taste of wine in their priest's vestments: their sacrifices are offer'd whole, and without blemish.

THESE were the laws that Moses gave in the desert, and which he caused to be observed during his life; prescribing others also for the government of the people when they should come into the possession of the land of Chanaan. He order'd every seventh year to be a year of rest to the earth, without either planting or plowing, answerable to what he had establish'd in the case of the seventh day. He appointed likewise that all the fruits which the earth should produce in that seventh year should be in common to strangers as well as Hebrews, without laying up any thing in store. The like was to be done after seven times seven years; the next year being the fiftieth, or the Hebrews Jubilee, wherein debtors are discharg'd, and servants made free; that is to say, such as for some transgression of the law had commuted death for servitude. Upon the approach of this jubilee, which signifies liberty, there is a restitution also of lands to the antient possessors; and it is done after this manner: The buyer and seller meet about it; and, upon balancing the profits of the estate with the expences upon it, if the profit be found greater, the seller

Incest, a horrible wickedness. Lev. xviii. xx.

Priests not to marry some sorts of women. Lev. xxi. 7.

V. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

No priest with a blemish to serve at the altar, V. 18, 23.

Lev. x. 9.

The seventh year's sabbath. Lev. xxv. 4.

The year of jubilee, V. 8, 9, &c.

* The persons detected of committing this crime were both to be put to death, Lev. xx. 10.

takes his ground again; but on the other side, if the charge exceeds the profit, the purchaser receives what falls short, and so quits the possession. If the profit and charge shall fall out to be equal, the estate returns to the first owner: this was the rule also upon the sale of houses in open villages; but for those in wall'd towns, there was another method, which was this: if the feller laid down the purchase-money before the year was out, he had a right to re-enter; but the year once elaps'd, the purchaser was confirm'd in his possession. Moses receiv'd this body of laws from God himself upon Mount Sinai, for the people which were then encamp'd at the foot of the mountain, and caused them to be committed to writing for the use of posterity.

Moses having now sufficiently provided for the settling of religion, and the civil government, his next business was to establish certain laws and ordinances of war for the regulation of the militia; and the first thing he did towards it, was the issuing out of orders to the heads of all the tribes, Levi only excepted,

to take an exact list of the whole number of the people that were able to bear arms. Now the Levites, being dedicated to the service of God, were exempted from attending any other duty. There were found, in fine, upon the view, six hundred and three thousand, six hundred and fifty men, from twenty to fifty, who were able to draw the sword; and in the place of Levi, Moses made choice of Manasseh, the son of Joseph, and of Ephraim for Joseph himself, according to the request of Jacob to Joseph when he adopted Joseph's two sons to himself, as is said above.

UPON their pitching of their tents, the tabernacle was erected in the middle of the camp, with three tribes on every side, and large streets and passages betwixt them, and also with a market-place; where all necessaries were to be sold, and several sorts of tradesmen orderly disposed of in shops and standings about it; insomuch, that it had the resemblance of a regular and well-contriv'd city. The priests and Levites had the quarter assign'd them that was next the tabernacle; and an account of the Levites was taken apart; which upon the review amounted to twenty three thousand eight hundred and eighty males*, reckoning them from the age of thirty days and upwards. So long as the cloud before spoken of hover'd over the tabernacle, they took it for an intimation of God's presence there, and the army rested and lay still; but as the cloud remov'd, the army decamp'd.

MOSES caus'd two silver trumpets to be made according to this description: they were near a cubit in length, the tube about the size of a flute, somewhat larger than a reed, and just wide enough in the mouth to receive the breath for the toning of it, turning up at the end like the mouth of a bell, or of an ordinary trumpet. The Hebrews call this instrument *Asophra*. One of them was to call the people together, the other to summon a council of the princes about affairs of state, and the sounding of both together was a summons for a general assembly. Upon the moving of the tabernacle, this was the method: the three

tribes to the eastward of it were to decamp upon the first sounding; those to the southward upon the second; the tabernacle was then to be taken in pieces, and mounted upon carriages, half and half, betwixt six tribes marching before it, and the other six following it; the Levites all this while keeping close to it, and round about it. Upon the third sounding, that part of the camp mov'd that was toward the west; and upon the fourth, that to the northward. They made use of these trumpets also in their sacrifices, and upon their sabbaths, and other occasions. Moses now sacrific'd, and it was the first paschal solemnity after that in the desert, celebrated by the Israelites since their coming out of Egypt.

C H A P. XIII.

A murmuring against Moses for want of food, and a flight of quails to supply it.

THE army was now decamp'd from Mount Sinai, and passing from place to place, (of which hereafter,) they came at last to Iremoth, where the multitude fell into a direct sedition against Moses, telling him that it was through his persuasion they were seduced out of one of the best countries in the world, the plenty whereof they not only stood in need of at present, but instead of the blessings he had promised them, were forced to wander up and down, reduced to the utmost distress and necessity, being already upon the point of perishing for want of water; and if their manna should now fail them, they should be all starved to death beyond redemption. When they had gone on a while, reviling the good man after this insolent and outrageous manner, one of the company told them, they should do well to call to mind the many and signal services Moses had formerly done them, and wholly to cast themselves upon the goodness of God for their relief; but this made the matter still worse and worse, and serv'd only to inflame the mutineers. When Moses saw the multitude abandon'd to this degree of desperation, he spake words of kindness and comfort to them, notwithstanding all the provoking affronts and indignities that had been put upon himself; bidding them depend upon it that they should suddenly have flesh sufficient to supply them many days; but they gave no credit to him, but breaking out into violent exclamations, one of them, in scorn, asked him, how he could possibly take upon him to feed so many thousands? His answer was this, That God and his servant Moses would see them provided for, notwithstanding all their reproaches, and it should be suddenly too. The word was no sooner out, but the whole camp was fill'd with quails, and the people gather'd them up; but it was not long before God took vengeance upon the Hebrews for their insolence and impudence against himself and Moses; for they were visited with a plague that cost a great many of them their lives. The place where this judgment befel them is call'd Cabrothaba, or the graves of lust.

A second mutiny for want of food, Numb. xi. 4-6.

The miracle of quails, Ver. 31-34.

* The Scripture says, Numb. iii. 39-43, that the number of the Levites, from a month old and upwards, amounted to twenty two thousand two hundred and seventy three, which falls something short of this account.

C H A P. XIV.

Spies sent into Chanaan. The delicacy and plenty of the country tempts the deputies, but are affrighted at its vast strength and fortifications. A conspiracy against Moses. Joshua and Caleb quiet the sedition. Moses and Aaron obtain mercy for the people.

Numb. xiii.
14.

WHEN Moses had brought the people into a place call'd the Streights, upon the borders of Chanaan, a very incommodious quarter to live in, he call'd them together, and spake to them after this manner: "There are, says he, two blessings that God has promis'd us; liberty, and the enjoyment of a happy land. By his gracious bounty at this instant ye are in possession of one of them, and it will not be long before you come to be established in the other. We are already upon the borders of Chanaan, and it is not in the power of any king, city, or nation to hinder our progress into the other. Let us therefore in the first place provide an army for the war; for there will be no gaining of this country but by war, nor shall we ever obtain an entire conquest over them, without first fighting a great many bloody battles; wherefore let us send spies to take a view of the condition of the land, and the strength of the people; but above all things, let us be unanimous, and ascribe all honour to God, who will both assist us and fight for us."

Moses sends spies into the land of Chanaan, Numb. xiii. 16-25.

WHEN Moses had made an end of speaking, the people highly approv'd of what he said, and upon his motion made choice of twelve eminent men, one out of every tribe, to send before them for discovery. They travelled through the whole land of Chanaan, from Egypt and the parts thereabouts, as far as the city Amathe and Mount Libanus. When they had well examined the nature of the soil, the state of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, they came back again, with a particular account of what they had seen, finishing the whole work in forty days. The report they made was so much to the advantage of the place for a delicious fruitful country, and the samples of the fruits themselves that they brought along with them, were so tempting and lovely, that the people were one and all for a war to make themselves masters of it. But then, on the other hand, when the deputies came to reflect on the difficulties of the enterprize, the impassable rivers, and inaccessible mountains and precipices, the strong holds, and fortified cities that were to encounter upon the way, beside a race of giants in Hebron, of so monstrous a bulk and strength, that from their coming out of Egypt to that very instant they had never seen any thing comparable to them: their own hearts fail'd them in the first place, and so they infected the multitude with the same apprehension.

The deputies frighted at the relation of the country, Ver. 28, 29, &c.

THE people were so discourag'd upon this discourse at the hazard of the undertaking, that they brake up in a confusion, and spent that whole night with their wives and children in lamentations and outcries against God and Moses. God promises fair, they cry'd, but he does nothing for us. Then they fell again to exclaiming against Moses and his brother Aaron

Another mutiny against Moses, Num. xiv. 1-4.

the high-priest. When they had pass'd away the night in outrage and blasphemy, they join'd early the next morning in a conspiracy to stone Moses and Aaron out of hand, and to return back again into Egypt.

UPON this desperate disorder, Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, (being the two only dissenters of the twelve that had been employ'd in the discovery,) stood up in the middle of the congregation, and did all that was possible to appeale the multitude for fear of the dreadful consequences that might attend such a tumult, delivering themselves in words to this effect: "How is it possible for you, good people, to distrust the veracity and goodness of God, and at the same time to give credit to vain stories and amusements about the land of Chanaan, that are spread abroad on purpose to affright and abuse you? why should not you rather believe, and follow those who have taken so much pains to put you into the possession and enjoyment of those blessings? what's the height of mountains, or the depth of rivers to men of undaunted spirits, and vigorous resolutions, especially when God is both their protector and defender; wherefore let us advance and attack the enemy, they cry'd, without so much as the least question of the event; only trust God for your guide, and follow us where we lead you." This was the course they took to pacify the people; but Moses and Aaron in the mean time threw themselves prostrate upon the ground, and besought God, not for their own sakes, but to compose the troubled minds of the ignorant people, and to deliver them from the distemper of their impotent passion: their prayers were heard, and there appear'd a cloud over the tabernacle, giving them to understand that God was present.

Joshua and Caleb quiet the sedition, Ver. 6-9.

Moses and Aaron intercede for them, and their prayers are heard, Ver. 5.

A cloud appears over the tabernacle in token of God's favour, Ver. 10.

Moses son of power credit.

C H A P. XV.

Moses tells the people from God, that they themselves should never enter into the land of Chanaan, but that their children should. They repent and humble themselves. Moses, a person of great credit and authority. A miserable famine in the reign of Claudius.

MOSES, in the strength and confidence of this vision, thrusts himself into the crowd, and there laid before the people the judgments that God had denounc'd against them for their insolence and disobedience; not as a punishment answerable to the degree of the transgression, but as a fatherly correction to his children; "for, says he, upon my entering into the tabernacle with supplications and tears, to deprecate the wrath and vengeance of God Almighty, that he might not utterly destroy you from off the face of the earth, God was pleas'd to represent how ungrateful a return you had made him for all his benefits, and the indignity you have now offer'd him in giving more credit to the misrepresentations and false reports of your spies, than to the promises of God himself. I can yet assure you after this, that you shall not all perish; neither will God ever suffer the race of his chosen people

A denouncing prediction, Ver. 29, to 30, &c.

"to be wholly rooted out; but for the land of Chanaan, you must never expect to enjoy either the possession or the comforts of it; for you are condemn'd to a wandering life for forty years in the wilderness, without either house or home, as a punishment for your iniquities. Now this will not hinder, but that in God's good time your children shall yet come to be lords of that blessed land, which their fathers rendered themselves unworthy of, by their stubbornness and unbelief."

The people
repent and
submit, Ver.
39, 40.

UPON this dreadful prediction thus denounced by Moses, the people were all struck with astonishment and dread, and implor'd him to intercede with God Almighty on their behalf, to pardon their sins, to deliver them out of the wilderness, and put them in possession of the promised land. He told them that it was not with God as it is with men in the cases of human frailty, to be wrought upon by unreasonable importunities; for the proceedings of the Almighty are founded upon certain knowledge, wisdom, and justice; and it was upon this ground that sentence had now passed upon them. It may be wonder'd at, perhaps, that Moses, being but one man, should be able to encounter the rage of so many thousands, and bring them at last within the bounds of moderation and reason; but God assisting him, the minds of the multitude were prepared to be overcome: they had found by woeful experience, upon several mutinies and essays of sedition, that their stubbornness in resisting the divine will did them no good.

Moses a per-
son of great
power and
credit.

MOSES was a wonderful man also in divers other respects; that is to say, for his piety and resolution; and so likewise for the credit he had got in the world, to be believ'd in whatever he said; and that not only in his life-time, but his authority continues still as sacred to posterity; for the Hebrews stand in as much awe of his laws and precepts at this very day, as if he himself were present to punish them for their disobedience, and their

consciences accuse them without need of any other witnesses. One might give several instances in proof of the veneration all men had for him, as a person of an authority more than human, and this for one among others: there was once some people who came from beyond Euphrates, not without great hazard and expence, a four months journey, out of a respect to our way of worship: they offer'd sacrifice, but were not allow'd any part of their own offering, the law of Moses in some cases forbidding it; others were not permitted to sacrifice at all, and some again were forced to give off when they had but half performed their sacrifices; others, in fine, were not so much as admitted into the temple, and so contentedly departed, chusing rather to acquiesce in the appointments of Moses, than to gratify their own inclinations; * and this out of no other apprehension than from their own consciences: but looking upon the laws themselves as of divine institution, they had the greater reverence for the legislator. There happen'd not long since in the reign of Claudius, and in the pontificate of Ishmael, a little before the Jewish war, so pinching a famine in Judea, that flour was sold at four drachma's an Assar †. There was brought up at that time to the feast of unleavened bread seventy Corus's; ‡ that is to say, thirty one Sicilian Medimni, and forty one Attick. The priests were ready to starve for want of bread, and yet not so much as one man of them touch'd the least bit of this provision, so tender were they of their duty to the law, and of incurring God's displeasure, even for their most secret sins. Who then shall any longer doubt of the wonders Moses wrought, when our very enemies are forc'd to acknowledge the divinity of the writings he hath left behind him, and to confess that the founder of our commonwealth was no other than the immediate instrument of God himself? But every man is left to the liberty of his own thoughts.

A dreadful
famine in the
days of Clau-
dius.

* See Selden de Synedrüs Hebr. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 70. Ed. Amstel.

† Viz. One pound and three quarters, at two shillings and seven pence.

‡ See a letter of Salmasius in the third Fasciculus, publish'd by Crenius.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK IV.

From the Year of the World 2455 to 2493.

CHAP. I.

The Israelites make war upon the Chanaanites, contrary to the advice of Moses, and are shamefully overthrown.

Numbers xiv.
2, 3.



THE Hebrews underwent a great many hardships in the wilderness; and it was yet the most sensible part of their calamity, that God would not give them leave to make war upon the Chanaanites. Their hearts, in short, were fully set upon't; but Moses, from time to time, advising them still against it, they told him plainly in the conclusion, "That they would 'e'en go their own way to work, and do their business without him. He had a mind, they said, to keep them in misery, and make himself necessary to them, and that was all he look'd after." Under this persuasion, they unadvisedly and rashly resolv'd upon the war, depending, as they said, upon God for his assistance: not so much for Moses's sake, as for the love he bare to their nation, and to the memory of their worthy ancestors. They made no doubt, but if they behav'd themselves like men, he who had formerly given them freedom, would now give them victory: or at worst, they could deal well enough with

the Chanaanites, even though Moses should do all he could to set God against them. "We are to maintain our common liberty, they cry'd, without leaping out of one slavery into another. What matter is it to us, whether we serve the Egyptians or Moses? we change our master, 'tis true, but not our condition, so long as we suffer ourselves to be seduc'd by the illusions of this man's vanity and ambition. What a stir does he keep with stories of his divine colloquies and revelations, as if Moses was the only confident to the privacies of God's secret purposes and counsels! are not all we here of the race of Abraham, as well as he? how comes Moses then by the sole privilege of a divine prescience, and a gift by himself in the faculty of foretelling things to come? is not this the land that God has promis'd us? why do we not dispatch then, and take possession of it, without being fool'd any longer under a masque of seeking God, and subjecting ourselves to the arrogance of one single person? let us bethink ourselves, as we ought "to

The Hebrews bent upon a war with the Chanaanites, Ver. 40, 41, 42.

A dangerous mutiny.

The Hebrews
attack the
Chanaanites,
Numb. xiv. 44.

and are beat-
en out of the
field, V. 45.

The over-
throw a just
judgment.

Moses leads
them back a-
gain into the
desert.

"to do, of our present distress; the inconveniencies of a desert; our wants daily growing upon us, &c. and what remedy at last, but fighting the Chanaanites out of hand, taking God for our leader, without troubling our heads any longer for the consent of our legislator." This was the unanimous sense and resolution of the field; and in this heat the Hebrews advanced furiously against the enemy: but neither the fierceness of the charge, nor the odds of number was able to daunt or dismay the Chanaanites; for they bravely stood the shock, and routed the Hebrews; kill'd a great many upon the place, and pursued the rest, who ran away most shamefully, even to their very camp. This unexpected defeat very much dejected the Hebrews; for they were still in fear of worse to come, and so conscious of a rash and presumptuous action, in attempting a battle without God's direction, that they look'd upon this overthrow as a just judgment for their fool-hardy wilfulness.

THE spirits of the multitude were so broken and sunk with this disaster, and the Chanaanites on the other hand so puffed up and elevated with the success, that Moses found no better expedient in this extremity, than to march them back again into the wilderness, for fear the enemy should follow the blow, and do them yet a greater mischief. The people were convinc'd by this miscarriage, that nothing prosper'd with them, but by the advice of Moses: so that upon the promise of an unconditional obedience to him for the future, the Hebrews decamp'd, and went back into the desert, with a resolution never to attempt any thing again upon the Chanaanites, without a direction from heaven.

CHAP. II.

The schism of Corah against Moses and Aaron, about the high-priesthood.

The levity
and violence
of a multi-
tude, Numb.
xvi.

four
of
sing

A desperate
sedition, ib.

BUT it far'd here, as it does commonly with other great bodies, when things go cross; there will be complaints, faction, calumnies, and disobedience; and so it happen'd with the Jews. They were six hundred thousand men upon the muster, and a people not over tractable, at best, to their superiors; but upon any pinch of necessity or misfortune altogether intolerable; as well one to another as to their governors. This malevolent humour of theirs gave a rise to the most formidable sedition that ever was heard of, either amongst Greeks or Barbarians; and it had destroy'd them to all manner of purposes, if Moses had not interpos'd to the preserving of them, generously forgetting and forgiving all past injuries, even from those very people who were so lately within a little of stoning him to death. But after all the indignities they had put, not only upon their legislator, but effectually upon God himself, in contemning his commandments, providence would not yet totally cast them off, but graciously deliver'd them from the imminent danger of the most desperate defection that ever was contriv'd. We are now to shew what this sedition was, and how Moses manag'd affairs after it was compos'd: but first of the cause and occasion of it.

THERE was one Corah, a person of distinction among the Hebrews, both for his blood and his possessions, and one who had the art of humouring the people; no man living more popular. This Corah, seeing Moses advanced above all his fellows, and in the exercise of sovereign power, took up an envious pique against him. Now being both of a tribe, and kindred, Corah, the wealthier of the two, and of as good a family, he thought it hard that Moses should have the preference; wherefore he would be often venting his complaints and resentment, and expressing his uneasiness upon that head, which made a mighty noise among the Levites, and his relations, wherever he uttered his discourse. "Why, 'tis an intolerable scandal, says he, for Moses to take upon him at this rate, and to carry on his ambition thus under a masque of holiness and religion; and by that means to raise himself a reputation to the wrong of other men: as he gave lately the priesthood, and other dignities to his brother Aaron, without any right or colour for it, no consent of the people to't, nor any pretext of authority, save only his own arbitrary will and pleasure. And that which makes it worse yet, is his artful way of insinuation, whereby he insensibly makes himself master of the government; so that the people have lost their liberty before they well know his drift. He that in his own conscience finds himself worthy to be a ruler, will take the good-will and approbation of the people along with him, without any need of violence for the gaining of his end. Nay, in many cases, where fairness and honesty will not do the work, the very fame of probity and square dealing keeps men within some tolerable compass. But then what cannot be effected by force, may be supply'd by craft and undermining: and that dark way of proceeding ought to be made exemplary in time, before it breaks out into open practices upon the state. What sufficient reason can Moses bring for his conferring the high-priesthood upon Aaron, and his sons after him? if God, says he, has annexed the honour to the tribe of Levi, I myself may pretend a right to the preference, being of the same stock with Moses, and his superior, both for riches and years. Or if it be to pass by seniority, it belongs to the tribe of Ruben; to Dathan, Abiram, and Phaleg, who are the seniors of that tribe, and men of eminent credit every way among them."

CORAH'S pretext all this while was the publick good; but his business, in truth, was to insinuate himself into the high-priesthood, by the supplanting of Aaron. This calumny was deliver'd in terms plausible enough, and so it passed from one to another, still increasing as it spread, till in the end the whole camp was full of it, and no less than two hundred and fifty of the principal men among them join'd with the faction, in a conspiracy to take away the high-priesthood from the brother of Moses, and transfer it to Corah. This set the multitude all in an uproar, crowding up to the tabernacle, and bawling out, "stone him, stone him; take away this tyrant, and set the people at liberty from the unmerciful oppressions that this man lays upon us. If God had had a hand, they cry'd, in this choice,"

The sedition
of Corah, ib.

A faction set
up against
Moses for
taking so
much upon
him;

and advancing
his brother
Aaron
to the high-
priest-hood,
ib.

Corah's ambi-
tion cover'd
under
a pretence of
the publick
good, ib.

The whole
camp in a mu-
tiny; and two
hundred and
fifty leading
men in the
party, Ver. 17.

An outcry to
have Moses
ston'd.

" he would never have confer'd the honour
 " upon a person so much below the dignity
 " of the function; or if God had design'd it
 " for Aaron, it should have come to him by
 " the suffrage of the people, not by the fa-
 " vour of his brother."

MOSES knew very well what Corah was a doing, and what effect his artificial way of slander had upon the enrag'd multitude. But in the comfort and support of a good conscience, and in the certain knowledge that his brother was promoted to the priesthood by God's appointment, and not upon any private account of his own, he made no difficulty (being well skill'd in popular arts) of presenting himself before the people; and so he addresses himself to Corah in words to this effect:

Moses's defence, Numb. xvi. 4-15.

" I GIVE it for granted, Corah, says he,
 " that you yourself, or any one of your noble
 " companions here (pointing at the two hun-
 " dred and fifty of the faction) is worthy of
 " honour; in the mean time, not excluding
 " the rest of this multitude of people, how
 " inferior soever to yourself, upon the compa-
 " rison, either in riches or other accomplish-
 " ments. Aaron was not made high-priest for
 " his wealth, you yourself are worth as much
 " as both of us: nor for his nobility, for we
 " are all of a family, and derive from the
 " same progenitor: neither did I, induced by
 " any partial motive of affection or consan-
 " guinity, rob any man of his right in what I
 " gave to my brother; for if I had any thing
 " in my eye but honour and justice, I should
 " have given it to myself instead of him, since
 " charity begins at home; beside that I must
 " have been a mad man to expose myself to
 " danger, by doing an ill thing for another,
 " and reaping no benefit by it myself: but
 " far be it from me to be guilty of such an
 " improbity! God Almighty would never have
 " suffer'd either himself to be condemn'd, or
 " you to be ignorant of the most acceptable
 " things you could do to please him. It was
 " God himself who chose the priest, and it
 " was God's act that has discharg'd me of
 " the crime. But now supposing Aaron to be
 " possess'd of the holy character purely by a
 " divine choice, and without any inclination
 " of partiality of mine to intervene, he shall
 " make no difficulty of casting the cause upon
 " your suffrages yet over again, without in-
 " sistig upon the legality of what has been
 " done already, though with your own ap-
 " probation. This is to shew you that he hath
 " no ambition in him, and that he is ready to
 " part with any thing, let it be never so much
 " his right, for the purchasing of your peace.
 " As to the acceptance of what God has been
 " pleas'd to offer us, there can be no offence
 " in it; and so on the other hand, it would
 " have been highly impious to have refus'd it.
 " But nothing however can be more reason-
 " able than to allow the benefactor a right of
 " ratifying and making good his own boun-
 " ty; wherefore you cannot do better than to
 " refer the matter once again even to God
 " himself, and so to abide by the person he
 " shall be pleas'd to make choice of for the
 " sacred function. Now it would be a strange
 " thing for you, Corah, by your ambition, to
 " bar God the liberty of chusing his own priest:
 " this is the very case, and without any fur-

" ther controversy, one day more will bring
 " this point to an issue. Let all the preten-
 " ders to this dignity appear to-morrow
 " morning, with their censers in their hands,
 " and fire and incense in them. You must
 " have patience, Corah, and wait God's de-
 " termination, without presuming to set up
 " your own authority above his; but do you
 " appear also yourself among the other can-
 " didates for the dignity; and I know not why
 " Aaron may not come up too, as one of the
 " family, and a person who hath behav'd him-
 " self unblameably in the function. When
 " you are all together, offer up your incense
 " in the sight of the people, and let that per-
 " son whose sacrifice shall be most acceptable
 " to God, be declar'd to be the high-priest,
 " and then in course confirm'd by my autho-
 " rity. This will bring the whole matter in
 " dispute to a fair accommodation, and like-
 " wise discharge me from the calumny of par-
 " tiality towards my brother."

Moses's ap-
 peal, Ver. 16,
 17.

CHAP. III.

*God's judgment upon Corah, Dathan, and Abiram;
 and the priesthood settled upon Aaron and his
 posterity.*

WITH this discourse Moses both quieted the people, and ingratiated himself into their better opinion at the same time, in so much that they look'd upon all he said as exceedingly to the purpose, and gave him, in fine, the character of a very good and wise man; and here the council broke up.

THE next morning all the people gather'd together to attend the sacrifice, and to see the event of the election then in question. The multitude was tumultuous and uneasy, divided in their inclinations, and not a little solicitous betwixt hope and fear, what might be the issue of that contest. Some were for having Moses expos'd, but the men of sense and sobriety were for peace and quietness; for if the rabble got a head once, they did not know but they might overturn the government; for the common people are naturally fond of new things, reproachful and envious against their superiors, apt to receive and spread calumnies, and carried about with every wind or rumour. Moses however sent a summons to Dathan and Abiram, commanding them to attend the business of the day, and put in their claims as they pretended; but the messengers brought word back that they absolutely refused, saying, that Moses had gotten a power into his hands by indirect means, and that they were resolv'd to submit no longer to the usurpation. Upon this answer and return, Moses call'd to such and such of the elders as he thought proper, and bad them follow him, which they did; without any difficulty or delay, Moses not thinking it an action unworthy of him to go in person to the rebellious faction. Dathan and his companions hearing that Moses and his train were coming towards them, went out of their tents with their wives and children, and there stood waiting to see what would become of this extraordinary visit; but with their guards all at hand to repel force by force, in case of any violence. Moses went peaceably forward

The people
 divided, Ver.
 19.

The humour
 of the com-
 mon people.

They dis-
 claim his au-
 thority,
 Ver. 12.

Moses bids
 the elders fol-
 low him, and
 they go to
 the faction,
 Ver. 25.
 Dathan and
 his compa-
 nions advance
 toward them.
 Ver. 27.

forward till he came to Dathan, and then lifting up his hands to Heaven, he call'd upon God with a loud voice, that the whole multitude might hear him.

Moses's second appeal to God upon the justice of his cause, Num. xvi. 28.

"BLESSED God, says he, thou who art the Lord of the Heavens, the earth, and the sea, the irrefragable witness of all my actions, and that whatever I have hitherto done hath been perfectly in obedience to thy special direction: thou who in compassion to the Hebrews hast so graciously provided for them in their flight, and in their miserable necessities, having been likewise upon all occasions my constant support, Lord hear my prayer: thou who knowest all things, and searchest the very secrets of our hearts, vouchsafe to bring the truth to light, and to lay open the ingratitude of my unrighteous accusers: thou who art privy to the whole history of passages, and of my life in particular, not by hearsay, but upon certain and infallible knowledge; Lord do thou bear testimony to my innocence, against the malicious calumniators of my integrity and conduct: thou knowest, good God, that at such time as I was settled in the comfortable state of a quiet easy life, under thy blessing, upon my industry, and by the kindness of my father-in-law Raguel *, quitted all the pleasures and conveniences of a plentiful and a safe privacy, in exchange for troublesome and dangerous commissions on the behalf of these people; exposing myself first for their liberty, and now for their security, to all labours and hazards. But since so it is, after all this, that I am now fallen under the jealousy and displeasure of those very people, who by my care and providence have been redeem'd out of so many extremities; Lord, says he, thou who didst vouchsafe to appear to thy servant out of the fire upon Mount Sinai, to let him hear thy voice, and make him a witness of the prodigies they wrought: thou who gavest him the honour of an embassy into Egypt, bringing down the Egyptians pride, and delivering the Hebrews out of their bondage: thou, says Moses, who laidst the power of Pharaoh at my feet, turning the sea into dry land, and that dry land into sea again, for the safety of thy people, and the confusion of the Egyptians, furnishing those with arms that were defenceless, converting corrupt water into sweet, fetching fountains out of rocks in the extremity of drought, food out of the sea, and meat from Heaven to supply their wants, (a thing never heard of before.) Lord, says he, thou who hast laid the foundations of our government, and modell'd our laws: thou who art the judge and witness of all things, avenge my cause, and bear this testimony for me, that I never was corrupted into the favour of an unjust cause, or of a rich man against a poor; and yet now Lord, says he, I find male administration laid to my charge, as if I had elevated my brother to the high-priesthood, not by divine appointment, but by the impulse of a private affection, and without any authority from above for what I did. Lord, be pleased to make it appear now, that all

things are govern'd by thy providence, and brought to pass by the interposition of thy holy will, not by chance; and out of thy wonted kindness to the Hebrews, vindicate thyself unto them, upon Dathan and Abiram, for the insolence of suggesting thee to be circumvented by my impostures; which is all one with rendering thee passive and insensible. Lord, says he, visit these blasphemous detractors from thy glory with an exemplary vengeance; let them not die the common death of other men; but as they are not worthy to live upon the earth, let the earth swallow them up with their families and substance, for the honour of thy power, and for a document to ages to come, that they may think more reverently of thy divine majesty; and if I myself shall be found guilty of the charge exhibited against me, may all those curses light upon my own head, and my opposers be happy and free. But when thou shalt pour out thy wrath upon the disobedient and the troublers of thy people, Lord, preserve the rest in peace and unity, safe and untouch'd, who live in a dutiful conformity to thy commandments; neither will it stand with the methods of thy justice, either to confound the innocent with the offenders, or to punish the guiltless for the faults of the guilty."

THESE words were interrupted with tears, when all on a sudden the earth fell a trembling into an agitation, like the rolling of an angry sea in a storm, which struck the whole multitude with a profound astonishment and horror; and a dismal outcry was heard upon it, that ran through all their tents. In the conclusion, the ground open'd under the feet of the faction with a terrible noise, and swallow'd them all up, every man of them, with all that appertained to them, closing again immediately so exactly, that the very mark of the rupture was not to be perceiv'd.

THIS was the end of a seditious schismatical faction, and an illustrious instance it was of God's providence and power at once; and to make the case still more dreadful, there was not so much as one of all their relations and acquaintances who pitied them. Nay, the whole multitude had nothing in their mouths but joy and acclamations, in contemplation of this effort of divine justice: they look'd no further back upon things past, than to raise in them a detestation for the memory of those people, as the pest of their nation, and men who did not deserve so much as human tenderness. After the extinction of Dathan and his complices, Moses conven'd the candidates for the pontificate, committing the choice to God once more, to be confer'd upon him whose sacrifice should appear to be best accepted. There was gather'd together two hundred and fifty persons, that both for their fathers sakes and their own, had an eminent reputation among the people; and with these men came forth Aaron and Corah, who standing before the tabernacle, offer'd such incense in their censers as they brought with them. While they were thus employ'd, there appear'd all in an instant, so fierce a fire, that the flame of burning mountains, the conflagration of

The earth opens, and swallows up Dathan and his train, Ver. 32, 33.

Who fall unpitied by all their relations and friends.

The choice put to a second trial, 6, 7.

Corah and his companions consumed with fire from Heaven, Numb. xiv. 35.

A brazen altar erected for a memorial, Ver. 30-40.

whole forests, with winds and brush-wood to assist it, were nothing in comparison to it. It was clear and flagrant, and came undoubtedly from Heaven; for no natural ingredients could have produc'd so subtle a flame. By the force of this fire, Corah, together with his two hundred and fifty companions, were so totally consum'd, that there was not so much as any remainder of their carcases to be found; only Aaron surviv'd, untouch'd, as a most certain evidence that this was the supernatural work of an Almighty power. Moses, for the perpetual memory of this judgment, in the transmitting of it to posterity, commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to fasten their censers about a brazen altar, as a monument for a warning to generations to come, that God Almighty is not to be deceived or impos'd upon by human cunning. By this time it was evident, beyond all contradiction, that Aaron was not elevated to the pontificate through his own ambition, or his brother's particular favour, but by God's appointment; and that he held it ever after by the same title.

CHAP. IV.

What befel the Israelites in the desert, during the space of thirty eight years.

Ver. 14.

The Israelites impute all their calamities to Moses.

BUT all this did not yet wholly extinguish the spirit of rebellion among the people; for it was follow'd with another sedition, worse, if possible, than the former, which took its rise from such causes as in all likelihood would not be easily suppress'd; for when they had once taken up a persuasion that all things came to pass by providence, and by the will of God, they reckon'd every thing to be done for Moses's sake; so that all the severities of divine justice were charged to his account, as if God would not have been so rigorous against sinners, if Moses had not press'd him to it, and that it was not so much for their wickedness that they were punish'd, as to gratify Moses. "What was the fault, they cry'd, of all those noble and excellent men who lost their lives at Moses's instigation, but the excessive zeal and affection they had for the worship of their God? and Moses, they said, made his profit of theirs and of the people's ruin, by confirming his brother in the pontifical dignity, and intailing it upon his line; for after paying so dear for the competition, no body else would ever pretend to it again for the future." Now this was a time for the relations of the deceas'd to manage with the multitude, and to dilate upon the absolute necessity of putting some timely check to the pride and exorbitant power of Moses; "which the people might easily do, they said, and it concern'd them to take it into their care." Moses found a storm coming, and very prudently to prevent the ill consequences that might probably follow upon such a tumultuary practice and disposition, he order'd an assembly to be call'd, where he heard their grievances, and without one word of answer, for fear of making matters worse, ap-

pointed the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscrib'd upon them, and he to be prefer'd to the dignity upon whose rod should be found any particular mark of God's favour: this they all agreed to, and brought their rods with inscriptions as directed, Aaron among the rest; and his rod bear the inscription of the tribe of Levi. Moses laid them up for the present in the tabernacle of God, and the next day produc'd them, which were easily known again; for the princes that brought them, and the rest of the people, saw their own marks upon them: they found all the rest of the rods just in the same condition as they left them the day before, only Aaron's sprouted out with branches and buds; and which was yet a greater wonder, bearing ripe almonds, the rod being of the wood of the almond-tree. The strangeness of this spectacle struck the people with the utmost surprize, and intirely extinguished that animosity and enmity which they had conceived against Moses and Aaron; and they all stood in admiration at the judgment of God, resign'd themselves to his holy pleasure, and yielded the right of the election to Aaron, who was now the third time confirm'd by God himself in the priesthood, where it rested for the future without any contradiction. This, in fine, put a happy period to the troubles of the Hebrews, after a long course of violence and sedition.

THE tribe of Levi being set apart for the service of God in holy offices and duties, Moses exempted them from the burden of all military charges; and for fear the care of providing necessaries for life might divert them from attending the duties of their function, he order'd it, that so soon as ever the land of Chanaan should by God's assistance come to be conquer'd, there should be forty eight of the best and choicest cities allotted for the entertainment of the Levites, with two thousand cubits of land round about, and contiguous to the walls of the place, beside the imposition of a tenth part of the yearly profits arising from the fruits of the earth, to be paid as a duty on the whole people, to the priests and Levites; which hath been religiously observ'd ever since. Let this suffice as to the revenue of this tribe upon the people, and we shall now come to what directly belongs to the priests themselves.

Moses provided, that of the eight and forty cities before mention'd, the Levites should yield thirteen of them to the priests, and the tenth part of the tithes, beside the first-fruits of all the products of the earth, as an offering to God. The firstling of all quadrupedes offer'd in sacrifice, if a male, was to be brought to the priests to sacrifice, to be eaten in the holy city with their family; but for those which the law of the country will not permit to be eaten, the owner shall present a shekel and a half * instead of a firstling, and for the first-born of a man five shekels; and there is a duty also to be allow'd upon wool and corn, and likewise a cake upon those that bake bread.

* Viz. About one shilling and one penny half-penny in our money.

Of the Nazarenes, Numb. vi.

As for the Nazarenes that tie themselves up by a vow, neither to cut their hair, nor to drink wine; when the time of their vow is expir'd, and they present themselves to have their hair consecrated, whatever they offer in sacrifice belongs to the priests; and so for those who call themselves Corban, that is by interpretation, a gift of God, when they desire to be discharg'd of their obligation and voluntary vow, there is a duty belongs to the priests, of fifty shekels for a man, and thirty for a woman; and they who have not so much money, must remit themselves to the discretion of the priest.

THEY who kill beasts for private use, and not for sacrifice, must allow the priests the breast of the beast, and the right shoulder. This was the allotment of Moses for the priests, beside sin-offerings, which we have spoken of in the last book before this. He ordain'd likewise, that in all contributions to the order of the priests, their wives, children, and servants should have their share, saving in sin-offerings, and those are only to be eaten by the priests that officiate. It must be in the temple too, and on the same day.

The sedition crush'd, and Moses decamp'd.

Moses desires a passage through Idumea, and the king refuses it, Numb. xx. 14-21.

MATTERS being thus settled, and the sedition crush'd, Moses decamp'd, and with his whole army march'd to the borders of Idumea, sending his ambassadors beforehand to the king thereof, to desire a free passage for his troops through his country, upon assurance that he would give him no manner of trouble, and that whatever he had he would pay for. His passage was, however, refus'd, and an army drawn up to the frontiers, ready to oppose him, if he should offer to force his way. Moses had recourse to God for advice, whose answer was, that he would not have him the aggressor; and so he withdrew to take his way by the desert.

The death of Mariam the sister of Moses, Ver. 1.

Forms of purification, Numb. xix.

AT this time died Mariam the sister of Moses, at the beginning of the month Xanthicus, and in the fortieth year compleat after the coming out of Egypt. She had a publick and a splendid burial upon a mountain known by the name of Sin; and after thirty days of mourning, Moses purified the people. The priest took a young red heifer that had never known the yoke, brought it out a little way from the army, and there in a very clean place kill'd it, dipping his finger seven times in the blood, and therewith sprinkling the tabernacle of God. After this, he put the heifer whole into the fire, skin, entrails and all, with a stick of cedar, hyssop, and a little scarlet-coloured wool. When all was consum'd, a young man of an unspotted virgin chastity, was employ'd to gather up the ashes, and lay them up in the cleanest place that could be found. Now whoever stood in need of being purified, either for touching a dead body, or for assisting at a funeral, he had no more to do, than to cast of these ashes into fountain-water, dip a bunch of hyssop in it, and sprinkle himself with it on the third and the seventh day; and this was the ceremony of the purification, which Moses commanded to be observ'd whenever the Hebrews should come to be possess'd of the land which God had promised them.

AFTER this purification was over for the death of his sister, Moses led the army through the desert into Arabia, and coming to their capital city, formerly call'd Arce, at present Petra, where there was a very high mountain, Aaron being foretold by Moses that he was near his end, went up this mountain, took off his pontifical stole, and deliver'd it to his son Eleazar, as the next heir to the dignity; and in the sight of the whole army ended his days there, in the hundred and twenty third year of his age, and in the first moon of the month which the Athenians call Hecatombæon, the Macedonians Lous, the Hebrews * Sabba, and the Romans Augustus. His sister died also in the same year.

Moses marches through the desert into Arabia, Ver. 22.

The death of Aaron, V. 28.

CHAP. V.

Sihon and Og defeated by Moses, and their lands distributed by Lot to two tribes and a half of the Hebrews.

WHEN the mourning for Aaron was past, (which lasted thirty days,) Moses march'd the army to the river Arnon, which falls from the mountains of Arabia, and running through the whole desert, empties itself into the lake Asphaltitis, dividing the Moabites from the Amorites. The country is very fruitful, and wants for nothing. The king's name of the latter was Sihon, to whom Moses sent very respectfully for leave to march his army through his country, promising upon his word and honour that neither his country nor his people should suffer any injury from his army. Sihon denied him passage, and march'd his army immediately to take possession of the fords of the river, thereby to hinder his coming over.

WHEN Moses found that the Amorites were resolv'd upon a war, he could hardly digest the affront, and so reckon'd it his best course for himself to give the first attack; for the Hebrews being a people of an intractable disposition, he did not know but want and idleness might again renew in them the spirit of sedition and rebellion; whereupon, for fear of the worst, he consult'd God in the first place, whether he should attempt the forcing of his way by the sword, or not. This he did, and obtain'd not only a permission to do it, but an assurance of victory. Moses, upon this encouragement, animated the army into a confidence of success, telling them, "That now was their time to signalize their valour, when they had both divine approbation and human authority to second their inclinations." Upon these words, without any hesitation or delay, they march'd up and made a furious charge upon the enemy. The king and his army fell into a pannick terror upon the very sight of them, and after all their big words and menaces at a distance, they had not the heart so much as to face the Hebrews: their only hope was in their heels, and in their wall'd towns, if they could come at them; but they were so close pursued, that their flight was but of very little service to them: they fell into a direct

The Hebrews fall upon the Amorites, and defeat them, Numb. xxi. 24.

* Bochart in his Hieroz. Part II. lib. iii. c. 13. shews it should be Ab, or Abba.

roul upon the very first shock, and in that confusion they all ran several ways to save themselves; the Hebrews, light arm'd and swift of foot, at the heels of them, with their flings, darts, and arrows, killing those at a distance whom they could not otherwise overtake. Vast numbers of them were cut off at the river where they stopped to quench their thirst, for it was excessive hot weather, and amongst the rest Sihon their king. The slaughter, in fine, was terrible, and never a more absolute victory. The Hebrews had the spoil of the field, a prodigious booty, and that which they most wanted, corn in abundance; for the harvest was yet upon the ground. All was their own in short: they went whither they would, did what they would, and took what they would, without either resistance or controul; for there was hardly any left behind to oppose them, the flower of their men being destroy'd in the battle.

Sihon their king slain, Num. xxi. 24.

THIS befel the Amorites, for want both of conduct and courage; for they had neither foresight to prevent the mischief, nor resolution to encounter it. This place, which the Hebrews had now made themselves masters of, is a kind of peninsula, betwixt three rivers; Arnon on the south, Jaboc (that falls into the river Jordan) on the north, and the river Jordan itself on the west.

WHILE matters were in this condition, the Israelites found they had yet another enemy to cope with, which was Og the king of Galadene, and of Gaulonitis, who as he was advancing with a powerful army to the relief of Sihon his friend and ally, by the way met with the unwelcome news of the battle, and a total defeat. But this, however, was not sufficient to deter him from running the hazard of a battle, relying on the valour of his foldiers, in confidence of which he hoped success would attend his attempt; but his hopes deceived him; for he and his whole army were cut off, to a man. After this victory, Moses pass'd the river Jaboc, and made an inroad into Og's dominions, destroying all the cities wherever he came, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, who were a people possess'd of greater riches, and a more fruitful soil than any of the inhabitants of the adjacent countries. The king himself was a man of courage and resolution, of great strength of body, and of a gigantick stature, as appeared by the dimensions of a bed of his, which was found in his palace at Rabatha. The frame of it was of iron, the breadth of it four cubits, and the length nine. The fall of this man did not only fettle the Israelites in a present state of security and quiet, but laid the foundation of great advantages to come: for they possess themselves of no less than sixty of his strong holds, and well fortify'd cities, and the whole army to a man, was at the same time most prodigiously enrich'd with the booty.

Og the king of Galadene, and his whole army cut off, Ver. 35.

CHAP. VI.

Moses maketh war upon the Madianites. The history of Balaak and Balaam. Zimri opposes Moses. Phinees kills Zimri and Cosby.

SOON after this, Moses remov'd his camp to a great plain over against Jericho, an o-

pulent city, and famous for palm-trees and balsam. The Israelites were now so flush'd with victories that their minds were intent upon nothing so much as battles and war; and Moses thought it pity this martial humour should lie idle: so that after he had offer'd up to God sacrifices of thanksgiving, and feasted his army, he sent away a detachment to lay waste the country of the Madianites, and to destroy their cities. The ground of the war was this:

Moses makes war upon the Madianites.

Numb. xxii. 3, 4.

BALAAK, the king of the Moabites, and an ancient ally of the Madianites, observing the growing power of the Israelites, began to have some apprehension for himself, and of his own safety. He did not know, it seems, that God had forbidden the Hebrews to attempt any other conquest than that of Chanaan; so that he was either not well inform'd, or not well advis'd upon this matter. As to the point of making war upon a people elevated, and puff'd up with such a course of successes, it was a thing he durst not so much as think of; but he was willing enough yet to put some stop to their farther progress, and so sent his ambassadors to the Madianites, to consult what might be done for the common security of them both. The Madianites sent away presently Balaak's ambassadors, and some men of honour with them, to one Balaam, who liv'd beyond the Euphrates; a famous prophet in those parts, and their particular friend; desiring him only to come over to them, and curse the Israelites. After he had treated the ambassadors with great generosity and respect, he asked counsel of God what return he should make them. His order was, that he should not comply with them, and so with that answer he went back, telling them that it was not for want of goodwill towards them that he did not gratify their desires, but that God was against it, to whose goodness he stood indebted for the reputation he had gotten of a true prophet; declaring farther to them, that the army which they would have him to curse, was highly in God's favour. And therefore it was his advice, that they should rather address themselves to the Israelites, and secure a fair understanding with those people upon what terms soever. With this resolution he discharg'd the ambassadors: but the Madianites, upon the violent importunity of Balaak (who was much unsatisfy'd with the answer) sent the same messengers a second time, upon the same errand; and Balaam to shew a willingness to oblige them, went and consulted God a second time upon the same question. "Why then you may go along with the ambassadors," (says the oracle;) and Balaam, not considering with what air it was spoken, went simply along with them. As they were upon the way, an angel met them in a narrow place betwixt two walls, where there was not room enough for two to pass. Balaam was mounted upon an ass, which at the sight of this vision, stopt, and upon his striking, and pressing to make her go forward, she squeez'd him up against the wall; the angel keeping the way still, and the prophet still correcting his ass; but it pleased God at length to open the ass's mouth, in a complaint of the injustice of her master, to beat her at that time for not going forward, when the angel of the Lord stood there in the passage, to divert him from doing what he was about to do. The ass urging also, that this was the first time she had ever

Balaak consults the Madianites how to secure himself against the Hebrews, ib.

Balaam would have Balaam to curse the Israelites, Ver. 5. But God forbids it, V. 12.

Balaam importun'd a second time, Ver. 15. Balaam goes along with the ambassadors, Ver. 21. An angel stops him in a narrow passage, Ver. 24. Balaam presses forward, and the ass reproves the prophet, Ver. 28-30.

ever disobey'd him. Balaam was surpriz'd, and affrighted to hear the afs talk like a man; and the angel rebuked Balaam for what he had done, telling him, "That it was not the fault of the beast, but the fault of the prophet, in presuming to take a journey, contrary to the declared will of God." The prophet would have gone back, but God bad him go forward, upon condition, that he should say nothing but what he himself put in his mouth.

Balaam goes to Balaak, Num. xxii. 36.

Balaak takes Balaam up to the top of a mountain, where they may see the armies, V. 41. Seven altars erected, and sacrifices prepar'd, Numb. xxiii. 1, 2.

Balaam looks toward the Israelites, and prophesies, Ver. 7--24.

UPON the condition aforesaid, Balaam went to Balaak, and, after a very gracious reception, desir'd the king he might be conducted to some of the high mountains thereabouts, where he might take a view of the camp of the Hebrews. So Balaak himself took Balaam along with him, with his royal train, up to the top of a mountain, a matter of sixty furlongs from the army: and when the prophet had made his remarks, he directed seven altars to be rais'd, and seven bulls, and as many rams to be prepared for sacrifices; which was done out of hand, and the victims presently offer'd up in order to the forming of a judgment upon the matter in question betwixt the two armies. So soon as he had well digested his observations, he deliver'd the result of his presages with his face toward the army of the Israelites in these words.

"You are the happy people, says he, who by the blessing and bounty of God, shall enjoy plenty of all good things in abundance; you shall have providence for your guide, your protector, and support, and a reputation beyond all other mortals, for the innocence of your lives, the probity of your manners, and your love and practice of virtue; and the fame of your posterity shall yet exceed that of your forefathers; for God will take you into his peculiar care and protection, and make you, of all nations under the sun, the most blessed. You shall enter into possession of the Land of promise, whither God hath sent you, and it shall be to you and your posterity for ever. The whole earth and sea shall be full of your glory; and you shall have so numerous an issue, that in all parts of the world, there shall be found of your stock and family. O thou wonderful and blessed army! to grow to such a vast number out of the loins of one single man. The land of Chanaan must at present content you, though a spot of ground not answerable either to your dignity or number; but know that the time is a coming, when you shall have the whole world for your habitation. Your children shall people the islands as well as the continent, and be as the stars in the heavens for number. And yet in that infinite multitude, you shall feel no want of any thing: But God shall give you plenty in peace; courage and victory in war, and the children of your enemies shall be your servants; wherefore may our adversaries be yours too, for it shall be ruin to them to rise against you, and the wives and children of your adversaries shall have little reason to thank their husbands, and their fathers, for any news they shall bring them from such an encounter. You are to bless the providence of God, in fine, for all these gifts and graces; that God, I say,

who alone can exalt or bring down, as the case requires it."

THESE were the words of God, not of Balaam, for he was transported beyond himself, and under the power of a supernatural and prophetic spirit. Balaak all this while expressing his resentment, and upbraiding him, that he had not kept covenants, "Since, he said, he had invited him over with great rewards to curse the Israelites, and yet when it came to the point, he had altogether pronounced them blessed." To which Balaam made this reply:

"AND does king Balaak think, says he, that where prophets are upon the subject of fatalities, and things to come, they are left to their own liberty what to say, and what not; and to make their own speeches? We are only the passive instruments of the oracle; the words are put in our mouths, and we neither think, nor know what we say. I remember very well, says he, that I was invited hither with great earnestness, both by yourself, and by the Madianites, and that it was at your request I came, and with a desire to do all that in me lay for your service. But what am I able to do against the will and power of God? Nay, I had thoughts and wishes of doing what I found afterwards I was not at liberty to do. When once a superior power takes possession of us, we are no longer under the government of ourselves. I had not the least thought of speaking one good word of the Israelites army, or of the blessings that God hath in store for them. But since God hath decreed to make them great and happy, I have been forced to speak as you have heard, instead of what I had otherwise design'd to say. But now to answer the very wishes, both of yourself and the Madianites, with all possible decency and respect, let us erect other altars, and provide new sacrifices, and try yet once again, if God will give me leave to curse these people." Balaak approv'd the motion, and the sacrifices were renew'd; but God would not yet be prevail'd upon for leave to curse the Israelites. Nay, on the contrary, he fell upon his face, and foretold the fate of several great kings, and famous cities; some not as yet in being, others now extant, that in our memory have answer'd the predictions, in several actions both at sea and land, from whence may be reasonably inferr'd, a probability also, that the other parts of the prophecy are not idle.

BALAAK was so provok'd at this disappointment of his hope and expectation, that he dismiss'd the prophet without either honour or reward, and so took his leave; but coming to Euphrates, he bethought himself, and sent to speak with Balaak, and the princes of the Madianites yet once more; and that which he had to say was to this purpose:

"To the end, says he, that king Balaak, and you the princes of Madian, may know the great desire I have to please you, tho' in some sort against the will of God, I have bethought myself of an expedient that may perhaps be for your service. Do not flatter yourselves, that the Hebrews are ever to be destroy'd by war, pestilence, famine, or any other of those common casual calamities;

Balaak highly offended at Balaam, V. 25.

Balaam excuses himself to Balaak, Ver. 26.

Balaam proposes new altars and sacrifices, and to consult God a second time, Ver. 29.

The credit of Balaam's predictions.

Numb. xxiv. 10.

Balaam offers Balaak an expedient instead of cursing, Numb. xxxi. 16.

"calamities; for they are so secure under
 "God's special providence, that they are ne-
 "ver to be totally extinguished by any of those
 "depopulating judgments. Some temporary
 "afflictions they may suffer, and inevitably
 "they will; but in a little time they'll re-
 "cover, and be the better for them. Now if
 "the gaining of some small and short-liv'd
 "advantage over them may give you any sa-
 "tisfaction, hearken to my advice. Send in-
 "to their camp a procession of the loveliest
 "virgins you can pick out; dress them up
 "with all the ornaments of art to assist
 "nature; give them their lessons, how to be-
 "have themselves upon all occasions of court-
 "ship and amour. When the young men shall
 "make their addresses to them on the subject
 "of love, let them receive them with a
 "seeming kindness and air of respect; but if
 "they proceed to any wanton importunities,
 "let them threaten immediately and peremp-
 "torily to be gone; and when the Hebrews
 "shall intreat them to stay longer, let them
 "not consent, but upon express condition,
 "that they will actually renounce the laws
 "of their country, and the honour of that
 "God who prescrib'd them; and finally en-
 "gage themselves to worship after the man-
 "ner of the Madianites and Moabites." This,
 says he, will provoke God, and draw a ven-
 geance upon their heads; and so he departed.

The Madi-
 nites follow
 Balaam's
 counsel,
 Numb. xxv.

THE Madianites sent their daughters with
 instructions, according to Balaam's advice, and
 the young men were presently charm'd with
 their conversation and beauty, still pressing
 more and more upon them for further endear-
 ments and respect. The girls gave them the
 hearing, and allow'd them the liberty of ca-
 ressing and embracing them after an amorous
 and endearing manner. This had the effect
 they wish'd for; so when they found they had
 by their wiles and allurements strongly in-
 gaged their affections, the girls all on a sud-
 den made a pretence as if they were that in-
 stant to be gone; but upon affectionate suppli-
 cations, with sighs and tears, on the other
 hand, not to forsake them, and solemn oaths
 and vows over and above, of love and ho-
 nour, with life and fortune, all at their feet,
 they were prevail'd upon to stay and treat a
 little longer. They found by this time that
 they had intirely got the ascendant over them,
 and therefore the answer they gave them was
 to this effect:

They gain
 their point,
 ibid.

"It is not for want, said they, either of
 "fortune, or of credit; the love of our pa-
 "rents, or the kindness of our friends and
 "relations, nor for the prostituting of our
 "beauties (such as they are) that we are now
 "come, most illustrious young men, into your
 "quarters, but out of pure hospitality and
 "good-nature to you, as you are strangers,
 "and may perhaps have need of us. For these
 "reasons, and upon an opinion also that you
 "are men of honour, we have made no scrup-
 "le of treating you with an innocent and a
 "generous freedom. You say you love us,
 "and should be very unwilling to part with
 "us. If so, we are not at all averse to the
 "gratifying of your desires; but you must
 "first secure us of a conjugal faith; (for no-
 "thing else will do,) and that the love we
 "have for your conversation, may be war-
 "ranted by the reputation of becoming your

wives; for we should be loath to be turn'd
 "off for variety, and sent back again to our
 "relations with scandal and reproach. You
 "will not blame us, we hope, for being a
 "little solicitous in so tender a point." The
 young men stuck at nothing that might advance
 the ends of their love, and so the virgins went
 on. "Since, said they, we are thus far agreed,
 "it will become us to mind you of some
 "other considerable differences that remain
 "yet to be adjusted. You have certain ways
 "of life and custom, that are altogether pe-
 "culiar to yourselves, even as to particular
 "meats and drinks. Now if we live toge-
 "ther, you must resolve to do as we do, and
 "to worship as we worship; for by the reve-
 "rence you pay to our Gods, we shall be able
 "to judge of the affection you have for us.
 "No body will blame you for adoring the
 "Gods of the country where you are, and the
 "Gods in truth of almost all other countries
 "too; whereas yours is a singular God, that
 "is only to yourselves." They left them in
 conclusion to this choice, either to live there,
 and conform to their country customs, or to
 depart to some other place, where they might
 do as they thought fit.

THE young men were so blinded with pas-
 sion, and abandon'd to their pleasures, that
 whatever the women propounded, they swal-
 low'd it, though to the renouncing of the re-
 ligion of their forefathers, and the laws of
 their country, without ever examining the con-
 ditions; so that they join'd with them imme-
 diately in the opinion of a plurality of Gods,
 in the manner of their worship, the common
 use of all meats indifferently; and for the wo-
 mens sakes, in short, they stuck at nothing,
 though never so unwarrantable. This infec-
 tion spread itself insensibly over the whole
 camp, and it was follow'd with a more dan-
 gerous sedition than the former; insomuch,
 that there was hardly any face left of the or-
 der, piety, and devotion of former times;
 for when the youth came once to have a han-
 kering after the novelty of strange customs and
 manners, there was no stopping of them in that
 career; but great and small, one with another,
 were all corrupted and confounded in this
 apostasy.

The Israe-
 lites fall from
 lust to idola-
 try, ibid.

ZIMRI, one of the princes of the tribe of
 Simeon, married Cosbi a Madianite, the daugh-
 ter of one Zur, a person of eminent quality in
 that country. This same Zimri, by the per-
 suasion of his wife, and in contempt of the
 Mosaical rites and constitutions, made open
 profession, both of a strange worship, and a
 strange marriage. While matters were in this
 disorder, Moses, for fear of worse consequences,
 called the people together, and there fell up-
 on a discourse, how unworthy a thing it was,
 and how great a scandal to the memory of
 their ancestors, for them to value the gratify-
 ing of their lusts and appetites above the re-
 verence they ow'd to their God, and their
 religion; how much it behoved them to repent
 in time, and to shew themselves brave men;
 not in the violation of laws, but in the maste-
 ry of unruly affections. He minded them how
 incongruous a thing it was too, for men who
 had been virtuous and modest in a desert, to
 lead such profligate lives in a good country,
 and squander away that in luxury, which they
 had honestly gotten together in the time of
 their

Zimri, an
 Hebrew,
 marries Cos-
 bi, a Ma-
 dianite, V. 6.

A strange
 marriage
 leads to a
 strange wor-
 ship.

Moses falls
 severely upon
 the scandal of
 the apostasy.

Moses
 charge
 assemb.

The z
 Prince
 Num. x

their distress. He did this to try, whether either shame, reason, or conscience would work upon them, but without pointing out any particular person all this while; for a personal particular reproof, he thought, might have made them desperate; and it was his business to reclaim, not to expose them. This oblique discourse of Moses gave Zimri an occasion to rise and speak.

Zimri breaks out into insolent reflections upon Moses.

“MOSES, says he, you are at liberty to use your own laws. They have been a long time in exercise, and that custom is all that is to be said for their strength, and credit. If it had not been for this, you would have found long since to your cost that the Hebrews are not to be imposed upon; and I myself am one of the number who will never truckle to your tyrannical oppression; for what’s your business all this while, but under a bare pretext, and talk of laws and God, to bar us not only the exercise, but the very desire of liberty; to establish your own greatness upon our misery and ruin, depriving us of that freedom, which all people have a right to that are not under a master? What are we the better for coming out of Egypt, if it be only in exchange for a more grievous bondage under Moses? You are to make here what laws you please, and we to abide the penalties of them, at your will and pleasure, when at the same time ’tis only you yourself that deserve to be punished, for abrogating such customs and privileges as are authorized and established by the common consent of nations, and setting up your own will and fancy, against general practice and reason. What I have done, I take to be well done, and shall make no difficulty to confess and justify it. I have, as you say, married a strange woman. I speak this with the liberty of an honest man, and I care not who knows it. I never meant to make a secret of it, and you shall never need to look further for an informer. I do acknowledge, that I have changed my way of worship too; and I reckon it very reasonable for a man to examine all things who would find out the truth, without being tied up, as if it were in a despotick government, to the opinion and humour of one single person; beside that I shall not thank any man that takes upon him to over-rule me in my own affairs.” Zimri was in this speech the mouth

Zimri the mouth of the faction.

of the faction, and the people when it was over, stood quietly waiting to see what would be the issue of so audacious an affront; for they were much afraid that mischief would be the consequence of it, especially observing that Moses gave not one syllable in return to so insolent a provocation; for one word, he thought, might beget another, till it came to blows, especially in a multitude disposed already to take fire. Upon this consideration, he immediately discharged the assembly; but this outrage, in all likelihood, would not have stopp’d there yet, if Zimri had not been soon after cut off, in such manner as will now appear.

Moses discharges the assembly.

The zeal of Phinees, Num. xxv. 7, 8.

THERE was one Phinees who resented this contumacy of Zimri to the highest degree of indignation. He was one of the bravest youths

of his time, and as eminent for the honour of his extraction, as he was for his personal virtue. Eleazar the high-priest was his father, and Moses his great uncle. This Phinees, was so sensible of the danger of letting such an indignity pass unpunished, and of suffering the laws to be trampled upon and despised, that he took up a resolution of a revenge upon the ringleader of this indignity; being very well aware, that in all such cases, the greater the man is, the greater is the necessity of inflicting punishment upon him, least his example have a contagious influence upon others. Now as Phinees was a person both of body and mind, fit for the execution of such an exploit; so without any more ado, he went directly to the tent of Zimri, and with his drawn sword killed him and Cosbi, both at a thrust. This glorious action created such an emulation among those of his contemporaries, who had but any spark of honour in them, that they fell immediately upon the remainder of the faction; and they who escaped the sword, died by the judgment of a pestilence that followed soon after, which took away not only those that had been actors in the sedition, but those of their kindred also, who by their interest or authority might have interposed to prevent it. This plague swept away to the number of fourteen thousand souls*.

Phinees kills Zimri and Cosbi in their tent, Ver. 8.

The whole faction destroyed betwixt the sword and the plague.

MOSES was so irritated by these practices of the Madianites, that he sent out an army against them utterly to extirpate the nation. But we shall give an account hereafter of that branch of the story, and in the mean time take up again where we left off. It would be but just and reasonable, in this place, to extol the candor, and clear the generosity of Moses upon the matter. As to this Balaam who was invited by the Madianites to curse the Hebrews, though he could not prevail for leave from God to do it, yet he gave the enemy such counsel, as the Hebrews were almost ruined by it, in the misleading and corrupting of them in their religion. Of this Balaam, Moses, I say, makes honourable mention in his writings, inserting his prophecies and predictions. If Moses had not been very sincere, he might have assumed the credit of them to himself, and not one witness upon the face of the earth to disprove him; but he chose rather to do right to his memory. People may think of this as they please. But to pursue my relation

Moses sends out an army against the Madianites, Numb. xxxi.

The candor and sincerity of Moses.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews obtain a notable victory over the Madianites.

MOSES, as I was saying, sent twelve thousand men against the Madianites; a thousand out of every tribe, and Phinees to command them; by whose means the laws were vindicated; and Zimri the violator of them, justly punished.

UPON intelligence given to the Madianites that the enemy was already upon the borders, and drawing toward them, they got their troops together; fortified several passes as far

* The Scripture, Numb. xxv. 9. says, twenty four thousand.

Moses routs the Madianites, destroys their army, and cuts off five kings.

Recem (or Petra) the capital of Arabia.

A prodigious booty in cattle and treasure, Numb. xxxi. 32, 33, 34. beside thirty two thousand virgins V. 35. The distribution of it, V. 36, &c.

Moses now in years, leaves Joshua his successor, Numb. xxvii. 22, 23.

The tribes of Gad, Reuben, and half Manasses beg the Amorites country, Numb. xxxii. Ver. 1-5.

Moses charges them with self-ends, Ver. 6-15.

They clear themselves to Moses, Ver. 16-19.

as their time would give them leave, and so put themselves in posture to stand a battle. The Madianites were utterly discomfited upon the first encounter, and the number of the slain was incredible. Their very kings themselves did not escape the slaughter, who were five, viz. Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures, and Recem.* The capital city of Arabia derived its name (which it still retains) from the last of these kings, who was the founder of it. They call it Rekem, and the Grecians, Petra. Upon this rout, the Hebrews laid waste the country, putting all to the sword, both men and women, save only such as had not known man, according to Moses his order to Phinees, who brought back the army safe and unhurt, with a memorable booty, as fifty two thousand and sixty seven oxen; sixty thousand asses; household plate and vessels of gold and silver, to an immense value; for the pomp and magnificence they lived in was beyond imagination. They brought away also a matter of thirty two thousand virgins.

MOSES made a distribution of the booty; one fiftieth part to Eleazar, and the priests; another fiftieth to the Levites; and the rest to the people, which gave them the means of enjoying the fruits of their toils and hazards, in peace and plenty. Moses was now well stricken in years, and having received a command from God to leave Joshua his successor, he constituted, and declared him so, in the several functions of a prophet, a leader, and a governor, being trained up by himself to a perfect understanding of the laws both of God and man.

THE two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the one half of that of Manasses, joined about this time in a petition to Moses for a grant of the Amorites country; a place lately conquered, and an excellent ground for pasture, and therefore the more commodious for them who had such vast possessions in herds and other cattle. Moses took this request of theirs only for a pretext to avoid fighting, and charged them downright with tergiversation, sloth, and cowardice. "You have a mind, says he, to live in ease and luxury, and by appropriating to yourselves the advantages of a common war, to abandon the rest of your companions. They have a great deal of work yet upon their hands, in carrying on their conquests beyond Jordan, and making their way (by the overthrow and extirpation of their enemies) into the land which God hath promised them." Moses discovering himself to be much unsatisfied, the petitioners excused themselves, that it was neither fear, nor laziness that mov'd them to do what they did, but only the desire of some convenient place to secure what they had got, that they might be the more at liberty to attend the war; setting forth, that if Moses would be pleased to assign them towns of safety for their wives, their children, and their goods, they were ready to march wherever they should be commanded, and venture their lives in the common cause. Moses was so well satisfied with what they said, that he call'd for Eleazar the high-priest, Joshua, and the rest of the magistrates; and in their presence gave them the land of the Amorites, according to their re-

quest; but upon condition that they should join with their countrymen in a league offensive and defensive, against the common enemy; and never lay down arms till the war should be intirely finish'd. Upon these terms they obtain'd what they desir'd, and were put in possession of strong cities, where their wives, children, baggage, and fortunes might be in safety.

THERE were ten cities built in that country by Moses, part of the forty eight heretofore mentioned. He made three of them sanctuaries, or places of refuge for those who fled thither, in the case of killing a man by chance-medley, and without malice prepense. The refugee was to continue in banishment during the life of the high-priest, under whose jurisdiction the homicide happened, and upon his decease he was permitted to return. During this banishment it was lawful for any of the kindred of the man that was slain, to kill the homicide, if he found him without the walls of the city of refuge; but it was not permitted to any other. The names of these cities of refuge were Bosor, on the borders of Arabia; Ariman, in the country of Galadene; and Gaulademan in the land of Batanæa. Moses provided also, that upon the taking of Chanaan there should be three places of refuge erected there also among the cities of the Levites, with the same privileges as the former.

ABOUT this time there died an eminent person of the tribe of Manasses, called Solophades, leaving no male children, but only daughters. Some of the chief men of the tribe consulted Moses, whether or no these daughters were to inherit. The resolution was given, that they were to inherit, if they married into the tribe, but not if they married out of it; upon which occasion he pass'd an ordinance, "That every tribe should keep its own inheritance, without alienating or transferring it."

Moses grants them their request upon conditions, Ver. 20-24.

Moses builds ten cities beyond Jordan, Ver. 34-38. Three cities of refuge, Numb. xxxv. 14.

Bosor, Ariman, and Gaulademan. Or Batanitis.

Daughters allow'd to inherit if they marry into their own tribe, Numb. xxxvi. 6, 7, 8.

CHAP. VIII.

The life and laws of Moses.

IT was now forty years within thirty days, since the Hebrews came out of Egypt, when Moses call'd the people together at a place known at present by the name of Abila, by the side of the river Jordan, near a field of palm-trees; and when the multitude were met, he deliver'd himself in a speech to them to this effect:

"SINCE it is the will of God now in the hundred and twentieth year of a wasted troublesome life, to take me out of this world, (the course of nature also requiring it,) and so to order, that I can be no longer useful to you, either with my arms, or counsels, in your further progress beyond Jordan, toward the land of Chanaan; it will be yet a great comfort to me at my last hour, to leave my valiant fellow-soldiers, labourers, and sufferers, in so hopeful a prospect of all the good their own hearts can wish. I must not be wanting to

Moses calls the people together to Abila, Deut. xxxi.

Moses's dying speech, Deut. xxxii. xxxiii.

* Numb. xxxi. 8. Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba.

" my duty however, (even in this critical
 " extremity,) of consulting your happiness,
 " and so far as in me lies, of promoting it al-
 " so, by telling you what that happiness is,
 " and directing you to the means of attaining
 " it; and in so doing I shall entitle myself
 " to an everlasting esteem in your memory.
 " I make no doubt but I shall find credit with
 " you, and I may take upon me to say, that I
 " deserve it too, if it were but for the inde-
 " fatigable constancy of my endeavours to ad-
 " vance your welfare, wherein I never disap-
 " pointed or deceived you: beside, that the
 " words of a dying man are sacred and sin-
 " cere.

" As to the subject of human felicity, you
 " may assure yourselves, that no man can be
 " happy, but in the favour of God, and that
 " it belongs to him alone to confer blessings
 " upon the righteous, and to take them away
 " from the wicked. Do but behave your-
 " selves answerably to what God requires at
 " your hands, or according to the precepts
 " and instructions which you have receiv'd
 " from me by his commission, and you shall
 " be celebrated for your virtue, and envied
 " for your prosperity; and not only so neither,
 " but the blessings that you are possess'd of
 " shall be continued to you, and those you
 " want shall be superadded. Only resign your-
 " selves to God's will, and obey his com-
 " mandments, and all this shall be made good
 " to you. But have a care how you give a
 " preference to any other laws, comparatively
 " with those which God sent you by me; or
 " how you allow yourselves in any innova-
 " tions in matters of worship and religion.
 " Follow my advice, and you shall be victo-
 " rious and invincible; for when you have
 " God on your side, what matters it who is
 " against you? The rewards of virtue are
 " glorious and certain, over and above that
 " virtue itself is the greatest, and that all
 " other advantages are cast in by way of ac-
 " cession. Practise it one with another, and
 " you shall be both happy yourselves, and like-
 " wise make others so, to the comfort of your
 " present state, and to your immortal honour
 " in times to come. All this you may pro-
 " mise yourselves, if you neither violate, nor
 " suffer to be violated, the written laws I
 " brought you by God's special direction;
 " and if you make the wisdom and the righ-
 " teousness of those laws your daily medita-
 " tion and study. This will secure your esta-
 " blishment; and if I may but see you now
 " in a state of settlement before I leave the
 " world, I shall depart in peace. All I can
 " do towards it will be to recommend you to
 " the observance of those precepts of piety
 " and prudence which are given you for your
 " instruction and practice, and to an obedient
 " compliance with the orders of your supe-
 " riors, that shall be appointed and provided
 " for your well-being and safety. That God,
 " under whose government you have acted
 " hitherto, and to whose goodness you stand
 " indebted for all the benefits you have re-
 " ceiv'd from me. That God, I say, will
 " never forsake you, but watch over you and
 " protect you so long as you worship him as
 " you ought to do. You shall not want ex-
 " cellent monitors neither, as Eleazar the
 " high-priest, Joshua the senate, and the prin-

" cipals of the tribes; treat them with all re-
 " verence, and without any thing of stubborn-
 " ness and refractoriness, as ever you hope to
 " be happy; for he who cannot obey well, can
 " never govern well, when it comes to his
 " turn. Have a care how you take mutiny
 " for liberty, as you have done formerly, and
 " how you set up for a privilege of thwarting
 " the commands of your governors, under that
 " notion. You have been too much addicted to
 " this fault in times past; pray correct it for the
 " future, and your affairs will thrive the bet-
 " ter for it. God forbid you shall ever be so
 " impetuous and intemperate toward any of
 " my successors, as you have, but too often,
 " been to me; insomuch, that (as you know
 " very well) my life hath been more in danger
 " from you sometimes, than from the enemy.
 " I do not speak this to reproach you; for I
 " was not transported with passion, you saw,
 " at the doing of the thing, neither would I
 " afflict you with the memory of an ill thing
 " done, at a time when I am upon the very
 " point of taking my eternal leave of you; on-
 " ly be wiser for the future, and be not puff'd
 " up with the wealth and plenty of the land
 " of Chanaan, when you shall come to take
 " possession of it; but know it to be your in-
 " terest, as well as your duty, not to be-
 " have yourselves contumeliously to those that
 " are set over you: for if ever wealth and lux-
 " ury shall make you insolent, to the con-
 " tempt of religion, authority and virtue, God,
 " of a protector, will become your enemy.
 " You shall lose that land again with infamy,
 " which you got with honour and courage;
 " and be scatter'd all over the face of the
 " earth, as the most despicable of mankind.
 " When it comes to that once, it will be
 " too late to wish things undone again, and
 " that you had contain'd yourselves within the
 " bounds of your laws and duty. Now to
 " prevent the danger of this fatal apostasy for
 " the time to come, give no quarter where-
 " ever you gain a victory, for in so doing you
 " cut off all danger of being seduced into ido-
 " latry, by mixing with the inhabitants of the
 " land, and thereby corrupting and departing
 " from the laws and religion of your ancestors.
 " As for their temples, groves, and altars, let
 " every one of them be destroy'd with fire
 " and sword wherever you come, even to the
 " extinction, if it were possible, of the very
 " memory of them. This, in fine, is the on-
 " ly way to secure yourselves to all purposes;
 " but yet for fear of the worst, and to assist
 " the ignorant toward the understanding of
 " their duties, I have written a body of laws
 " by the command of God himself; and such
 " a form of administration, publick and pri-
 " vate, that you shall be certainly the hap-
 " piest people under the sun, if you conform
 " yourselves to those rules and measures."

WHEN Moses had made an end of speak-
 ing, he deliver'd them a book of laws and
 precepts in writing, with respect to govern-
 ment and good manners. This book was but
 the prologue to a final separation, and brought
 several things to their mind, that made the
 whole multitude burst out into an excessive
 weeping. Some of them were solicitous what
 should become of them when Moses was gone,
 being in despair of ever getting such another
 commander, so highly in the interest and fa-
 your

Moses deli-
 vers them a
 book of laws
 and precepts
 for govern-
 ment and
 good man-
 ners, Deut.
 xxxi. 24.

vour of God Almighty. Others were upon the subject of his bravery and conduct, what pains he had taken, and what dangers he had run, and how generously and chearfully he did every thing for their good. Some again were at a loss for a mediator, who should consult God for them when they wanted advocates, or intercede for them when he was angry. But nothing more sensibly afflicted them than the memory of their outrages against Moses in the desert; upon which reflection they were all transported into such violent lamentations, that what with shame and guilt, it carried them out of all government of themselves, till Moses at last, by his persuasion and authority, prevail'd with them to moderate their sorrow, by first committing, and then recommending to them the study and use of his book of laws, and when he had done this, he dismiss'd the assembly.

An abstract
of the laws
themselves.

It will be worth my while now, before I pass over to other matters, to insert the laws themselves, that the reader may see how answerable they are to the majesty of the compiler of them, and the original of our usages and customs. Every thing that he wrote is yet extant, and we must take it as he left it, without any room for ornament or variation. We have only taken the liberty of altering the method, and of reducing those several laws which Moses delivered one after another, as God was consulted about them, into their proper and natural place and order. I have premonished the reader of this, to prevent the calumny which some of our people might otherwise have raised upon it, as if Moses had not been fairly dealt withal in this part of the relation. Now I shall only take notice in this place of the publick laws and constitutions which have regard to the policy of their government; but for matters of private dealing and contract, whether among ourselves, or with strangers, I shall treat of them in a commentary which I propose, God willing, to make publick, concerning the customs and reasons of those laws.

How the Israelites are to govern themselves in the land of Chanaan, Deut. iv. 1, 2.

WHEN you shall have made yourselves absolute masters of the land of Chanaan, settled your plantations, and built your cities, you will have nothing more to do toward the maintaining of yourselves in the full, safe, and easy enjoyment of your acquisitions, than to love God, and keep these his following commandments, which will establish your felicity upon a foundation never to be shaken.

One holy city.

LET there be one holy city in the land of Chanaan, to be erected in some certain place for the fruitfulness and beauty of the situation, which God by his prophet shall make choice of, and appoint. Let there be one temple in it, and one altar, and that altar to be made of unhewn stones out of the quarry, gather'd up here and there, and so put together and varnish'd, for the better grace of the work, and to make it the more agreeable to the eye: the ascent not to be made by stairs or steps, but by a gradual rising of the ground for the decency of the approach. But there must be no more temples or altars in any other city; for the Hebrews are but one nation, and worship but one God.

One temple, and one altar.

WHOEVER shall blaspheme the holy name of God, let him be stoned to death; his body exposed upon a gibbet for one day, and afterwards thrown into the ground with infamy and contempt.

Blasphemy made death.

LET the whole nation of the Hebrews come up from all quarters to this holy city and temple, to worship thrice a year, and offering up thanksgivings for benefits receiv'd, to implore future blessings; and so by the freedom of a chearful tenderness of conversation, to create friendly dispositions, and promote mutual love, one toward another. It is a matter of common convenience for people of the same stock, interest, and profession, to be thoroughly acquainted; for there is a wonderful force many times in the impression of a word, a look, or an action; as on the contrary, without these meetings and interviews, all the comforts and advantages of communication are lost to us.

The whole nation to worship thrice a year at Jerusalem, Deut. xvi. 16.

LET there be also reserved to the value of another tenth of the fruits of the earth (over and above the dues to the priests and Levites) out of the sale of them in the market, to be laid out in sacrifices and entertainments, which shall be celebrated in this city; as it is but reasonable to dedicate the fruits of the land to him, who of his own free bounty, gives us the propriety and possession of it.

Tenth, Deut. xviii. 1-8.

THOU shalt not offer in sacrifice the hire of a prostitute, for God is not pleased with any thing that is wicked or impure; and there is no fouler impurity than this mixture of bodies. And so in like manner for the hire of a bitch to keep up the breed of a hound, or a sheep-dog, as it is for the hire of a strumpet. Let no man speak ill of the Gods of other nations, nor rattle their temples, nor take away any thing out of them that is dedicated to divine use or worship.

Not to offer the hire of a harlot, Deut. xxiii. 18.

LET no Israelite wear a mixt garment of wool and linnen, unless he be a * priest; to whom alone it belongs.

Only the priest to wear a mixed garment, Deut. xxii. 11.

IN every seventh year when the feast of tabernacles shall be celebrated in the holy city, let the priest, from a high pulpit, where he may be heard by the whole congregation, read the book of the law, and all sorts of people without exception, women, children, yea and slaves themselves too, be admitted to the hearing of it: for when the law is once thoroughly imprinted in people's minds, it will never out of their memories: beside that it takes away the common plea of pretended ignorance. Laws have more force also upon the consciences of offenders, when they tell them before hand what they are to trust to in case of disobedience, and mingle terror with authority. What men receive by the ear sinks into their minds, and they find themselves so far convinced of the intent and reason of laws, that they continually carry along with them their own accusers upon the transgression of them.

The priest to read the law upon the feast of tabernacles.

ABOVE all things let children be early instructed in these laws, as the most necessary and profitable discipline they can be trained up to. Wherefore let them twice a day, morning and evening, be constantly put in mind of the goodness of God that brought them out of the land of Egypt; and so of his other mercies; for it is equally reasonable to give God thanks

Children to be early instructed in the law.

* That this is false, Bochart shews in his Hierozoic. lib. ii. c. 45. p. 491. Ed. Lond.

for former blessings, as to pray for new ones. Memorials of Let them have memorials of God's power and God's mercy, bounty, by inscriptions upon their doors, their heads, about their arms, &c. so that which way soever they turn themselves, remembrancers of God's providence may still present themselves before their eyes.

A council of seven in every city. LET every city have a council of seven magistrates; men of exemplary virtue, and lovers of righteousness*, and to each of these rulers let there be two Levites. Let the dignity of the seat of judgment be kept sacred, and no man presume to utter an irreverent or intemperate word in the face of the court; for the practice of this veneration toward political governors will, by degrees, introduce an habitual love and awe of piety, as well as of common justice, and an affectionate sense of our duty to God himself, in the deference we pay to his ministers. There must be no appeal from the sentence of the judge, unless in case of manifest error and corruption. Justice is the main end of judgment, and it is to be administer'd without any regard either to power, interest, or affection. It is a reproach to the divine power and goodness, to be more afraid of a great man than of God himself, as if the latter were the weaker of the two; and this is in truth the case of such partialities. If it shall so fall out that the judges are either not informed at all, or misinformed, and consequently strangers to the question, and so incompetent, (which many times happens;) let the cause be carried up entire to the holy city, for the high-priest, the prophet, and the senate to decide the controversy.

Magistracy to be honoured. No men condemned under two or more witnesses, and men of probity, Deut. xix. 15. A woman's testimony not to be admitted. No slave to be a witness. No men condemned under two or more witnesses, and men of probity, Deut. xix. 15. A woman's testimony not to be admitted. No slave to be a witness. No men condemned under two or more witnesses, and men of probity, Deut. xix. 15. A woman's testimony not to be admitted. No slave to be a witness.

LET no accusation be admitted, but from the mouth of two, three, or more witnesses; and let them be men of probity too, and an unspotted reputation.

THE testimony of a woman shall not be reputed a warrantable evidence, because of the natural levity of the sex, and that they talk too much at random.

No slave shall be allowed of as a competent witness, because of the servile and mercenary condition of his mind and quality; and because he may probably be wrought upon, either by fear, or by profit, to give a false testimony.

WHOEVER shall be convicted of a false oath, shall be liable to the same punishment that the accused should have suffered, if the charge had been proved upon him.

IN the case of homicide, when a man shall be found dead in a field, and he who kill'd him doth not appear, nor any personal jealousy of a malice prepense against him, let there be a strict enquiry upon the life of the man, and publick rewards offered by proclamation for the discovery. If after all this search and diligence, it shall not yet be made out how he came by his death, let the magistracy, and the neighbouring townships meet together, and take an exact measure which of them was nearest to the place where the dead body was found; and let the inhabitants of the place who shall be found nearest, provide a heifer, and bring it into a rough spot of ground that is neither fit for planting nor sowing, and there let the sinews of the neck be cut, the

priests, Levites, and elders washing their hands with water over the head of the heifer, and purging themselves by an open protestation that they know nothing, either directly or indirectly, of the homicide; concluding the ceremony with prayers to Almighty God to preserve that place and people from the guilt of blood for the time to come.

As to the matter of government, Aristocracy is the best form; wherefore let the Hebrews stick to it, and maintain it; for whenever they cast it off, it will be to their loss; for they have nothing above them but the laws, and those laws are a standing rule what they are to do; and therefore I think it may suffice them that they have God for their king, and their supreme governor.

Now after all this, if you should come to fall in love with monarchical government, be sure you chuse your king out of your own stock and lineage; a person eminent for justice, and all other virtues; one who shall depend upon the direction of God and the laws, more than upon his own wisdom; one who shall take the advice of the high-priest and elders along with him in all he does, without setting his mind upon a multitude of wives, or the pomp of treasure and horses, for fear the ambitious affectation of this power and magnificence should transport him into encroachments upon your laws and liberties, and make him greater, in fine, than would comport with your interest and convenience.

REMOVE no boundaries, or land-marks, whether your own or your neighbour's; for they are the best security we have for a common peace. Let them be kept as firm as the foundation of the earth, and as if providence itself had fixed them there. The breaking in upon these bounds opens a certain way to wars and tumults; and what avarice does in one case, ambition does in the other. The first fruits of trees which bear before the fourth year from their planting, are not either to be offered to God, or to be eaten by man; for coming before their time, they are rather abortions than a natural production. But in the fourth year, when the fruit comes to maturity, let all be gathered, and convey'd into the holy city, to be there spent by the owner, together with the tenths of other fruits, in treating his friends and acquaintance, widows and orphans. But in the fifth year, the proprietor may take the whole product to his own use.

LET no ground be sowed which is planted with vines; for it is sufficient for the earth to afford nourishment for the support of that plant, without the superfluous vexations of the plow over and above.

LET the earth be plowed with oxen alone; for beasts of several kinds are not to draw the same yoke.

LET the seeds to be sown be simple and unmix'd, not two or three sorts together; for the confusion of such diversities is unnatural.

LET there be no adulterate mixtures betwixt the female of one kind, and the male of another, lest men should be tempted also by the corruption of this unnatural example into the liberty of inordinate lusts; as the foulest

Aristocracy the best form of government.

Advice in the choice of a king, Deut. xvii. 14, &c.

No land-marks to be removed, Deut. xix.

Of the first fruits of trees under four years growth.

Planting of vines.

To plow with oxen alone.

The seed to be simple.

No adulterate mixtures.

* See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 165, 166, 167. Ed. Amstel.

extravagances have taken their rise many times from trivial beginnings, wherefore let nothing be permitted in human conversation, that by a perverse hint of applying it, may tend to the depravation of good manners; so that it is not for laws to pass over in neglect, even the smallest things in appearance, when so great matters depend upon them.

Gleanings of corn and grapes to be left for the poor, Deut. xxiv.

LET not the harvest-reapers sweep away the whole crop, but leave a large allowance of gleanings for the necessities of the poor; and so for clusters of grapes upon the vintage, and wind-falls upon the gathering of olives, let there be a compassionate remainder left for those who have nothing to eat of their own. The reward of the charity will infinitely more than countervail the charge of the bounty; for God will bless the land with fertility, and the owner of it with plenty, when a man has a regard to the wants of the necessitous, as well as to his own convenience. The ox is not to be muzzled when he treads out the corn; for it would be unreasonable to deny any creature a part in the fruit of its own labours.

No muzzling of the ox when he treads out the corn, Deut. xxv.

Deny no passenger fruit that is a gathering, upon a journey.

Give grapes to a passenger upon the way as they go to the press.

LET no passenger upon a journey be refused to taste of ripe fruit if he desires it, whether of the country, or a stranger. But let him take and eat and welcome, as it is of his own, provided he carry none away with him.

LET no man in bearing grapes to the press, refuse a bunch of them to a traveller that meets him upon the way; for it would be very hard to deny any man so small a portion of the good things which God had bestowed upon mankind gratis, and in such abundance, especially considering that is the most fruitful season of the year, and which, according to the course of providence, will be soon over. Nay, if men should be so scrupulous upon a point of modesty, as to forbear touching or desiring any thing, let them be invited and entreated to take and please themselves. If they be Israelites, they are to be look'd upon as partners and fellow-sharers in what you have, being all of the same blood and brotherhood: If strangers, let them be desired to accept of such a respect as a present of hospitality out of God's bounty. We are not to account any thing lost that is thus bestowed; for when it pleases God to shower down his blessings upon the sons of men, it is not for this or that man's sake, or use alone, but a depositum with them as trustees for the common service of those that want. Neither can men do a greater right to God's magnificence towards themselves, than by communicating part of the blessings to others. Whoever shall presume to act contrary to what is here prescribed, shall receive forty lashes save one from the hand of the common executioner; a servile punishment, but good enough for a mercenary freeman, who sacrifices his dignity to his avarice. It is but just and reasonable, says Moses, that those people who suffer'd so many hardships themselves in Egypt and the wilderness, should from the experience of their own misery contract somewhat of tenderness and compassion for their neighbours; so far at least, as being in plenty themselves, to assist the needy in some degree out of their abundance.

BESIDE the two yearly tenths already appointed to be paid, the one to the Levites, the other to the holy feasts, there remains yet a third to be every third year divided among the poor widows and orphans.

A third to the poor.

LET every man carry his first fruits to the temple, and after thanksgivings to God for the earth that brought them forth, and sacrifices celebrated in due form of law, let him give them to the priests; and this being done, and the tenth with the first fruits for the Levites and the festivals, presented according to custom, let him when he is ready to go home again, give God thanks before the door of the temple for delivering the Hebrews from their grievous slavery, and putting them in possession of so fair and plentiful a country; publicly declaring, that he has paid his tenths according to the law and appointment of Moses. Let him then pray to God, both for himself and for the publick, to grant them not only a continuance of his graces and mercies toward them, but by his infinite power and goodness, to vouchsafe them an augmentation of those blessings.

The first fruits to the temple, Deut. xxvi.

WHEN men are of years to marry, let them make their choice out of virgins that are well born, and well educated, and the children of virtuous parents; but let not him that will not marry a virgin, presume to seduce the wife of another man, to the disquiet and affliction of her husband.

The choice of a wife.

LET not a freeman marry a bond woman, and then plead love in his defence; for a man forfeits his dignity when he can no longer command his passions.

Love is no plea for a freeman who marries a bond-woman.

LET no man presume to contract marriage with a harlot; for God will not receive a nuptial sacrifice from an unclean body; besides, libidinous marriages generally produce a libidinous and vicious offspring, and such as are intirely void of sobriety and honour.

Let no man marry a harlot.

If any man thinks he has married a virgin, and finds afterwards that he was mistaken, let him put the cause upon a trial, and bring his proofs, while on the other side the father, the brother, and the next a-kin may appear on the behalf of the woman; if she be acquitted, her accuser shall be bound to live in wedlock with her, and that marriage never after to be dissolv'd, unless upon positive evidence beyond contradiction; but whoever shall be found in such a case as this, rashly and scandalously to calumniate an innocent person, let him have the corporal punishment of nine and thirty stripes, and stand condemn'd in a mulct of fifty sickles, to the father of the woman. But if it shall be made out that she was corrupted before her marriage, she shall be stoned to death for her incontinence, if a person of a mean quality; or if otherwise, as of the family of a priest, let her be burnt alive.

The case of a woman that marries for a virgin, and is none, Deut. xxiv.

If a man have two wives, and a much greater value for the one than for the other, (whether upon the account of beauty, inclination, or what other motive soever,) in case the husband shall be prevail'd upon by the favourite wife to demand a right of primogeniture for her younger son, to the prejudice of an elder son by another wife, (for by my laws, says Moses, the seniority entitles him to a double portion) let it not be allow'd of; for it is unjust that the elder son should be robb'd of his birth-

No transferring the right of primogeniture to a younger child, Deut. xxi. 15-17.

birthright for the partiality of the father to one wife more than the other.

Of debauching a woman contracted to another man, Deut. xxii. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

If any man shall debauch a virgin contracted to another man, they are both guilty, and shall both suffer death; the man for corrupting the woman, and the woman for consenting; the one for seducing the woman into the preference of a scandalous uncleanness to an honourable marriage; the other for yielding herself a prostitute, either for lust or profit. But if a man shall be found to have forced a woman alone, and no body within distance of coming to her relief, the man only shall die.

The penalty of corrupting a virgin that's free, Ver. 28, 29.

He who shall corrupt a virgin that is under no obligation to any other man, let him marry her; or if her father will not agree to it, let him give him fifty shekels for a composition.

The case of a man's parting with his wife.

If a man has a mind to part from his wife upon what cause soever, as there are pretences in abundance, let him give it under his hand that he will never have any thing more to do with her; hereby she may be empowered to marry another man, but without such a discharge she cannot, neither will the divorce stand good; but in case she marry a second husband, and he chance to die, and the woman have a mind to go back to her first again, it is not to be permitted.

The case of a husband that dies and leaves his wife without issue.

If a husband dies and leaves his wife without issue, let the brother of the deceased marry the widow, and in case of a son by the second husband, let him bear the name of the family, and inherit the estate; for it concerns the publick that names and families should be preserv'd, their possessions kept entire, and it is a relief to the woman to live with so near a relation to her first husband. But if the brother refuse to marry her, let her complain to the senate, that whereas she offer'd herself to stay in the family, and to bring children to it, her husband's brother had given her the repulse, and put a dishonour upon the memory of her dead husband. The elders shall then interrogate the brother upon the reason of his refusal, and whether his reasons be strong or weak, the issue will be this in the conclusion: the widow shall loosen the lappet of the brother's shoe, and spit in his face, telling him that he deserv'd all this, for casting a dishonour upon the memory of the deceased. After this he departs the court, stigmatiz'd with infamy as long as he lives; and so the widow is left at liberty to marry again where she pleases.

A maid, widow, or wife that is taken prisoner, and then marries, Deut. xxi.

If any man takes a maid, widow, or wife, prisoner, and hath a mind to marry her, they are not to have conversation together as man and wife, till the prisoner shall have shaved her head, and run through the whole course of her mourning for the friends and relations she lost in the battle; and this ceremony being over, she is at liberty to enjoy the comforts of mirth and marriage. It is nothing but just and reasonable that he who takes a woman to have children by her, should indulge the will and affections of his wife, and not so absolutely pursue his own satisfactions, as to neglect her's. But after thirty days mourning, which is enough for any person of discretion, it may be seasonable to marry. If the man should prove fickle, and grow weary of her, he must not think to make her a slave again, for she hath purchased her freedom to go whither she pleases.

If children shall behave themselves undutifully and contemptuously toward their parents, without any regard to filial reverence, piety, or good manners, let the father and mother in the first place (whom nature has made their judges) instruct and tutor them by some discourse to this or the like purpose.

Of undutiful children.

"You should consider, children, that the conscientious end of marriage is not either wealth or pleasure, but first to have children, as a blessing which we are to acknowledge with joy and thankfulness, and then to train up those children to the knowledge and exercise of virtue and submission, that they may so live, as to be a comfort and support to their aged parents. You cannot say that we have spar'd for any thing in the care of your institution, that might honestly qualify you for all the agreeable advantages of a happy life: And what return at last for all this tenderness? But youth is rash and frail, and the errors of it are not unpardonable. Come, children, you have been to blame; be so no more, but repent and amend, before it be too late. You are not aware, perhaps, how God himself is wounded in your unnatural perverseness to those, from whom, next under him, you received your being; and that your heavenly father imputes all the faults committed against your earthly father, as done to himself, under the analogy of that common appellation, being the father of all flesh living; to say nothing of the inevitable severity of the law in that point, which I had rather you should understand by discourse than experience."

Good advice to children.

If this way of reasoning take effect, it will be but a piece of charitable justice to forgive it as a mere slip of ignorance; beside that it would be for the honour of governors, and the comfort of parents, that their children never fall under the lash of the law; but if neither authority; nor advice can prevail, and that rebellious children will still persist in an incorrigible contumacy, there is no way left then, but to turn the laws loose upon them, which will have them carried out of the city, and there stoned to death; the bodies to be exposed for a publick spectacle for one day, and at night to be taken down and buried.

Incorrigible obstinacy in children to be punished with death, Deut. xxi. 18-21.

The same thing is to be done in all other cases of capital punishment; publick enemies are not to be denied burial; the dead must be allowed earth to cover them; the law prescribes the punishment, and it would be injustice to go beyond the sentence.

Publick enemies to be allowed burial.

It is not lawful for one Hebrew to lend unto another who is poor, either meat or drink upon usury; for it is not fair to make advantage of the necessities of a brother. Let it suffice, that the conscience of a good office does more than countervail the profit of it; so that the very charity is clear gain, if men would but trust God Almighty for their reward, which never fails, sooner or later, to follow good works. As for those who borrow either money or fruits, wet or dry, let them be sure to make a chearful repayment of it so soon as ever God shall put them in a condition so to do; which is no more than depositing so much in another hand for your own use, to be in readiness upon the like occasion.

No lending betwixt Hebrews upon usury, Deut. xxiii.

Debtor and
creditor,
Deut. xxiv.
10, 11.

IN case of a debtor, who hath neither the shame, nor the conscience to restore what he borrow'd, the creditor shall not enter into his house to take a pledge, but demand it at the door, where the debtor himself is to deliver it, but upon the order of the judge in favour of the creditor, there must be no opposing of it. If he who has given the pawn can conveniently spare it, let the creditor keep it till he receives satisfaction; but if he be very indigent, and wants it, let it be return'd before sun-set, especially if it be a garment, lest he should want it to keep him warm in the night. Such is the tenderness of Almighty God in favour of the poor.

Ver. 12, 13.

A mill not to
be taken in
pawn, Ver. 6.

TAKE not a mill in pawn, or any thing that is essentially necessary to the working of it, for fear it should deprive some poor people of the means of a livelihood.

Death to spi-
rit away any
body, Ver. 7.

LET it be death to spirit away, or to steal a man; and he who steals gold or silver, let him restore double.

Lawful to
kill a thief in
the act of
stealing,
Exod. xxii. 2.
The penalty
of stealing a
labouring
beast, Ver. 1.

HE who shall kill a thief in the act of stealing, or of breaking into a house, shall be acquitted.

HE who shall steal a labouring beast shall be condemn'd in four times the value of it, unless it be an ox, and then the penalty shall be fivefold in value; but if the party be not able to pay the fine, let him be turn'd over for a slave to the person he has wrong'd.

The case of
selling one
Hebrew to
another, Lev.
xxv. 39-43.

IF one Hebrew be sold to another, he shall serve six years, and be made free the seventh; but if it should so fall out, that he hath children in his master's house by any of his female fellow-servants, and shall think fit, out of some particular inclination to continue in servitude beyond his time, he shall, in the year of Jubilee, which is every fiftieth year, be set free with his wife and children.

Finding gold
and silver up-
on the way,
Deut. xxii. 1,
2, 3.

IF any man shall find gold and silver upon the way, let him seek and enquire, by the common crier, who it was that lost it, in order to the restoring of it; for it would be inhuman to make profit of another man's misfortune; and so for cattle which should be seen astray, and wandering in a desert, either let the master be found out to whom they belong, or let the finder keep them to himself, till the right owner may be heard of, calling God to witness that he does not covet the goods of any other men.

Ver. 4.

A MAN may not pass by, and see his neighbour's beast that has the misfortune to be laid fast in the mud, without helping it up, as much as if it was his own.

Set a travel-
ler into his
right way.

IF any man sees a traveller at a loss for want of knowing his way, let him give him his best direction and advice, to set him forward on his journey. It is barbarous, either to make sport with him, or to hinder his business.

Speak no ill
of the deaf
or absent,
Exod. xix. 14.
Striking up-
on a sudden
quarrel,
Exod. xxi. 18,
19.

SPEAK no ill either of the deaf, or of the absent.

IF one man strikes another upon a sudden quarrel, and not with a sword, let justice be immediately done upon the aggressor, by the same number of blows that he gave the other; but if he who was struck be carried home, lie sick for several days, and then die, there shall lie no action of murder in the case; but if he recovers, the other shall bear the whole charge of his cure, doctors, apothecaries, surgeons, attendance, and the like.

IF any man shall kick a woman with child, so that she miscarries, the judges shall condemn him in a sum of money for the loss of a subject, beside another sum by the way of a fine to her husband; but if she dies of the stroke, the man must die too, for life must answer for life.

Of beating a
woman, and
making her
miscarry,
Ver. 22.

IF there shall be found in the possession of an Israelite, the preparation of any mortal or dangerous poison, he shall suffer death for it, to answer for the lives of those against whom it shall appear to have been design'd.

Finding a
mortal poison
in the posses-
sion of an
Israelite.

HE who strikes out another man's eye, shall forfeit his own, and make satisfaction in kind, an eye for an eye, unless he shall otherwise think fit to compound for it with money; for the law will so far allow a man to be a judge in his own case, where he shall think fit to moderate the rigour of a penalty for an injury done to himself.

An eye for an
eye, Ver. 24.

IF an ox be mischievous, and given to go-
ring, let his master kill him. If an ox kill any body, let him be immediately ston'd to death, and no man presume to eat of his flesh; but if it shall appear that the master had been forewarn'd of the fierceness of this beast, and gave no heed to it, he himself shall suffer death for not preventing the death of another man. If an ox shall kill a man or a maid-servant, the ox shall be ston'd, and the owner of the ox shall stand condemned in thirty shekels to the master of the slave that was slain. If one ox shall kill another, let the living and the dead be both sold, and the money divided betwixt their two masters.

The case of
an ox that
gores, Exod.
xxi. 28-32.

IF any man digs a pit or a well, let him cover it with boards, and cast up a mound about it when he goes from it, not to engross the water, but to give notice of the danger, and to keep man and beast from falling into it; or in case any beast shall drop in at unawares, and be lost for want of such a fence, or cover, the owner of the ground shall make satisfaction to the value of the beast.

Let no pit or
well lie open,
Ver. 33, 34.

IF any man shall receive a depositum, that is to say, somewhat in trust for the use of another, let him preserve it as a thing sacred, and not to be touch'd by man, woman, or child, though immense riches were to be gotten by it, to the prejudice of the creditors; and witness or no witness, either to the trust, or to the fraud, does not alter the case one jot. The conscience is the only judge and evidence of what we ought to do, and of what we do, and whether we do well or ill; and according to that inward testimony we stand or fall to a God that is not to be impos'd upon. But now supposing the depositum to be lost in reality, and he who had it in charge not to blame neither: where it so falls out, let the trustee apply himself to the seven judges, and there make oath in the presence of God, that he never employ'd any part of it to his own use, and that neither directly nor indirectly he had any hand or privity in the losing of it; and this shall be sufficient to acquit him of having perform'd his trust. But yet if it shall afterward be made appear, that he ever converted any particle of this depositum to his own proper use, he shall be obliged to make good the whole.

A depositum
is a trust that
is sacred,
Exod. xxii. 7,
8, 9.

God will have the same strictness of justice to be also observed in the punctuality of pay-
ing

ing the labourer his hire, which consists partly in not defrauding him of any portion of his due, and partly in not delaying the payment of it; but upon the same day, when he makes an end of his work, let him receive his wages.

CHILDREN are not to be punish'd for the iniquity of their fathers, but where they are good, they deserve rather to be pity'd, for lying under the lot of having such fathers: beside the equity of respecting them for their own virtues rather than making them odious for the failing of others. Neither is the lewdness of children in all cases to be imputed to their parents; for there are some natures so harsh, and intractable, that all the gentleness of good example, care, and discipline, can never work upon them.

THERE are an abominable sort of people, who out of some unnatural affectation, make themselves Eunuchs; and in so doing, destroy as much as in them lies, the very intent of nature and providence, in male and female; cutting off the means of encreasing, and consequently of posterity, both at once, to the disappointment of the main end of their creation. Their minds were first corrupted, before they came to make this experiment upon their bodies. These men are to be avoided, and detested as the worst of monsters, wherefore let nothing be castrated, neither man nor any other living creature, for it is a departure from the very institution of nature.

THESE are the laws you are to observe in times of peace, and I hope by the blessing of God, they will be continu'd unchangeably sacred, and inviolable, to yourselves, and your children after you for ever. But yet, in regard of the uncertainty of human affairs; and that upon some ground or other, whether of malice, or misadventure, difficulties and troubles will inevitably arise, I shall endeavour in a few words, the best I can, to prepare you for the obviating of those contingencies, so far at least as a reasonable, and a political foresight of things may enable me, that you may not be taken unprovided how to acquit yourselves upon occasion.

I WISH with all my heart you may continue in a quiet possession of the land which God hath allotted you; and that you may come to reap the fruit of your industry and patience, in peace, and plenty, without the hazard, either of open enemies from abroad, or of worse in your own bowels; for intestine discord would endanger the overturning of the laws, customs, discipline, and religion of your forefathers; which are no other than the ordinances of God himself, being warranted by the stamp and authority of his divine approbation. From these constitutions you are never to depart.

BUT if it shall be your fortune, either now or hereafter, to fall under the necessity of a war, God grant it may be a foreign one, and for the decency of the proceeding, let it be advanced in form. You shall do well to let your heralds or ambassadors be sent in the first place with memorials, and declarations upon the matter in question, for according to the course of reason and nature, words should go before blows. You may give them to understand that your business is not to enrich your-

selves with prisoners, or booty: how unwilling you are to put things to extremities, and how desirous of peace, upon any terms; notwithstanding all the advantages of numbers, horse, arms, military provisions, and more than all the rest, of an Almighty and a gracious God to fight your battles. But if your competitor shall yet think fit to put the cause upon a trial of war, draw out your men against him, committing the government of the whole to God, and next under him to the bravest man of arms, policy, and courage, that you can pitch upon, as his deputy. Have a care of many heads; for they do commonly more hurt than good: not only for want of agreement, but in the matter of execution and dispatch. Look to the choice of your levies; for the minds of men must be consider'd as well as their bodies. Let them be daring as well as robust, for the least mixture of cowardice may be enough to discourage and dispirit a whole army.

You shall except out of the militia, the masters of new-built houses which they have not yet liv'd a year in: the planters of vineyards who have not as yet tasted the fruit of their own vines; and new-marry'd men that have not taken their wives home with them yet, who, when they should be venturing their lives for their country, will be indulging them for their pleasure.

KEEP good order in your camp, and allow no liberties that are harsh and cruel. When you want wood at any time upon a siege, as for an engine, or some military use, spare all fruit-trees, upon this consideration, that they were both created and planted for other uses. If they had tongues they would expostulate the matter with you, why those that were no cause of the war should be destroy'd for the service of it; and for their parts, if they were at liberty to transplant themselves they could be as well elsewhere.

WHEN you have the fortune to overcome in battle, give no quarter to those of your enemies that were obstinate and stood it out, but preserve the rest, and make them your tributaries, saving only the Chanaanites; and those you are to extirpate, even the whole nation of them, root and branch.

* LET no man appear in a woman's dress or habit, nor any woman in a man's; but especially in a military action.

THIS was the form and polity of the Hebrew commonwealth as Moses left it, and he delivered other laws also that he had written some forty years before: of which in another tract.

He held assemblies several days after this, successively; bestowing his benedictions upon those who liv'd in obedience to his holy laws, and pursuing the malicious transgressors of them with bitter maledictions. He then recited a kind of a prophetic cantic in Hexameter verse, containing a discourse of things to come, and in the very order as they fell out after, without any variation either in the matter itself, or in the series of the story. This he left in writing to be kept in the oratory. He delivered his books to the priests, and also the ark, wherein were the ten commandments, written in two tables, leaving it in charge to

Advice in the choice of a general.

No cowards to be chosen for soldiers.

Persons excepted out of the militia, Deut. xxiv.

Observe good order in the camp. Cut down no fruit-trees for common use. Deut. xx. 19.

No quarter to the obstinate. The Chanaanites to be rooted out, Ver. 16. 17.

No man to put on a woman's habit, nor a woman a man's, Deut. xxii. 5. The form of the Hebrew commonwealth. Deut. xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. xxxiv. A prophetic hymn, and benediction, xxxiii. xxxiv.

* See Cumæus de Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 22.

the people, that so soon as ever they should come to be masters of the promis'd land, and settle their plantations, they should take their revenge of the Amalekites, for the indignities they had formerly put upon them in the desert.

The Chanaanites to be destroy'd, and an altar erected betwixt mount Garizim and Gebal, Deut. xxvii. xxviii.

Blessings and maledictions, ibid.

The people under an oath to observe God's laws, Deut. xxix.

Joshua's predictions, Deut. xxxiv. 9.

HE commanded also that upon the taking of Chanaan, and putting the whole multitude to the sword, they should raise an altar to the eastward, not far from Sichem, betwixt two mountains, Garizim on the right hand, and Gebal on the left, and so dividing their army into twice six tribes, they were to dispose of those two divisions upon these two mountains, together with the priests and Levites. They were to pray in their turns, and Garizim to lead the office, imploring all sorts of blessings from Almighty God upon those that kept his holy commandments and walked in the ways of his servant Moses: the tribes upon Gebal, by way of response, at the close, returning their acclamations, in token of approving what the other had done. And then after the same manner they follow'd with their maledictions, which were pronounced and ratify'd with the same solemnity as before. These blessings and imprecations were at that time committed to writing, for a perpetual memory of the thing. He caus'd them also, when he was dying, to be engraven on each side of the altar, the people assisting and offering up sacrifices and burnt-offerings: a thing after that time not warrantable in itself, and therefore not to be brought into precedent. You have here the ordinances and constitutions of Moses, which the Hebrews observe most religiously to this day.

UPON the day following, the whole multitude being gather'd together, men, women, and children, the meanest of slaves themselves not excepted, Moses bound them with an oath to the observance of these laws according to the will of God, and that neither favour, terror, nor any other pretence, should ever make them depart from their obedience to those precepts; but that if any single person, though never so near or dear to them, or any body of men, should ever attempt an innovation, they would join as one man against him and them, to persecute the people, craze their cities, and not leave them so much as one stone upon another, if they had power to compass it. But otherwise, in case of insuperable difficulties, they would at least make a publick protestation against the wickedness, and utterly deny their assent to it. This was the sum and substance of the oath the multitude took upon this occasion. Moses instructed them further also, how they should govern themselves in their sacrifices, and what measures they were to take in all great enterprizes; to know whether they had God's approbation or not, by observing the stones upon Aaron's breastplate, as is already set forth.

WHILE Moses was yet alive, Joshua foretold, by the spirit of prophecy, what he himself was to do for the welfare of the people, either in war abroad, or in a legal administration at home, preparing the multitude by his discourses, for the entertainment of their new way of discipline. He told them also, that what he said was by a divine impulse, and that if ever they should depart from the religion of their country, they would fall into great calamities; their land should be over-run with foreigners, their cities sack'd, their temple laid

in ashes, and themselves sold for slaves to a people who would treat them without mercy or compassion, till they came at last to a late and unprofitable repentance; not but that God would be pleas'd in time to come to restore them to their cities and their temple. But yet that after such a restoration, they were still in the future, to be lost over and over again.

MOSES being now ready to discharge himself of his commission, order'd Joshua to march with his army against the Chanaanites, in a full assurance that God would prosper him in his undertaking, and not without presages likewise of all sorts of blessings to the people, of whom he took his last leave in the following words:

"SINCE it is the will of the Almighty to call me to my fathers, and so to order it, that this very day is to be the last of my life, it will become me, while I am yet living, and in your presence, to give God thanks for all his cares and providences extended to you, and your affairs; not only in your deliverances from all manner of calamities, but in the bounty of innumerable blessings and benefits; and I must likewise acknowledge his infinite goodness to myself, in prospering and assisting all my reasonable endeavours for your comfort and advantage; wherein my part hath been only subservient and ministerial toward your well-being, while God himself was the first mover and perfecter of it; for all which providences, his holy name be praised; and to his gracious protection, now as a dying man, I reckon it a duty to recommend you. It is my duty likewise to mind you of the honour and veneration you owe to that Almighty power, which alone, and no other, you are to worship and adore; and pray ye have a care to put a true value also upon the laws he hath given you, as the most sacred and inestimable of all his bounties. Suppose it the case but of a common law-giver, to have his ordinances trampled upon, and his authority despised, how unpardonable an affront would this be, even from one man to another? But who shall be able to stand against the indignation of an incensed God then, who is your divine law-giver, when he shall be provoked to call you to an account for the contempt of his commandments?"

THESE last words of his were accompanied with a thousand benedictions to the tribes, and not without several prophetic presages of things afterward to befall them, and which accordingly came to pass. The multitude fell all into a violent fit of weeping at this discourse of Moses; the women beating their breasts, and their very children under a miserable impatience of lamentation. Such was the tenderness, that even these poor innocents had for the dignity and virtue of so great a man, upon the apprehension of his approaching end. There was, in fine, a sort of contest betwixt the young and old, who should exceed each other in grief. The young were afflicted to think what would become of them for the time to come; the old to consider how ill they had treated him in time past, and that they never understood the value of the blessing they enjoy'd, till they were now to be forever deprived of it. But the force of this impression

Joshua order'd to march against the Chanaanites, Deut. xxxi. 7, 8.

Moses's last speech and advice to the people, Deut. xxxiii. xxxiv.

Moses universally lamented, ibid.

pression did not appear in any thing so much, as in the effect it had upon the constancy and magnanimity, even of the comforter himself; for after all his philosophizing upon the contempt of death, and his consolatory counsels of resignation and submission to the will of God, and to the law of nature, he yielded himself up at last to the weakness he condemn'd, and wept for company. While he was now moving toward his last retreat, and the multitude all in tears attending him, he gave a sign with his hand to those at a distance to stop where they were, and desired those nearer hand not to trouble the peace of his last hour with those fruitless and unseasonable importunities. So they kept back to gratify his intimation, but still looking after him with weeping eyes and sad hearts, as far as they could see him. He took along with him only the elders, Eleazar the high-priest, and Joshua his successor. When he came to Abarim, a very high mountain over-against Jericho, he took a view of the fair and fruitful country of Chanaan, discharged the senators, and after a final leave taken of Eleazar and Joshua, with mutual embraces, Moses was taken away from them in a cloud, while they were yet discouraging, and translated into a certain valley.

Moses within sight of the land of Chanaan, Deut. xxxiv. 4. Moses taken away in a cloud.

The holy scripture says he died, lest people should imagine him, because of the excellency of his person, to be yet alive, and with God. He lived a hundred and twenty years; and within one month of a third part of that time bore command over the Hebrews. He departed this life in the last month of the year, and the first day of the month, which the Macedonians call Dystrus, and we Adar.

The age and death of Moses, Ver. 7.

He was a man of admirable wisdom, and one who made the best use of what he understood; an excellent orator, and no man better skill'd in moving the affections of the people than himself; so great a master of his passions, that he liv'd as if he had none, and as if he had known them only by their names; or else as he observ'd them in other men; never a greater captain, nor a prophet equal to him; for all his words were oracles. The people mourned for him thirty days, and the death of this holy man was the most sensible mortification they ever felt; and this was not only his character among those that knew him in his life and death, but he has made himself as famous to posterity in his writings, as he was to the age he liv'd in, for his actions. This is all we have to say concerning the end of Moses.

Moses's character, Ver. 10, &c.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK V.

From the Year of the World 2493 to 2850.

CHAP. I.

Joshua succeeds Moses in his command over the Hebrews, fights and subdues the Chanaanites, and divides their lands by lot among the tribes.

Josh. i.



Joshua sends spies to Jericho, Josh. ii. 1.

Calls the tribes together, Ver. 10.

Minds them of their promises, Ver. 12, 13.

MOSES being now translated, as afore said, the last duties paid to his memory, and the mourning ceremony over, Joshua order'd the people to be in readiness to march, and sent away his spies to Jericho, to learn how the people stood affected, and to view the strength and condition of the town. After this he decamp'd, with a design to pass the river Jordan by the first opportunity. Upon this occasion he conven'd the princes of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasses; (for one half of Manasses was allow'd to plant and settle in the country of the Amorites, which was a seventh part of the land of Chanaan,) minding them of their promises to Moses, and desiring them, both for his sake, and their own, that they would now be as good as their words, in assisting their brethren; and do it cheerfully too, as a justice to the memory of their glorious patron, who had always express'd such a particular care for them, even to his last breath.

They exhibited their assistance very willingly; insomuch, that Joshua march'd from Abila with fifty thousand men, a matter of sixty furlongs, toward the banks of the river Jordan. Immediately upon their encamping, the spies brought Joshua an account of the state of Jericho, and what the Chanaanites were a-doing. They came thither as strangers, they said, and so went whither they would, and saw whatever they had a mind to, without any stop or question. They took a view of the walls, the gates, and the ramparts; all the weaknesses and strengths of the town, passing the whole day for men of curiosity only, and not in the least suspected of any design. They took up toward evening, in an inn near the wall, where they refreshed themselves; and after eating, news was brought them, as they were discoursing how to get back again, that information had been given to the king as he was at supper, of some certain spies who were come out of the Hebrew camp, and lay hid in the house of * Rachab; and that order was

And marches from Abila with fifty thousand men, to the banks of Jordan, Josh. iii.

1, 2. The spies bring intelligence of the state of Jericho, Josh. ii. 23, 24.

* Scrip. Rahab.

Rachab con-
ceals the
spies, Josh. ii.
4

given immediately for the seizing of them, and putting them to the torture to know their business. So soon as Rachab understood that the house was to be search'd, she cover'd the spies under a parcel of flax that lay a drying upon the wall; and upon the coming of the messengers to look for these people, Rachab told them, indeed, of certain strangers who had been there in the evening about sun-set, but went their way again after supper; and if they were men suspected to the king, as dangerous to the state, they might be easily overtaken. The woman talk'd and look'd with such an air of seriousness, that the officers, without ever searching the house, posted away toward the river Jordan, narrowly examining every road which they thought they might have taken; but having lost their labour without making any discovery, they gave over the search. So soon as the hurry was over, Rachab called forth her guests; minded them of the risque she had run for their sakes; for that if they had been discover'd, it would certainly have cost her and her family their lives; "Wherefore, says she, whenever you come to take this place, (as I have a revelation from God that it will be so,) do you take as much care of mine, and my people's lives, as we have done of yours." And with these words she dismiss'd them. The spies promised, with oaths, that her kindness should be punctually requited, and therefore advis'd her, in order to it, that whenever she found the town in danger of being taken, she should withdraw with what friends and goods she had, into her own house, and hang out a scarlet cloth before her door. The general, they said, should be told of the token, and of the meaning of it, and would undoubtedly provide for the safety of whatever should be found within those walls. "She might depend upon it, they said, that they would be true to what they had sworn; only if any of them should be slain in actual hostility, they would be quit from the obligation of their oath, and the blame lie at her door, not theirs." Upon these conditions they parted; Rachab having provided them a rope to let themselves down from the wall, by which means they made their escapes, and returned to the camp with the intelligence of what they had seen and observ'd, and the whole business of Rachab, with all the circumstances; that of the oath especially, in which case the general consulted Eleazar the high-priest, and the elders, who did authoritatively pronounce the oath to be binding, and so ratified the obligation.

Rachab con-
veys away the
spies, Ver. 15.

The Hebrews
encamp upon
Jordan, Josh.
iii.

THE Hebrews were now encamped upon the banks of the river Jordan, on their way to Jericho; but the waters being out, the current of itself rapid and impetuous, not so much as a boat or a bridge to help them over, nor the means of building any, with an enemy over and above so near, and the town at last on the wrong side of the water, the general for some time was not a little discouraged under the apprehension of so many invincible difficulties, till it pleas'd God to assure him by a comfortable revelation, that those obstacles should be removed, and the river made fordable for the transporting of his troops.

Their mira-
culous pas-
sage, ibid.

AFTER two days expectation of this miraculous providence, Joshua pass'd the river with his army. In the first place went the priests,

with the ark; the Levites after them with the tabernacle and the holy vessels; after the Levites, follow'd the whole army, which was ranged according to the order of their several tribes; the women and the children in the middle, the better to secure them against the violence of the stream. It was observ'd upon the priest's first entrance into this passage, that the fierceness of the current abated, and the water fell: they found the bottom firm, and by degrees the channel came to be as dry as a pavement; so that the whole multitude forded it over, without any farther doubt or trouble, when they saw every thing succeeded according to what God had foretold them. But the priests continued still in the middle, till the people were all pass'd over, and safe landed on the other side. So soon as the army was got ashore, the priests follow'd them, and left the river to its natural course again, which immediately fill'd up the channel, and put every thing into the same state as before.

The order of
their march,
ibid.

THE army march'd from thence fifty furlongs toward Jericho, and there encamped within ten furlongs more of the place. Here it was that Joshua erected an altar of the twelve stones, which twelve princes of the several tribes brought along with them out of the bottom of the river, by the prophet's order and command, for a token and a memorial to future ages of the stream of the river thus miraculously standing still; and upon this altar did Joshua sacrifice, celebrating the feast of the passover also in the same place, and in a state of plenty and abundance, equal to the degree of want and misery, which they had hitherto endur'd; for the Chanaanites harvest was at this time ripe upon the ground, cattle, and other booty every where expos'd, and the Hebrews had it all at mercy; only the manna fail'd them now at last, after a subsistence of forty years upon it in the wilderness.

An altar of
twelve stones;
Josh. iv. 20.

Joshua sacri-
fices upon it,
and keeps the
passover,
Josh. v. 10,
11.

Their manna
fails them,
Ver. 12.

THE Israelites living thus at discretion upon the Chanaanites country, without any sort of check or controul, gave the Hebrew general to understand, that the enemy was not to be drawn out of their holds, by any provocation or affront whatsoever; so that he bethought himself of making some trial rather what might be done by a siege. Upon the first day of the festival, the priests took up the ark, and so march'd forward with it in the middle of a guard of soldiers; seven other priests going before them, with seven horns sounding, to animate the army to behave themselves like men. And thus they went round about the walls of the city with the elders after them; but the priests only sounding; and when they had gone the circuit of the city, they went back again to their camp without any more ceremony. This was the first day's work; and when they had done the same thing over again for six days successively, Joshua call'd the army and the people together on the seventh, and told them for news, that the town should that day be deliver'd up to them, without any hazard or trouble; for the very walls should fall down of their own accord, and leave the place naked; giving them in charge at the same time, to make a total destruction of every creature that had life in it; and that neither weariness of doing execution, tenderness of nature, or any other consideration of booty or flight, should prevail upon them to

The Cha-
naanites keep
to their holds,
Josh. vi. 1.

The priests
carry the ark
round Jeri-
cho for six
days succes-
sively, Ver. 14.

hold their hands; but that they should put all to the sword, without reserving any thing of the spoil to their own advantage. What gold or silver soever should be found, they were order'd to lay it in one mass altogether; for it should be dedicated to God, as the first-fruits of the victory obtain'd over that city; saving only that Rachab, with her family and relations, should be preserv'd for the sake of the oath sworn to her by the spies.

The walls fall of themselves, on the seventh day, Josh. vi. 20.

The Israelites enter the breach, ibid.

All put to the sword but Rachab and her friends, Ver. 25.

A prodigious booty, V. 24.

With these words he marched with his army toward the city, and went the round of it with the priests, the senate, and the soldiers, in the same order as before. Upon the seventh time going about it, they made a little stop, and the wall fell down all on a sudden, without any engine or force bent against it. This terrible surprize put the people into such an amazement, that they had not the hearts left to make the least resistance; so that the Hebrews entered the breach, and cut off all before them, without the least hazard or opposition; some in the streets, others in their houses; some in one place, and some in another, till it came, in fine, to an universal slaughter, without sparing either women or children; so that the city was only a pile of dead bodies in the conclusion, and not one of the inhabitants found means to escape the common fate. This desolation ended in the burning of the city, and the adjacent country; only Rachab, and her friends and family were rescued by the spies, who being brought to the general, received his acknowledgments for the good office she had done his agents; promising withal, that she should not fail of a suitable reward, which he quickly made good to her, by conferring on her a considerable estate in lands. Nor was this all; for he never fail'd afterwards to shew his esteem and value for her upon all occasions. What the fire had spared, was destroyed by the sword, with a propheticall curse upon any man that should ever presume afterward to rebuild it, wishing that whoever should take upon him to lay the first stone of a new foundation, might lose his eldest son, and he that should finish the work, his youngest; and God would not suffer this malediction to pass in vain neither, as we shall shew hereafter. There was taken in this town gold, silver, and brasse, to an inestimable value, without any diminution of it for the profit of any particular person; but

Joshua deliver'd it up to the priests, to be deposited in their treasury; and this was the fate of Jericho.

But it so fell out that one * Achar, the son of Zebedee, and of the tribe of Judah, had gotten a rich cloak of the king's, of cloth of gold, and a huge mass of the same metal, weighing two hundred shekels†. This man thought it somewhat unreasonable to give that to God which he had no need of, and for which he himself had ventured his life, and had so much occasion to make use of; so that he digged a hole in the ground under his tent, and there hid it; imagining that so long as his fellow-soldiers knew nothing of it, the concealment might pass upon God himself. The army at that time was encamped at a place called ‡ Galgala, which signifies liberty; for being now passed the river, they reckon'd themselves as good as secured from the slavery of Egypt, and the miseries of the desert.

Achar's transgression, Josh. vii. 1.

SOME few days after the razing of Jericho, Joshua sent out a detachment of three thousand men to Ain, a city a little above, higher in the country, where they engaged the enemy, and were beaten back with the loss of six and thirty men. The tidings of this repulse put the Israelites to a terrible anxiety of thought, not so much for the number of the slain, (tho' their near relations and men of valour and worth,) but for the ill-boding of the disappointment; for they looked upon the difficulties of the war (even according to God's promise) to be all over, and that they were as good as masters of the land; but their enemies had now taken heart again, they said; and immediately, upon this reflection, they put on sackcloth, and spent that whole day in fasting, weeping, and mourning; so grievous was the sense they had of the disgrace that was befallen them. The spirits of the army were so sunk upon this disaster, and cast down into such a desperation of better things for the future, that Joshua, upon this occasion, address'd himself with a more than ordinary assurance to Almighty God, saying,

The Israelites worsted at Ain, Ver. 4.

Their fasting and humiliation, Ver. 13.

“ LORD, says he, we did not presume to come here, prompted by any ambitious views of our own to make war upon these people, but out of a pure deference and respect to the persuasion of thy servant Moses, who incited us to this undertaking, and not without the warrant of many signs and miracles,

Joshua's prayer and appeal, Ver. 6-9.

* Scrip. Achan the son of Zerah.

† A Shekel (according to Dr. Arbuthnot) reduced to English Troy weight, weigh'd nine penny weights, two grains, and four sevenths; two hundred shekels therefore must weigh seven pounds, seven ounces, one penny weight, and ten grains; or ninety one ounces, one penny weight, and ten grains, which, reckoning gold at four pound the ounce, amounted to three hundred sixty four pounds, five shillings, and eight pence of our money, or thereabouts. The shekel of gold, which was also a particular coin among the Jews, according to the best authors, was worth one pound, sixteen shillings, and six pence of our money, two hundred of which amount exactly to three hundred and sixty five pounds, which comes very near the above said sum.

We think it not improper here to observe to the reader, that there is great disagreement among learned men, about the value of the Jewish shekel of silver. Some say it was worth but two shillings and a penny, some two shillings and three pence farthing, and half farthing; others two shillings and six pence in our money. But as Josephus, more than once, avers it was equivalent to the Attick Tetradrachm, several of which we having lately had the opportunity of seeing and weighing, and finding them generally something heavier than our half-crown, we rather chuse to fix it at two shillings and seven pence, conformable whereunto is all that we have hitherto said upon this subject, save only in two places, viz. in Book I. Chap. xv. where 'tis said Abraham gave Ephraim four hundred shekels for a burying-place, which (according to the opinion of them who think a shekel was worth no more than two shillings and a penny,) should there have been computed at forty one pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, English money; but according to our present valuation of it, at fifty one pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. So in Book IV. Chap. iv. p. 114. the note at the bottom ought to be three shillings and ten pence half penny in our money. These emendations, we hope, will atone for the inconsistency we have herein been guilty of, and obviate, or at least answer the just objections that either have, or otherwise might be made by our candid readers upon this head.

‡ Scrip. Gilgal. Masius in his commentary upon the fifth chapter of Joshua shews this to be an error.

"to convince us that he had reason and authority on his side; when he told us that thou thyself hadst promised us the possession of this country, and to give us victory over all our enemies. But what a change is here all on a sudden, in the disappointment of our hopes, and in the loss of our friends! as if either Moses's predictions had not been of divine inspiration, or otherwise thy promises and purposes variable. If this be the beginning of a war, we cannot but dread the further progress of it, for fear this miscarriage upon the first experiment should prove only the earnest of greater evils to come. But Lord, thou alone who art able to give us relief, help us, and save us; vouchsafe unto us comfort and victory, and be graciously pleased to preserve us from the snare of despairing for the future."

JOSHUA delivered this ejaculatory prayer prostrate, with his face upon the ground, till upon finishing, God bid him "Rise and purge

God bids him purge the army of sacrilege, and cast lots to find out the offender, Josh. vii. 13.

"the army from a pollution that had defiled it; for there was a sacrilegious fraud that lay unaccounted for among them; and that corruption was the true cause of the mischief that had lately befallen them; but, says the oracle, let there be lots cast, to find out the criminal, and then let him be punished on whom the lot falls, and the Israelites shall certainly carry their cause, and be victorious." Joshua made a report of all this to the people, and calling to him Eleazar the high-priest, and the princes of the tribes, he put the tribes to the first test of the lot; and the lot falling upon the tribe of Judah, they cast lots next upon the several families of that tribe, and the lot fell upon the family of Zacharias; bringing the question, in fine, upon a personal examination of man by man, they came at last to find out the very individual person that was guilty of the sacrilege, the lot falling upon Achar, who thereupon was forthwith taken into custody, and finding that there was no trifling with divine justice, his conscience also being his accuser, confessed the sacrilegious theft, and delivered it up in the sight of the people; whereupon he was immediately put to an ignominious death, and his body buried by night in a scandalous manner, like a common malefactor.

The lot falls upon Achar, ver. 18.

Who confesses the fact, and is stoned to death, ver. 20, &c.

WHEN the army was purged, Joshua drew them out toward the city of *Ain, planted his ambushes, and early next morning presented himself in sight of the enemy with his main body. The Ainites were so elevated with their former success, that so soon as they had the Israelites in their eye, they immediately advanced in a furious manner against them to give them battle; the one giving way by little and little, as for fear, and the other pressing upon them as in a full assurance of a certain victory. By this stratagem of a pretended flight, the Ainites were drawn from their city; when immediately upon a signal given, Joshua put a stop to the army, and the ambush almost in the same instant, entered the town, with little or no opposition; for the inhabitants were most of them gotten together upon the walls, out of a curiosity to see the action, and inferring from the countenance of things, that the day

was as good as their own already. It came however to a terrible slaughter; and in the mean time, the army being totally routed before the town, had no other retreat left them, but to fly back again to the city for sanctuary: which was the course they steer'd; upon a presumption that the place was still in the same state they left it. But when they came to find it taken, their houses rifled and burnt, and their wives and children, either destroyed or prisoners, the miserable remainder of them who escaped the sword, were forced to betake themselves to the wild fields and woods for refuge. It was an incredible booty that was taken upon this encounter: a world of women, children, and bondslaves; plate, and costly furniture, to a prodigious value; a great many flocks, and herds of cattle, and mighty sums of current money. The country, in short, was excessively rich, and the whole spoil of it was divided among the soldiers, who were then encamped in Galgala.

An inestimable booty.

WHEN the Gibeonites (being near neighbours to Jerusalem) came to hear of the miserable fate of Jericho and Ain, they began to consider that their own turn might be next; but however, being prepossessed with an expectation that the whole nation of the Chanaanites were to be rooted out, they thought it not worth their while to make any barefaced application to the Hebrews for favour. They invited however their neighbours the Chephirites, and those of Kiriath-jearim, to join with them in the proposal of a fair alliance with the Hebrews; telling them, unless they took proper measures to evade the approaching danger, they would be involv'd in the same ruin with the rest of their countrymen; but that if they would take their advice, means might be found out to avoid it. The advice was found reasonable, and so they dispatched away an embassy to Joshua, of the fittest men they could pick out to manage such a commission. They had it in their instructions, not upon any terms to own themselves for Chanaanites, but rather to insinuate, that they lived a great way off, and had no manner of dealing with those people.

The Gibeonites startled at the fate of Jericho and Ain, Josh. ix. 3, 4.

They send deputies to Joshua, Ver. 4-13. The deputies instructions, ibid.

"They had heard much, they said, of the reputation of the Hebrews, and they were now come to attend their General upon this occasion. It might be seen by their clothes, that they had come a great way; for they were new when they set out, and they were now worn threadbare by the length of their journey." Now they had purposely put on clothes that were coarse and threadbare, for the better credit of the imposture. In this habit they presented themselves before the assembly, with their testimonials, that they came as commissioners from the Gibeonites, and their neighbouring cities to enter into a treaty of friendship with them, saving only the rights and privileges of their country; for they found, that by God's grace and bounty, the land of Chanaan was given them for an inheritance, wherein they congratulated their good fortunes, desiring to make a league of friendship and confederacy with them; thereby thinking to secure their liberties and property, making an ostentation of their rags all this while, as the evidence of their sincerity. Joshua gave

Joshua takes the Chanaanites routed, Josh. viii. 22-26.

* *Ain*. Scrip. Ai. Steph. Byzant. *Ain*, and Berkelius fancies it to be the same with *Kava* and *Kavada* in Josephus. See Berkelius, p. 134.

Joshua strikes
up a league
with them,
Josh. ix. 15.

Joshua's mis-
take, Ver. 16.

Joshua would
come off, but
cannot, V. 19,
20.

The Gibeo-
nites made
drudges, Ver.
27.

The king of
Jerusalem
makes war
upon the Gi-
beonites,
Josh. x. 1.

They send to
Joshua for
succour, V. 6.

Joshua re-
lieves them,
and routs the
enemy.

A terrible
tempest,
Ver. 11.
The sun
stands still in
his course,
Ver. 11, 12.

so much credit to the pretences, both of their words, and clothes, that taking for granted they were not Chanaanites, he struck up a league with them, Eleazar the high-priest, and the elders, at the same time giving them the oaths of friends and allies, and that they should never do any thing contrary to the tenor of that obligation. The agreement was solemnly executed, in the presence, and with the approbation of the whole multitude. By this artifice they gained their point, and so returned to their own home. It happened soon after this, that upon Joshua's drawing his army to that quarter of the Chanaanites which looks toward the plains, he was given to understand that these Gibeonites did not live far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the same stock with the Chanaanites: so he sent for some of the chief men of the country to come to him, and told them plainly that they had not dealt with him like men of truth and honour. They excused themselves upon the necessity of the case; for, said they, "we had no other way left to save our selves." Upon this difficulty, the high-priest, and the elders were consulted as to the obligation of the treaty, and were all positive in their opinion, that an oath so circumstanced, and so ratified, was absolutely sacred and inviolable; but that the point might yet in some sort be modified, by setting them apart for the doing of servile offices in the publick drudgery; which was the condition they stood afterwards condemned to; and upon these terms they avoided a much worse fate, which otherwise would most certainly have befallen them.

WHEN the king of Jerusalem came to be informed that the Gibeonites were revolted, and gone over into alliance with the Hebrews, he so highly resented it, that he presently sent to four neighbouring kings to join with him in a war against them. They debated the matter, and came immediately to a resolution, drew their troops together, and encamped near a certain fountain not far from the city, which they were then preparing to besiege; the Gibeonites being apprehensive the storm would fall upon them, apply'd to Joshua for assistance. Matters were now come to this pass, that they were to be ruined by their own people, and forced to fly for protection to those who were in arms purposely to root out the inhabitants of Chanaan. But so it was, however, that they had no other hope of safety under the sun but in their new friendship. Upon the first intelligence of this enterprize, Joshua marched with his whole army, night and day, to succour the Gibeonites, and fell upon the enemy early in the morning, as they were just about to attack the town, routed, and had the chase of them along the hills, till they came to the valley of Bethora. The hand of God was never more visible in any human action than it was in this battle; for, over and above the dreadful thunder and lightning of that day, with a violent tempest of hail-stones of a prodigious size, there was yet one prodigy stranger than all the rest, and such a one as was never heard of before: The sun itself stood still in the firmament, that the Hebrews might not want day-light for the perfecting of their victory. Upon this rout, the five kings were

pursued to the cave of Makkeda, where they were found by Joshua, taken, and all put to death. The miracle of the lengthening of this day beyond its natural measure, and of the sun's stopping in its course, is most expressly attested in the holy scriptures, according to the copies reserved in the temple.

AFTER this defeat of the five kings that made war upon the Gibeonites, Joshua went back again to the mountainous part of Chanaan, where he put a great many people to the sword, and seized a vast number of cattle; which done, he marched back with the army to Gilgal.

THE fame of the Hebrews for their martial exploits, and the numbers of the slain, made so great a noise every where, that the very reputation of their arms carried a terror along with it. But this did not yet hinder the Chanaanite kings of mount Libanus and thereabouts, nor those of the plains, together with the Philistines, from joining in a confederacy against them; for they drew their forces together, and encamped at * Berothe, a city of Galilee, not far from the upper Cœdesa, which is also in the country of Galilee. Their whole strength was computed to amount to three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and two thousand chariots. The thought of this formidable power cast such a damp upon the spirits, not only of the Israelites in general, but upon Joshua himself, that the dread they had for so unequal an encounter, fell little short of a downright despair: but upon God's reproving them for their faint-heartedness and distrust, and encouraging them with fresh assurances of victory and protection, commanding them likewise to hamstring the enemies horses, and burn their chariots, the general took heart upon it, and forthwith marched with a full assurance of success toward the enemy. Upon the fifth day he came up to them, and fought them. The encounter was obstinate, and so bloody, that the truth of the action would be almost incredible; but however, the confederates were absolutely broken, vast numbers kill'd in the pursuit; all the kings slain, and the whole army, in effect, entirely cut off: nay, such was the rage of the victors against the conquer'd party, that when they had no more men to kill, they wreak'd their fury upon the horses and chariots. The fortune, in fine, of this day, made Joshua absolute master of the country. He took their towns, kill'd all he could come at, did what he thought fit, and no creature left to oppose him. Their country, in short, was wholly depopulated, and the very nation itself extirpated, saving only some few stragglers, who had the good hap to provide for their safety by flying into strong holds. And all these distresses were but the miserable devastations of one five years war.

UPON this fatal overthrow, Joshua decamped from Gilgal, and marched up the mountains toward Siloe, where he planted the holy tabernacle, with an intent to wait a while there, for the first opportunity of erecting a temple: the situation of the place being both commodious and delicious, and in all respects agreeable to the design. From thence he took all the people along with him to Sichem, where he erected an altar, as Moses in time

Five kings taken, and put to death in the cave of Makkeda, Ver. 22-26.

A confederacy of the Chanaanites against Joshua, xi. 1-5.

An army of three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and two thousand chariots.

A bloody battle, V. 8. The Chanaanites overthrown, and their kings slain, V. 12.

Joshua lays the whole country waste, V. 10.

Joshua marches from Gilgal toward Siloe, where he erects the tabernacle, Josh. xviii. 1.

Joshua erects another altar at Sichem.

* Masius would have it Meroth, and not Beroth. See his comment upon Joshua, c. 11.

Joshua
marches in
two bodies to
Mount Garizim and Ge-
bal, where
they raise a
third altar.

past had foretold and appointed. This being done, he divided his army; one half he sent to Mount Garizim, and the other to Mount Gibal*, where there was likewise another altar built; the priests and Levites being also divided. Here they offer'd sacrifices, and when they had denounced the maledictions, formerly mentioned, and engraven them upon the altar, they returned to Siloe.

Joshua calls
an assembly at
Siloe, Josh.
xviii.

JOSHUA was now far gone in years, and considering that the Chanaanites had yet several places of strength left them, which betwixt art and nature were in a manner impregnable, (for the Chanaanites having intelligence from the very first departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, that they had a design to invade their country, let no time slip to secure and fortify themselves;) Joshua, I say, being aware of all this, call'd a general assembly of the people to meet at Siloe, where the appearance was very great. Joshua, upon this occasion, summed up what he had to say in few words, and laid the matter in hand before them. He gave them a short history of the great things they had done and succeeded in already, by the assistance of God's favour and protection, as a people that religiously observ'd his laws. He minded them how God had given them victory over one and thirty kings, that had the confidence to take up arms against them, destroying their most numerous armies, and rooting out the very generations of their enemies. But in regard that the conquest was as yet but imperfect, some of their cities being already taken, and a great many others remaining in their hands that were better mann'd and fortified, and that it would be a work of time to reduce them, he thought it adviseable, in the first place, to dismiss those of their friends who came from beyond Jordan, to join in the hazard of the common cause; and with all due respects and acknowledgments, to send them back to the lot of their inheritance again. And secondly, that commissioners should be chosen respectively out of every tribe; men of approved skill and integrity, and their business should be, to take an exact survey of the country, and to make a full report of it, without fraud or delay.

Joshua ad-
dresses the dis-
missing of the
two tribes and
a half that
came from
beyond Jor-
dan, Josh.
xviii. 4.
And the
sending of
commission-
ers to survey
the country,
Josh. xviii. 8.

THE people, every man of them, were highly pleased with the motion, and so Joshua presently order'd his agents to enter upon the work, appointing them for their assistants, men well skill'd in surveying; whereby they could not so well be impos'd upon, or misled in the account.

With instruc-
tions to make
an estimate,
upon
equality, but
equivalence.

THEY had it in their instructions also, notwithstanding the survey upon measure, to make a final estimate upon the quality or goodness of the land, as one quarter might fall out to be better or worse than another; for there are in Chanaan a great many fair large fields, which being put in balance with some others, might be allow'd vastly to have the preference for corn, and all sorts of fruits; but if compared with the land about Jericho or Jerusalem, they would be found to be prodigiously inferior in worth. The country, indeed, is not large, and a good part of it mountainous; but for the plenty, growth, and beauty of the productions, no place whatsoever goes beyond it.

For this reason it was concluded, not to value the lots barely by the measure, but by the virtue of them; for one acre sometimes might fall out to be worth a thousand. There were ten men employ'd upon this commission to answer the same number of tribes concern'd in the question. These ten commissioners took both a view and an estimate of the country, and within seven months after, they came back again with the whole state of the computation to Siloe, which was at that time the seat of the tabernacle.

The taber-
nacle at Siloe

JOSHUA then calling to his assistance Eleazar the high-priest, with the elders and princes of the tribes, made a partition of the whole, into so many shares, to be divided among nine tribes, and one half tribe of Manasses; every one to have in proportion, according to the rate and equity of the distribution.

A partition
of the whole
by lot into
nine parts, to
answer the
nine tribes
and a half,
Josh. xiii, xiv,
xv, xvi, xvii,
xviii, xix.
The lot of
Judah.

UPON putting it to the lot, the tribe of Judah had for their lot all the Upper Judea, reaching in length to Jerusalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodom; comprehending also the cities of Ascalon and Gaza.

THE tribe of Simeon, had that part of Idumea which borders upon Egypt and Arabia.

Simeon.

THE tribe of Benjamin had that part of the country, which, in length, extends from the river Jordan to the sea; and, in breadth, from Jerusalem to Bethel. This, for compass, was the smallest lot: but the quality makes amends for the quantity; for Jericho and Jerusalem are comprized in it.

Benjamin.

THE tribe of Ephraim had for their lot the country in length from Jordan to Gadara, and in breadth from Bethel to the large plain.

Ephraim.

THE half tribe of Manasses had their lot lengthways, from Jordan to the city Dora; and breadthways to Bethsana, which is now known by the name of Scythopolis.

The half
tribe of Ma-
nasses.

THE tribe of Issachar had for their lot, all betwixt Jordan and Mount Carmel, which reaches out in breadth to Mount Itabyr †.

Issachar.

THE tribe of Zabulon had for its lot, the whole country that borders upon Mount Carmel and the sea, and so far as Genezareth.

Zabulon.

THE tribe of Aser had for its lot, the country behind mount Carmel, over-against Sidon, reckoning the city of Arce ‡ also, otherwise Actipus.

Aser.

THE tribe of Nephthali had for their lot the Upper Galilee, and the country eastward to the city of Damascus, Mount Libanus, and the head of the river Jordan, which has its rise from that side of it that borders upon the city Arce, toward the north.

Nephthali.

THE tribe of Dan had the vallies toward Dan the west, which are bounded by Azotus and Dora; and to them likewise belong the cities of Jamnia and Gittha, and the whole country from Aceron to the mountain, where the portion of the tribe of Judah begins.

THIS was the division that Joshua made of six provinces of the Chanaanites, which took their names from so many of the sons of Chanaan; and of this country did he deliver the possession to the aforesaid nine tribes and a half; but as to Amorrhæa, so call'd from one of the sons of Chanaan, Moses had disposed of it long since to the two other tribes and a half,

* Scrip. Ebal.

† Or Tabor.

‡ See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byzant, p. 76, 167.

The Amorites country already dispos'd of, Numb. xxxii. 33.

Joshua charges all the tribes utterly to root out the Chanaanites, Josh. xxiii. 5.

Cities of sanctuary, Hebron, Sichem, and Cades, Josh. xx. 7, 8.

A distribution of the booty.

Josh. xxiii. 2.

Joshua's speech to his troops from beyond Jordan, Josh. xxii. 1--8.

Joshua discharges his auxiliaries, ibid.

as we have shewn above; but then the regions of the Sidonians, the Aruceans, Amatheans, and Aritheans, are not comprized in this division, not being at that time inhabited.

WHILE Joshua was now struggling with the infirmities of old age, and the cares of the government, he found evidently that as he was no longer able to discharge the offices of his function in his own person, so there was no depending upon those whom he deputed to act for him in the publick administration; for they had not a due regard, he saw, to the common good; wherefore he gave it in charge to every tribe respectively, not to tolerate any of the race of the Chanaanites in the land God had allotted them, but to root out the very remains of them; minding them how solemnly Moses had declar'd himself in this matter, to whose advice and opinion he doubted not of their giving both heed and credit: beside, that their own security, and that of their laws, rights, and religion, depended all upon it, and that he had experience, as well as authority for what he said. He enjoin'd them farther, to deliver up to the Levites the thirty eight cities that were design'd them, being in possession of ten already in * Amorrhæa, on the other side of the river. Three of these were to be cities of privilege or refuge. In the tribe of Judah, the city of Hebron; in the tribe of Ephraim, Sichem; and in the tribe of Nephthali †, Cades, in the Upper Galilee: to all which they readily agreed, out of a veneration they had for the observance of the laws and customs of Moses. He proceeded after this, to a distribution of the booty, which in herds and flocks, money, plate, furniture, and other pillage amounted to an immense value; for it was a large and plentiful country, and the Israelites, one and all, from the highest to the lowest, made their fortunes out of the spoil.

THE next thing Joshua had to do, was the calling together of his auxiliaries, who came to him from beyond Jordan, and had their part in the honour of his late conquest: they were computed to be a matter of fifty thousand men, and upon their meeting, Joshua deliver'd himself to them to this effect:

"SINCE it has been the good-will and pleasure of our heavenly Lord and father first to put us in the possession of this land; and then to promise the continuance of it to our posterity; and since God has been likewise pleased to make use of your ready and cheerful assistance toward the execution of this holy purpose, it is but reason, for you who have born so great a part in the dangers and difficulties of this war, to be partakers also in the comforts and blessings of a common peace; to which end, we think it but justice to discharge you from any farther attendance at present; not doubting of the same affection and good-will from you for the future, if ever there should be such another occasion. We are now to give you a thousand acknowledgments for all the toils and hazards you have hitherto undergone with us; and pray let the sense of good offices gone and past, be improv'd into a mutual and an inviolable league of friendship for the time to come; remembering that we stand indebted for the advantages that at

this instant we enjoy, next under God, to the force of this reciprocal assistance; and that providence hath evidently made us necessary one to another. It may be consider'd also, after all you have done and suffer'd, that your services are not unrewarded, so far at least as an inestimable booty in gold, silver, and whatever else is most precious, may pass for a recompence: beside the engaging of friends in us, who shall never forget the obligation, but shall always be ready to do you good offices; for you have most religiously executed the last will of Moses, and left nothing undone that we could take kindly at your hands; wherefore we shall now leave you at liberty to depart to the lot of your inheritance, which we wish you much joy in. But pray ye, let no distance of place set limits to our friendship; the interposition of rivers must never divide our affections; for on which bank soever, we are all Hebrews still. Abraham was the common father of us all, let our abode be where it will, and it was from one and the same God that all our forefathers received their being; and that God we are all to worship, according to the ordinances and institutions left us by Moses. So long as we stand firm to that way of religion, we may be sure of the favour and protection of that God for our comfort. But whenever you apostatize from this, and espouse another religion, and other gods, the God of your fathers will cast you off." With these words he took a solemn and distinct leave, both of the princes, and of the people, to whom he address'd his speech; who upon this dismissal return'd to the place whence they came, the rest conducting them some part of their way, till after much weeping and reluctance, they came with great difficulty in the end to a final separation; Joshua continuing still in the same place where he was.

THE tribes of Reubel and Gad were no sooner pass'd the river, with those of Manasses that followed them, but they erected an altar upon the farther bank, to remain as a monumental record to posterity of the alliance that was then contracted betwixt the borderers on both sides of the Jordan. The news of this altar was immediately carried over to their friends on the other side of the water, without one word of the intent and meaning of it; which put their associates into so outrageous a jealousy of their confederates, as apostates and innovators, that they presently betook themselves to their arms, for the vindication of the worship and religion of their forefathers, and to avenge the cause of God upon the heads and authors of this defection. In this heat they took up a resolution, with sword in hand, to pass the river, and to do justice upon the principals of this desertion, without any respect to the dignity of persons, or the nearness of relations; for it was God's cause, they said, and in the case of his service they were absolv'd from all other obligations. In the flame of this transport, the general, the high-priest, and the elders, betwixt authority and advice, so far prevail'd upon the headstrong multitude, as to suspend the execution of so extravagant a revenge, till they might be certainly inform'd

Joshua's last adieu to his friends from beyond Jordan, ibid.

An altar erected in memory of the league between the borderers on both sides of the river, Ver.

A violent fury upon the raising this altar, Ver. 12, 14.

The people betake themselves to arms upon

* The land of the Amorites.

† Or Cades.

Phinees, and
ten eminent
men sent up-
on an embas-
sy to the dis-
contented
tribes, Josh.
xxii. 13.
An assembly
call'd,
Ver. 15--21.
Phinees to
the Reu-
belites, ibid.

whether their brethren were guilty of this abomi-
nation or not; and if they found them guilty,
they should be then left at liberty to fall
upon them without mercy. They agreed to
the motion, and so made choice of Phinees,
the son of Eleazar, and ten other persons of
eminent note among the people, to go over to
their countrymen, and learn what was the true
end of building that altar. They departed
upon this embassy, and so soon as ever they got
cross the water, there was summon'd an assembly,
wherein Phinees discharg'd himself of his
commission in words to this effect:

"WE understand very well, that the crime
"charg'd upon you at present, is too heinous
"to be punish'd only with words; but yet we
"have not taken up arms now, inconsiderate-
"ly and rashly to execute a vengeance accord-
"ing to the degree of the iniquity; for it is
"out of respect to consanguinity, and in hope
"that second and sounder thoughts may bring
"you to better reason, that we are engaged
"upon this embassy, and to speak in this as-
"sembly. We do but desire to be sincerely
"inform'd, upon what motives, and with
"what design you have now rais'd this altar.
"If you have done it out of any pious end,
"we have no quarrel to you; but if you are
"gone over to a false worship, it is for our
"God and our religion that we must draw our
"swords against you. We speak our fears;
"for we cannot think it credible yet, that a
"people so well instructed in the will, and in
"the laws of God, our friends and allies that
"we have but just now parted with, a people
"newly established in the lot of a plentiful
"possession, by God's special grace and pro-
"vidence: We cannot, I say, believe you
"to be so insensible and ungrateful, as to aban-
"don the holy tabernacle, the ark, the altar,
"and the worship of your forefathers, to join
"with the Chanaanites in the adoration of
"their false gods; or if unhappily you should
"have been so misled, do but repent and dis-
"claim your error, and return to that reve-
"rence you owe to the laws of God, and of
"your country, and you shall be yet received.
"But if you shall obstinately persist, there is
"no labour or danger that we shall think too
"great for the defence of our laws and wor-
"ship. If that be the case, we must imme-
"diately break in upon you by force of arms,
"and put no difference at all betwixt Apostate
"Israelites and profess'd Chanaanites, but
"destroy the one indifferently with the other.
"Do not persuade yourselves, that because
"you are out of our bounds, and a river be-
"twixt us, you are therefore out of the reach
"of God's power and providence; for you
"are upon his ground wherever you are, and
"under his jurisdiction. If you are not able
"to withstand the temptations of the place
"you live in, take your fortune in a new di-
"vision of lands, and quit the country, let it
"be never so fruitful. Be wise and temperate
"in time, and do not suffer yourselves to be
"carried away with a wanton and profane de-
"sire after new things. This we beg of you,
"for the sake of your wives and children,
"and whatever else may be dear to you. Do
"not force us upon the necessity of such a war,
"as we tremble at the very thoughts of; but
"it is at your choice still, whether you will
"rather submit to be overcome by reasonable

words, or to put the main cause to the dint
"of a battle."

WHEN Phinees had made an end of speak-
ing, the rulers of the assembly, in the name of
themselves, and of the whole multitude, re-
turned this answer in their own justification.

"WE are not conscious of having ever de-
"parted from your alliance; neither are we,
"in any sort, guilty of that affectation of no-
"velty in the erecting of this altar, which is
"now charged upon us. We know but one
"God, and that God is the God of all the
"Hebrews; and but one altar, which is the
"brazen altar before the tabernacle. As for
"this altar here, which we are suspected for,
"it was never intended for any religious use,
"but only for a civil memorial to future times
"of our fellowship and alliance; and rather
"to keep us steady to our antient religion,
"than to be any ways introductive to the vio-
"lation of it. We can safely appeal to God,
"that we had no such thought in the setting
"up of this altar as is imputed to us; where-
"fore pray have a better opinion of your bre-
"thren for the future, than to think us guilty
"of so mortal an apostasy from the rites and
"customs of our progenitors; a sin not to be
"expiated in any of the sons of Abraham, but
"with the loss of his life."

The Reu-
belites reply,
Ver. 21--29.

PHINEES was overjoy'd at so firm and satisf-
actory a declaration, and returning imme-
diately to Joshua, gave him a particular ac-
count of every thing, in the hearing of the
people, who were all infinitely pleas'd with
the result of this embassy, when they saw things
brought to so amicable a conclusion, without
any danger of a civil war, or of bloodshed.
Hereupon they sacrific'd, and gave God thanks,
after which Joshua dismiss'd the multitude to
their several homes, while he himself took up
his abode in Sichem.

All misun-
derstandings
remov'd, Ver.
31, 32, 33.

IN the twentieth year after this, Joshua be-
ing being now extremely old, and too infirm
for the executing of publick business, he call'd
a general assembly of the heads of the cities,
the elders, and magistrates, and as many of
the common people as could be gotten toge-
ther upon that occasion. At this meeting he
address'd himself to them in a pious and perti-
nent discourse, upon the subject of God's in-
finite mercies and providences towards them:
"Setting forth, how he had preserv'd them
"all in their calamities, relieved them in all
"their wants and distresses, and now advanced
"them at last, out of the most despicable con-
"dition of ignominy, penury, and oppression,
"to the highest degree of reputation and
"plenty. He laid it as an injunction upon
"them for the future, so to behave themselves
"toward that God, that they might not lose
"his favour; minding them withal, that they
"had no other way of preserving themselves,
"than by leading their lives in the fear and
"love of that Almighty power, and in the
"observance of his commandments. He ad-
"jured them also, to take those his last words
"and counsels in good part; for he was now
"leaving the world, and could not end his
"days better than in the discharge of that
"duty."

Joshua takes
up at Sichem,
Josh. xxiv.
Joshua ex-
tremely old.
He appoints
a general as-
sembly, ibid.

Joshua upon
God's mer-
cies and pro-
vidence, ibid

WITH these last words in his mouth he de-
parted this life, in the hundred and tenth year
of his age, having spent forty of them under
the discipline of Moses, and twenty five years
more

The death o
Joshua, xxiv.
29.

Joshua's character.

more in the administration, as his successor, after his death. He was a man of political prudence, and endu'd also with a singular felicity of popular eloquence in expressing his thoughts; brave and indefatigable in war, and no less just and dexterous in peace; and in short, a person qualify'd for all great purposes. He was bury'd in Thamma †, a city belonging to the tribe of Ephraim. Eleazar the high-priest dy'd also about the same time, the priesthood descending by succession to his son Phinees. His sepulchre is at this day to be seen in the city Gabatha.

The death of Eleazar the high-priest, Josh. xxiv. 33.

The war prosecuted against the Chanaanites. Judg. i. 1, &c.

AFTER the death of Joshua and Eleazar, the people consulted Phinees about God's farther will and pleasure in the prosecution of the war against the Chanaanites; whose answer was, that they should go on with it; but that the sovereign command and direction of it should be committed to the tribe of Judah; who engaging that of Simeon to their assistance, undertook the war: upon condition, that after a total extirpation of the Chanaanites out of the former tribe, the other should see the same thing done in theirs too, according to that example.

CHAP. II.

Adonibezec defeated, and taken prisoner. Jerusalem besieged. Hebron taken. A dismal story of a Levite and his wife. A dreadful civil war.

The Chanaanites march against the Israelites under king Adonibezec.

THE Chanaanites were at this time very strong; and waiting with a great army near the city of Bezek*, under the command of Adonibezec, that is to say, in Hebrew, Lord of Bezek, to give the Israelites battle. The thing they most depended upon for encouragement and hope of success, was the Israelites disappointment in the loss of their general; but the two aforesaid tribes, encountering them, after an obstinate dispute, kill'd ten thousand upon the spot, and had the chace of the rest. Their leader Adonibezec they took prisoner, and cut off his fingers and toes; wherein he acknowledged the just judgment of God upon him, having formerly served seventy two kings himself after the same manner. They carry'd him off alive, with these maims upon him, toward Jerusalem, where he dy'd, and there they bury'd him: the Israelites, advancing farther after this, ravaged the country; taking and destroying town after town, till in the end they laid siege to Jerusalem itself. They made themselves masters of the lower town, putting all they found in it to the sword; but for the city itself, that stood above, what with artificial fortifications, the strength of the walls, and the natural situation of the place, it was so strong, that they were forc'd to quit it, and remove to Hebron, which they enter'd by assault, and cut off all before them, without giving any quarter. There were found among the slain, divers bodies of the race of the giants, which for bulk, stature, and countenance, were so much differing from the ordinary appearance of other men, that the very people that saw them, could hardly believe them to be of human ex-

The Chanaanites defeated, ten thousand kill'd, Ver. 4. and Adonibezec taken prisoner. Ver. 5.

Siege laid to Jerusalem, and the lower town taken, Ver. 8.

The siege rais'd, and Hebron taken by assault. V. 10.

traction; for they had quite another sort of voice and aspect; and there are some of their bones expos'd for a kind of prodigy, even to this day. This town, being a place of consideration, was given to the Levites, with two thousand cubits of ground about it; the remaining part of the territory belonging to it was conferr'd on Caleb, according to the fore-appointment of Moses. Now this Caleb was one of the spies who had been formerly sent by Moses into Chanaan, to discover the land. There was a dividend given also to the sons of Jethro, the Madianite, Moses's father-in-law, who abandon'd their native country to join in the expedition, and to bear their part with the adventurers in all the difficulties and hazards of the war, and of the desert.

Caleb one of Moses's spies. A dividend of land among Jethro's children.

THESE two tribes took several of the Chanaanitish cities upon the mountains; and some others upon the plain also, near the sea, as Ascalon, and Azotus: but for Gaza and Acanon, which lay in the flat country, and were strong in chariots, which was a desperate way of fighting; these cities made good their defence, and escap'd better than many of their neighbours.

Several Chanaanitish cities taken; as Ascalon, Azotus, &c. Ver. 18.

THE two enterprising tribes of Judah and Simeon, being now grown prodigiously rich by the spoil of the war, returned to their possessions, laid down their arms, and betook themselves to the arts and business of good husbandry and peace. The Benjamites, to whose lot Jerusalem fell, came to an agreement with the inhabitants, upon a composition, and so under the protection of tributaries, both sides thought themselves secure; the one from violence, and the other from sedition; and in this prospect of tranquility, they apply'd themselves to the cultivating of the land under their care. The same thing was also done by other tribes after the example of the Benjamites, contenting themselves upon the same conditions of taxes and tributes, to let the Chanaanites enjoy themselves in peace.

The tribes of Judah and Simeon betake themselves to the arts and business of peace. The Benjamites make the people of Jerusalem tributaries, Ver. 21.

Other tribes do the like. Ver. 22, &c.

THE tribe of Ephraim had been now a long while before Bethel, without making any great advance toward the taking of it, considering how much time and trouble the siege had cost them; for they made a very obstinate defence on the one side, and the work was as resolutely carry'd on by the other: but it so fell out at last, that a townsman of the place fell into the hands of the Ephraimites, as he was conveying provision into the city. They treated with him, and came in the end to an agreement upon oath on both sides; the citizen to let them secretly into the town, and the Ephraimites to save him, and his friends and relations upon their entering the city, which was performed on both parts; the Ephraimites being introduced, the citizen and his friends were preserv'd, but all the rest put to the sword; the Ephraimites now remaining masters of the city.

Bethel betray'd to the Israelites by a wile, Ver. 24, 25.

THE hearts of the Israelites began now to soften toward the people of Chanaan, and instead of extirpating them by the prosecution of a war, they bethought themselves rather how to make advantage of their labour, in planting and tillage, by the good husbandry of an industrious peace; but their hearts being set upon wealth and pleasure, they presently

The Israelites relent toward the Chanaanites.

† Scr. Timnath. Scrah.

* Gr. Ζεβὴν, and so Steph. Byzant. reads it. That it should be Βεζὴν Berkelius has shewn in his notes, p. 373.

The Israelites
dispense
with God's
order, Judg.
ii. 1-4.

gave up themselves to their lusts and appetites, without any regard at all to God's will and worship, or to the laws and discipline of their ancestors. God, in his wrath, for these indignities gave them to understand by a prophet, that they had none of his commission for the sparing of the Chanaanites, and that it would not be long before they should pay dear for that unseasonable mercy, by cruelties they should suffer from the Chanaanites themselves. They were startled at this remonstrance from Heaven, but not enough yet to advance a war upon it, Religion being the least thing in their thought; and as to the matter of any military exploit, their luxury had quite unmann'd them; beside, the great advantage they made of their tribute and labour, was an argument sufficiently prevalent to restrain them from committing any act of hostilities against the Chanaanites.

A total dissolution of government and good manners.

THE form of government was depraved, the authority of the elders slighted, the choice of the senators, and other magistrates, nothing so regular as formerly; but every man for advancing his own private ends, without any regard to the good of the publick. In the course of this dissolution of government and good manners, there happen'd an occasion of a terrible sedition, which soon after broke forth into a civil war, and the case was this:

The history of the Levite and his wife, Judg. xix.

THERE was within the lot of Ephraim, a certain Levite, of an ordinary extraction, who married a wife of the city of Bethlem, belonging to the tribe of Judah. She was wonderfully beautiful; and the man had a passionate tenderness for her; but to his great affliction, she made him little or no return of his kindness. This disagreement begat daily disputes, insomuch, that the woman, under an impatience of these expostulations, went away from her husband in the fourth month after they were married, to her own parents. The husband, out of an ardent affection, follow'd her to her father's house, where he was received with all hospitality and respect, and by the mediation of her parents a reconciliation made betwixt them. When he had been there precisely four days, he propos'd upon the fifth to be going home again; but friends were loth to part, and so they made it late before they set out: they went their way, however, he and his wife together, with only one servant, and an ass for the woman to ride upon. When they had travelled a matter of thirty furlongs, and being then not far from Jerusalem, the servants advis'd them to take up a lodging somewhere near hand, before it was too late, to avoid the danger of travelling in the night, especially in an enemy's country; beside that late hours are suspicious, even among friends: but the husband had no mind to trust himself among strangers, and the city was at that time in the possession of the Chanaanites; so that he chose rather to venture twenty furlongs farther, where he might lodge among his friends and allies. Travelling forward to Gaba, a city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, it was so late, that he was at a loss for a lodging. It happen'd, however, that an ancient man of the tribe of Ephraim, coming just at that time out of the country to a house he had at Gaba*, saw this man, and ask'd him what he

was, and what made him abroad at so unseasonable an hour. He told him that he was a Levite, and carrying his wife home with him from her father's to his own house, in the lot of Ephraim. The old man, out of respect to tribe and consanguinity, and likewise for the sake of hospitality itself, took the Levite home with him. Some young men of the town taking notice, it seems, of the Levite's wife in the street, for a very beautiful woman, follow'd her to the house of this ancient man, knock'd at the door, and demanded the woman. The people of the house were not able to make any considerable opposition, but the old man spar'd for no importunities to persuade them to moderation, and quietly to go their ways, without offering any violence or indignity to his guest. All the answer he could get, was this: Deliver up the woman, and you shall have no farther trouble. The other pleaded the relation of a kinswoman, the wife of a Levite, and laid great stress upon the hideousness of so brutal an outrage, under so many tender circumstances, against all the laws of religion, honour, humanity, and common justice. But the gravity of these reasonings and counsels serv'd only for matter of derision, with terrible threats in the conclusion, that if he did not immediately deliver up the woman, they would forthwith cut his throat. When the good man found himself brought to the last necessity, either of yielding, or compounding, he made them an offer of his own daughter in exchange for that stranger, as the less evil of the two; for this way he did but sacrifice the reputation of a private family; whereas in violating the rights of hospitality, he should have been guilty of an affront upon the publick faith of human society. But supplications and arguments were to no manner of purpose with men so peremptorily resolv'd upon that woman, and that no other should content them.

In this heat they took her away by force, to their own quarters, where they spent that whole night in all manner of bestial liberties, and then sent her back again next morning. She fell into such a confusion of thought upon her return, for what had befallen her that night, that betwixt shame and indignation it broke the very heart of her. As to her husband's part, she looked upon the wound to be utterly incurable, and had not the confidence so much as to look him in the face after it; but as she came near him, she fell down upon the ground and died. Her husband took it at first only for an oppression of weariness for want of sleep; or at the worst, but for some fainting fit; and so he tried to awake her, and bring her to herself again, by telling her for her comfort, that this violence had not at all derogated from the dignity of her unspotted innocence and virtue. But all this came too late; for the woman was dead, and the Levite behaved himself with a wonderful presence and constancy of mind upon it, considering the quality of so mortal a surprize. He took up the body of his dead wife, laid it upon his ass, and carried it directly home with him. Being come to his own house, he divided the body into twelve parts, to be distributed among the twelve tribes, sending to each tribe one of them. The several bearers had their instruc-

The execrable lewdness of the Gibeonites to the Levite's wife, Judg. xix. 25.

The Levite's wife falls dead with shame and confusion, Ver. 26.

The Levite cuts the body into twelve parts, and sends it to the twelve tribes, Judg. xx. 6.

* See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byzant.

tions to acquaint the tribes where they went, with the whole history of this villainy; the authors of it, and the barbarous circumstances of the fact itself. They all agreed the wickedness to be so far beyond example, that the like was never seen or heard of before. The horror, in short, of this action, transported them into such a rage, that they immediately gather'd together in Siloe before the tabernacle, with a resolution the first thing they did, to assault Gaba. The elders, upon this, put a little check to the first heat, by telling them, "That it would not do well, rashly and unadvisedly thus to make war upon their allies, without a strict enquiry first into the merits of the cause; a thing, they said, that the laws and practices of the Israelites would not allow, even toward strangers, without some previous embassy, or treaty to bring the matter itself, if possible, to some reasonable terms of satisfaction, or composition: Wherefore the best way would be, in pursuance of this legal method, to send to the Gibeonites to demand the criminals that committed this insolence; who, in case they give them up, ought in their own persons to bear the punishment due to their crimes; but if they refuse, you are then at liberty to do yourselves right by force of arms."

The Israelites demand the persons of the criminals, Judg. xx. 13.

The Gibeonites refuse to deliver up the ravishers, *ibid.*

The Israelites make an oath not to intermarry with the Benjamites, Judg. xxi. 1. And march against them with four hundred thousand fighting men, Judg. xx. 17.

The Israelites routed, and lost two and twenty thousand upon the place, Ver. 21.

The Israelites lost eighteen thousand more upon a second battle, Ver. 25.

UPON this motion they sent to the Gibeonites, to deliver up the profligate malefactors that had committed this brutal violence upon the Levite's wife, that justice might be done upon them. They demanded those individual men, they said, because they would not involve the publick in a particular cause. Upon the result, the Gibeonites would not give up the ravishers, nor did they think it honourable, for fear of a war, to submit to rules of other people's prescribing. They wanted neither courage, skill, nor numbers, they said; the whole tribe declaring themselves to be all of a-piece, and all of a mind, and resolved to stand by one another to the last man in the cause of a common defence.

THE Israelites were so disgusted upon the report of this answer, that they presently entered into an oath not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin, and to carry on a fiercer war against the Benjamites than ever their forefathers did against the Chanaanites. Upon this occasion they took the field, with an army of four hundred thousand fighting men. The strength of the Benjamites was twenty five thousand and six hundred, in which number there were five hundred left-handed slingers, who were all excellent marksmen. The two armies fought near Gaba, where the Israelites were routed by the Benjamites, with the loss of two and twenty thousand upon the place; and the slaughter had been much greater, if the night had not parted them; the Israelites returning to the body of their army in a confusion, upon the sense of this disaster, while the Benjamites went back again to the city in triumph. It came again to a second battle the next day, when the Israelites lost eighteen thousand men more; and these two defeats struck them with such a terror, that they quitted their camp, and moved a little way off to Bethel, where they spent the next day in fasting and

prayer, beseeching Almighty God, by the mouth of Phinees the high-priest, that he would be pleased, after the judgment of two such overthrows, to put a stop to the course of his high displeasure, and grant them victory over their enemies.

THEIR prayers being heard, and a favourable answer return'd to them by the same prophet, they divided their army into two bodies; one half they planted in certain ambushes about the city, while the other stood drawn up in readiness to give the enemy battle. The Israelites, upon the first charge, gave way, not that they were not able to stand the shock, but, in truth, with a design to draw the Benjamites farther off from the town; so that the Israelites by little and little lost ground; and still as they retreated, the other, in proportion, pressed so much the harder upon them; inso-much, that the people of the town looked upon it as an absolute defeat, and came trooping out, young and old, without any doubt of a victory, to take part of the spoil. When the Benjamites were gotten far enough from home, and within reach of the ambush, the Israelites faced about, rallied and charged, giving the signal at the same time to their companions, to fall upon the rear. This surprize put the Benjamites into so desperate a streight, that they were forced to retire into a bottom, where they were surrounded and kill'd with darts at a distance, like so many beasts in a toil; only a select body of six hundred resolute men cut their way through the middle of the enemies troops, up to a mountain there at hand, where they posted themselves for the present, and so escaped. All the rest perished, to the number of about five and twenty thousand men. The Israelites, after this, burnt Gaba, sparing neither men, women, nor male children; and they did the like too in several other of the Benjamite cities. Nay, to such a degree did the rage they had conceived in this quarrel transport them, that they sent twelve thousand men against * Jabes, a city of Gilead, who took the town, and put all in it to the sword, men, women, and children, save only four hundred virgins; and all this barely for refusing to join with the Israelites against the Benjamites.

THIS was the bloody event of the resentment and revenge that the Israelites executed upon the Benjamites for the abuse of a woman, carried to a more outrageous height by the loss they sustained in the two first days engagements. But when they came in cold blood to reflect on the calamities they had brought upon their brethren the Benjamites, they, in some degree, repented of what they had done, that tribe being in a manner cut off from the main body. Upon the whole matter, they proposed a fast, but not as conscious of having done an unjust thing in punishing the breach of the law. In this tenderness of thought they sent commissioners to invite the six hundred men back again, who were fled into the mountains, where they found them upon a rock called Rhoa, in the desert. These ministers condoled with them, not for their own misery alone, but for that of their relations and friends, advising them to bear their lot like men, returning to their community, and as much as in

The Israelites draw the Benjamites into an ambush, Ver. 31-33.

Only six hundred of them escape to the mountains, Ver. 47. Five and twenty thousand Benjamites cut off, Ver. 44-45.

Jabes taken, and all put to the sword, except four hundred virgins, Judg. xxi. 10, 11, 12.

Six hundred Benjamites invited back again from the mountains, V. 14.

* Scrip. Jabesh-Gilead. See Holstenius's notes upon Steph. Byzant, p. 141.

them lay to prevent the utter extermination of that tribe, which would be the consequence of withdrawing themselves from the fellowship. These commissioners told them withal, that for their lands and cattle, every thing should be restored, and themselves put in possession as before. These men could not but confess themselves to have been in the wrong, and acknowledged the righteous judgment of God in what they had suffered, and so returned to their obedience, and to their tribe, upon this invitation.

THE next question was, how to provide them wives, the Israelites having bound themselves by an oath, before the war, not to marry any of their daughters into the tribe of Benjamin. Some would have the oath to be a nullity, as being made rashly in a fit of passion, without any previous consideration or judgment. Others were of opinion, that the very necessity discharged the oath, and that it would not be so pleasing to God to hazard a whole tribe, as to dispense with such an obligation; alledging perjury, in cases of extraordinary necessity, without malice prepense, to be no sin; but the elders would not endure any thought of perjury, under what cover or countenance soever: they had provided wives already for four hundred of the six, out of the virgins that were taken at Jabes; and for the remaining two hundred, one of the senators offered this expedient for the doing of the business, without straining an oath.

"HERE is, says he, a customary solemnity of a publick festival that is celebrated thrice a year in Siloe, and our wives and daughters are commonly part of the company. Leave the Benjamites upon this occasion at liberty to seize, and take to wife as many of the virgins as they can catch, without your interposing your authority, either for or against it. If the fathers shall complain, and appeal for justice, the answer will be short, that they should have took more care of their daughters, and that the Israelites ought not to prosecute their resentment against their brethren the Benjamites any farther, having taken too severe a revenge on them already." Upon this motion it

was agreed, that the Benjamites should be connived at, in providing themselves of wives after this manner by force. The solemnity being now at hand, the two hundred men that wanted wives, planted themselves about the town in vineyards, and corners out of sight, by two and three, and such numbers as they thought fit, to watch for the coming of the virgins. As the virgins came sporting along, not apprised of any design against them, the Benjamites took their opportunity, and sallied out amongst them; every man seizing one for his wife, and carrying her off to his own inheritance, where they made it their business, by industry and good husbandry, to establish themselves happily in the world yet once again. By this means, and by the prudence of the Israelites, was the tribe of Benjamin recovered out of a hopeless condition, and came soon after into a flourishing estate, both for wealth, people, and power.

THIS was the end of the war with the Benjamites; nor were the affairs of the children of Dan in a much better posture. The Is-

raelites being now quite gone over from the study and practice of arms, to the rural employments of tillage and agriculture, the Chanaanites made advantage of this degenerate change of humour, and in contempt of the people entered into a formed confederacy against them; not that they were apprehensive of any danger from them, or hurt they could do them at present, but in hopes of reducing them so low, that they should never be able to give them any farther trouble for the time to come. They made mighty levies of men, and provisions of chariots; trained up their people to martial discipline; besides that, they had already drawn over to them, Ascaloe and Accaron, from the tribe of Judah, and several cities of the plains; insomuch, that the Danites were forced up to the mountains for sanctuary, and not one foot of ground in the campaign that they could call their own. Their circumstances, briefly, were such, that they were neither strong enough to do themselves right by war, nor had they land enough for their people to subsist upon in a state of peace; wherefore they sent five of their people into the inland countries to find out some commodious place of residence, where they might plant and settle. When these commissioners had travelled a matter of a day's journey from the great plain of Sidon, and were advanced as far as Mount Libanus, and the head of the lesser Jordan, they found themselves in a fruitful and well-conditioned country, and gave their tribe an account of their opinion of the place, who forthwith march'd with their army directly thither; building a city there, by the name of Dan, so called from one of the sons of Jacob of that name, from whence the whole tribe also had its appellation.

THE Israelites were at this time so abandoned to sloth and luxury, and so unconcerned about religion and business, that all their affairs went to wreck upon it; the government loose, and out of frame; men lived without any restraint either of shame or of law; the corruptions of the Chanaanites, like a strong inundation, overwhelming them every where without controul.

CHAP. III.

Chusarth subdues the Israelites, and keeps them eight years in subjection.

THIS general defection was so provoking in the sight of God, that the Israelites, being left to themselves by a total dissolution of piety, discipline, and good manners, put a short end to all the hopes and pretences of happiness, that with much toil and industry they had been so long a raising. While they were in this abandon'd state of looseness and debauchery, Chusarth*, the king of the Assyrians made war upon them; kill'd them a great many men in battle, seiz'd their towns, some by force, others by treaty, and laid heavy taxes upon the people; plaguing them, in fine, with all kinds of indignities whatsoever. This was the wretched state they were in for eight years; after which time they were deliver'd out of the hands of their oppressors after the following manner.

The Danites forced for sanctuary to the mountains.

The Danites plant at the head of the Jordan.

The Israelites degenerated both in religion and manners, Judg. iii. 4-7.

The just judgment of God upon the Israelites for their corruptions in manners and worship, Ver. 8.

* Scrip. Chusshan Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia.

C H A P. IV.

Kenaz delivers the Israelites out of their bondage.

Kenaz, a great man of the tribe of Judah. Othniel the son of Kenaz, Judg. iii. 9.

Kenaz destroys the king's guards, and cuts the garrison to pieces.

Kenaz routs the Assyrians in a fair battle, Ver. 10.

The people chuse him for their governor, ibid.

THERE was one Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah; a man of sense, business, and courage. This person being animated by a secret impulse from heaven to make some bold and generous attempt, for the relief of the Hebrews in this extremity of their distress, communicated the privacy to some few of his particular friends, whom he knew to be men of honour and resolution, and dissatisfied with the present state of things. Upon concerting the matter they came to this conclusion, that the first thing to be done toward the easing of the Hebrews, must be the surprisal of the king's guards, and putting the garrison to the sword. This was agreed upon, and accordingly executed: and the success of this exploit gave such a reputation, and brought so many over to his interest and party, that in a short time he gave the Assyrians a fair battle; routed, and beat them over the Euphrates, and consequently set the people at liberty; who in acknowledgment of the obligation they had to Kenaz for their deliverance, by the means of his bravery and conduct, made him a present of the government, which he accepted of, and when he had ruled them forty years in the quality of a judge, he ended his life in the same station.

C H A P. V.

The Israelites oppress'd by Eglon, and deliver'd by Ehud.

Eglon worsts the Israelites in several encounters, and makes them his tributaries, Ver. 13.

BY the death of Kenaz, the Israelites were left once again without a head; and then as they fell more and more off from their duty to God, and the laws, they were still more and more exposed to fresh and greater afflictions. Their conversation was such, that Eglon himself, the king of the Moabites, had them in contempt for their want even of policy and order, and this very consideration encourag'd him to make war upon them. In one word, he worsted them upon several encounters, and humbled them to that degree, that he made them his tributaries: after which, he remov'd his court to Jericho, and for eighteen years successively omitted nothing of rigour or oppression that might make the people miserable, even to the degree almost of starving them. But it pleased God at last, in compassion to their sufferings, and in mercy to their prayers, to deliver them from the tyranny of the Moabites, by this means:

THERE was a certain young man that dwelt at Jericho; the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, and his name Jodes*. He was a vigorous and a daring man, of a robust force of body, and had both hands at command, if not the left the better of the two. He was of a make, in fine, for any bold and hazardous undertaking. This Jodes order'd the matter so as to make himself familiarly known to Eglon, by the means of presents, and other court-of-

fices; insomuch that his particular favour with the king had made him a great many friends at court. Being one day to make the king a present, he came attended with two servants, having girded a short poniard upon his right thigh, which he concealed under his clothes, out of sight; and in this manner of address he was admitted to the king. This was in the heat of the summer, and the middle of the day; none of the guards stirring, and most people being retir'd to dinner. When this young man had made his present, the king being withdrawn into a cool place of refreshment, Jodes signify'd to him that he had something of importance that required privacy to communicate to him; whereupon the king sent away his servants out of the presence, being himself seated upon his throne. Jodes was all this while in pain, for fear of missing his aim when he came to do the execution. So that to give the king occasion to rise, that he might have the fairer opportunity to dispatch him, he told him that he had somewhat to say to him from God Almighty, about a certain dream of his. The king had a kind of impatient curiosity upon him, to hear what it was, and so standing up to hearken to it, Jodes in that very instant plung'd a dagger into his heart, and forthwith went his way, shutting the doors after him, and leaving the dagger in the wound. The king's servants were still and silent all this while, for fear of waking the king, who they supposed might be asleep.

JODES upon this, immediately gave private intelligence to the inhabitants of Jericho, that he had kill'd the king, in order to the setting of the people at liberty. The news was so welcome to them, that they sent their trumpets immediately upon it all over the whole country; this being their way of calling the people together. It was a long time before the king's servants discover'd the matter; but toward evening some of them apprehending some accident more than ordinary, enter'd the summer-parlour, and there lay the king dead, which was so surprizing a spectacle, that it struck them all dumb and senseless. The guards were presently sent for; but the Israelites, in great bodies broke in upon the palace, before they could be drawn together. Some they kill'd in the first heat; others, to the number of ten thousand, made away to the river, toward the country of Moab; but the Israelites having prepossessed themselves of all the fords and passes, intercepted them in their flight; so that they were wholly cut off, without so much as one man of them getting over. By this means the Hebrews shook off the yoke of the Moabites; and Jodes, for an acknowledgment, had the honour of the government conferr'd upon him by the people; in which office, at the end of eighty years administration, he died. He was a person, that over and above the merit of this generous exploit, deserv'd upon several other accounts to have his name and memory celebrated to posterity. Sangar†, the son of Anath, succeeded him, who died within the first year of his government.

Jodes a Benjamite, carries favour with Eglon king of the Moabites, Ver. 17.

Jodes stabs Eglon, V. 21.

And makes his escape to Jericho.

The Hebrews shake off the yoke of the Moabites, Ver. 29. 30. The death of Jodes, after eighty years administration.

Sangar succeeds him, and dies in the first year of his government, V. 31.

* Scrip. Ehud.

† Scrip. Shamgar.

C H A P. VI.

The Israelites pass from one slavery to another, and are deliver'd in the conclusion by Deborah and Barak.

The Israelites harden'd in their iniquities, Judg. iv. 1.

Only changing their master from Eglon to Jabin, Ver. 2. Jabin's army of three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three thousand chariots, under the command of Sisera. The Israelites absolute slaves to the Chanaanites, Ver. 3.

Deborah, a prophetess, consulted, Ver. 4.

Barak made general, Ver. 6-9.

Hebrews off the death of years

ar suc- dies in first year govern- V. 31.

THE Israelites, notwithstanding the calamities they had suffered, were not thereby reclaim'd, but continuing in the evil of their ways, added iniquity to iniquity; intirely forsaking the worship of God, and altogether acting in disobedience to his laws and commandments; insomuch, that before they were well quit of one slavery, they fell into another; as upon this revolution they only exchange'd the tyranny of Eglon, the king of the Moabites, for that of Jabin, king of the Chanaanites, who was their next master. This Jabin kept his court at Azor, upon the lake Samachonitis, having an army in pay of * three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three thousand chariots †, under the command of Sisera, a great favourite of the king's, for the services he had done in reducing the Israelites, whom he worsted upon several encounters from time to time, and would never give over the pursuit, till he brought them at last to be absolute slaves and tributaries to his master. When they had languished out a matter of twenty years in this scandalous servitude, without daring so much as to open their mouths against their oppressors, (God in his providence having thought fit to continue these judgments upon them for their impiety and ingratitude,) they came at last to some sort of repentance, and to a conviction, that these miseries had befallen them as a just punishment for their contempt of the laws of their forefathers. Under this sense of their condition, they went to a famous prophetess called Deborah, (in Hebrew a bee,) desiring her intercession on their behalf, that God would be pleased in mercy to forgive them, and rescue them out of the hands of their cruel Chanaanitish persecutors. At her mediation, God was prevailed upon to promise them a deliverance, and made choice of Barak, of the tribe of Nephthali, for the instrument, as general of the army, to work their deliverance. So Deborah sent for Barak, (which word in Hebrew signifies lightening,) and order'd him to march directly toward the enemy, with a body of ten thousand choice men, that number, though small, being sufficient, so long as providence had undertaken for the success. Barak expostulated the matter with Deborah, flatly refusing to meddle with the command, unless she herself would go along with him. To which Deborah replying with some heat and resentment, said, "And are not you a doughty captain now, to transfer the honour of a command to a woman, when God has given it to yourself! But however, says she, I shall not decline the office." So they drew out their number, and pitched their tents upon Mount Tabor, Sisera, by the king's order, marching out to meet them. The two armies lay encamped one within sight of another; but

the Israelites were struck with such a terror at the infinite odds of the enemy in number, that both general and soldiers were once upon the very point of retreating, without so much as striking a blow; but upon Deborah's assurance that it was the cause of God, and that he himself would assist and bring them off, they were prevail'd upon to stand the shock of a battle.

The armies were no sooner engag'd, but there arose a violent wind, with a most impetuous tempest of rain and hail along with it ||. This storm driving just in the face of the Chanaanites, made their bows and their slings usefess to them, and so for other weapons for a close fight; for they could not so much as open their eyes against the weather, and their fingers were so benumb'd with cold too, that they could not handle their swords. Now the Israelites, with this tempest at their backs, had all advantages on the one hand, without the inconveniencies on the other; beside the encouragements given them by so signal a manifestation of God's espousing their cause. It came to this in the conclusion, that the Chanaanites army was broken, dispers'd, and cut to pieces; so that betwixt those that fell by the sword, those that were trampled to death under the horses feet, those that were torn to pieces by the chariots, and those that fled away, and fell into the hands of the Israelites in their flight, this prodigious army was in effect totally destroy'd. Sisera finding the day irrecoverably lost, and his men flying every where before the enemy, he leap'd from his chariot, and betook himself to the house of one Jael a Kenite, for sanctuary; who receiv'd him with a countenance of readiness to do him a good office. Sisera was quite spent with the toil and fatigue of the day, and calling for somewhat to drink, Jael brought him a draught of sour milk, which he drank very heartily, and so fell asleep. When Jael found that she had him fast and sure, she took a hammer, with an iron nail, and drove it into his temples, shewing him for a spectacle to the Israelites that came to look after him, where she had pinn'd him to the ground. This made good Deborah's presage, when she told Barak that a woman should have the honour of a title to the victory. Barak after this march'd with the army toward Azor, where he encounter'd Jabin by the way, and slew him. The king being kill'd, Barak laid the city level with the ground, and afterward govern'd Israel for a matter of forty years.

The armies engage, and the wind turning in the face of the Chanaanites, destroys them.

The Chanaanites cut to pieces, Ver. 16.

Sisera flies, and takes sanctuary in the house of Jael, Ver. 17, 18.

He lays himself down to sleep, and Jael drives a nail into his temples, Ver. 21.

Barak pursues Jabin to Azor, and kills him, Ver. 24. Barak destroys Azor, and reigns about forty years.

C H A P. VII.

The Midianites, with the Amalekites and Arabians, harass the Israelites for seven years.

DEBORAH and Barak died much about a time, and it was not long after, when the Midianites enter'd into an association with the Amalekites and the Arabians against the Israelites; marched with an army against them, fought, and overcame them, destroying the fruits of the ground, and carrying away their cattle, with a great booty. At this rate they

The death of Deborah and Barak. The Midianites join the Amalekites and Arabians against the Israelites, forcing them to the mountains for refuge, Judg. vi. 2.

* See Bochart's Hierozoic, Part. I. lib. ii. c. 9. p. 156. Ed. Lond.

† The Scripture, Judg. iv. 3. maketh mention of no more than nine hundred chariots of iron.

|| The Scripture does not recite this circumstance, but only says, Judg. iv. 15. And the Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak, &c.

The Israelites brought to great distress, Judg. vi. 6. Prayers and supplications their last refuge, Ver. 7.

harrafs'd them for full seven years together, forcing them from the plains to the mountains for refuge, where they digg'd themselves vaults and caves, partly for the security of their persons, and partly for the concealment of what stores and provisions they were able to save from the hands of the enemy. Now the Madianites were well enough content to let the Israelites till the ground in the winter, when they themselves were sure to reap the fruits of their labours in the following summer. By these means the Israelites were reduced to the utmost penury, and no hope of relief left them in this their starving extremity, but prayers and supplications to God Almighty, which were still their last refuge.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon rescues the Israelites out of the hands of the Madianites.

Ver. 1.

A vision appears to Gideon as he was threshing of corn at a wine-press, ibid. A voice bids him bethink himself how he may deliver his country, Ver. 12, 13.

Assuring him of a divine assistance, Ver. 16.

Gideon draws an army together of ten thousand men, Judg. vii. 3. Ver. 2.

Victory is from above.

IT happen'd one time, that as Gideon the son of Jafus, * and a principal man in the tribe of Manasses, was threshing a little corn by stealth, at a wine-press, which he durst not venture to do in a publick place, for fear of discovery, there appeared a vision to him in the figure of a young man, who greeted him as a happy person, and exceedingly in God's favour. "One would hardly think so, says Gideon, of a man under my circumstances, that is oblig'd to make a press to do the office of a floor." The apparition bad him have a good heart, and immediately set his thoughts to work how he might deliver his country. "Alas, says Gideon, it is impossible for me to do any thing towards it; our tribe is the least of any, and not able to furnish a sufficient number of men for such an attempt; besides I am but a young man, and not of practice and experience enough to manage such a design." The apparition made him answer, "That whatever he fell short in, God would supply; and that if he would but frankly take upon him the command of a body of men, the Israelites should gain a victory under his conduct." Gideon communicated this affair, with all the circumstances, to some young men of his acquaintance, who ascribed so much to the authority and credit of this revelation, that they had presently an army of ten thousand choice men in readiness to run any hazard for the common cause.

WHILE this was in agitation, the voice of God spoke to Gideon again in a dream, in words to this effect: "It is but natural for flesh and blood to overween, and for men to value themselves, upon the providential operations of an Almighty power, as the effects of their own force and wisdom, especially when the work may seem to be brought about purely by the mediation of common causes. But to shew you now, says the voice, that victory is influenced from above, and that the arm of flesh is not able to do any thing without a divine assistance, take your army to the river Jordan, in the parching heat of the sun at mid-day, and make your observations upon the manner of

the soldiers drinking. Those who lie down upon the bank, and compose themselves to drink at leisure, you may depend upon to be for your purpose, and men of courage; but for them who scoop up the water in their hands, and drink in a hurry, they have the fear of an enemy in their hearts, and there's no trusting to them." Gideon did as he was order'd, and found but bare three hundred of the former sort in the whole army, who drank out of the hollow of their hands †, without staring about them. With this small detachment of three hundred men, God commanded Gideon to attack the enemy in the night; to which end he posted himself upon the side of the river, the day before the exploit was to be put in execution, and not without great apprehensions what might be the issue of that enterprize. The voice, upon this diffidence, bad him take a soldier with him, and steal over that night to the camp of the Madianites, where he should learn somewhat that should put him in heart again. He went as he was bid, and taking a soldier along with him, they stole softly to one of the enemy's tents, (where they were yet waking,) and there overheard a soldier telling his comrade of a strange dream he had. "Methought, says he, I saw a barley loaf, (the coarsest of all grains, and not fit for a man to eat,) come tumbling into the camp, where it over-ran all the tents that stood in the way; the king's tent in the first place, and so the rest indifferently one after another." "Well, says this dreamer's fellow-soldier, and what can this overturning of all the tents signify, but the total destruction of our army? Barley is, as you say, the coarsest of grains; and so are the Israelites the vilest and the most abject of all the people in Asia. Gideon is now at the head of an army against us, and I am afraid that the barley loaf over-throwing our tents, prognosticates Gideon's overrunning us with his Israelitish army." Upon the good omen of this dream, Gideon returned presently to his people, full of hope and comfort at the presage; and his men were no less animated upon the hearing of it; for they put themselves immediately in readiness for the word of command, toward any hazardous adventure whatsoever.

ABOUT the fourth watch Gideon advanced toward the enemy, with his little army in three divisions, a hundred men in each, and every man carrying an empty pitcher, with a burning lamp in it, to the end that they might fall upon them at unawares, before they could be discover'd; and they carried likewise in their right-hands, rams horns, which served them for trumpets. The enemy had such a multitude of camels, and so many several nations in their distinct lodgments, that the camp must needs take up a huge content of ground, but still one common line enclosing the whole. Upon the Hebrews approach toward the enemy, it was given them in command, that upon the signal of sounding trumpets, and breaking pitchers, they should make a sally with shouts, and their lamps in their hands, as to an assured victory, by the blessing of God upon Gideon ‡. They acted according to their order, and by

Only three hundred of the ten thousand stand the test, Ver. 6.

Gideon steals over to the enemy's camp, V. 11.

He overhears two soldiers talking of a strange dream, V. 13.

Ver. 14.

Gideon draws a good omen from the interpretation of it, Ver. 15.

And advances against them that night in three divisions, of a hundred in each, with pitchers and horns in their hands, V. 16.

* Scrip. Joash. a dog lappeth.

† The Scripture, Judg. vii. 5, 6, and 7. calleth it lapping of the water with his tongue, as ‡ The word given was, The sword of the Lord and of Gideon, Judg. vii. 20.

In the fright
of the sur-
prize they fall
foul upon
their own
people, Judg.
vii. 22.

this stratagem the enemy were struck with so judicial a consternation, betwixt sleeping and waking, (the horror of the night affrighting the imagination too) that being in the dark, in a medley of several languages, and under a terror that knows no difference betwixt friend and foe, they fell foul in the confusion, upon one another; every man taking him who was next him for an enemy. There was, in fine, a prodigious slaughter; but the greatest execution incomparably was done by them one upon another.

So soon as the fame of this notable defeat came to the ears of the rest of the Israelites, they presently sent out armed troops to all the difficult passes upon the mountains, rivers, and torrents, to obstruct and cut off their retreat, putting all to the sword they could lay hand on, and two kings, Oreb and Zeb, among the rest. But for the remainder, to the number of some eighteen thousand men, that had made a shift to get off in a body under the command of their proper officers, those troops posted themselves as far from the Israelites camp as they could. Gideon's troops had been extremely harra's'd in the late action, but this did not yet hinder him from pressing this party of the enemy upon the rear, and engaging them soon after with his whole army. In this encounter, he put them to an absolute rout, destroying the whole body of them to a man, and taking their two leaders, the princes, Zebin † and Hezarbon, prisoners. There were slain of the Madianites and their associates, in these encounters, near one hundred and twenty thousand men; to say nothing of the booty in gold, silver, rich stuffs, camels, asses, &c. that fell to the Hebrews. When Gideon came afterward into his own native country of Ephraim, he put to death the two kings of the Madianites above mentioned: but the tribe of Ephraim, out of an envy to the glory of his achievements, had a great mind to pick a quarrel with him for engaging in a publick act of hostility, being a member of that tribe, without their privity and consent: insomuch that they were just upon the point of making war upon him. But Gideon, who being a man of modesty and prudence, as well as bravery, diverted the storm by telling them that this was God's war, and not Gideon's; for what he did he was commanded to do, and that the honour of the victory was theirs still, though the labouring part of the action fell by providence to his lot. The softness and discretion of these words was more worth to the Hebrews than the defeat; for it prevented the great mischief of a civil war, which was then ready to break out. But this invidious spiteful cavil cost them dear in the conclusion, as we shall see hereafter in its proper place.

WHEN Gideon had set his country at liberty, he would fain have discharged himself of his commission; but the people were so unanimously resolved not to part with him, that he was forced to continue it; which he did for the space of forty years, exercising all the parts of a careful ruler over them, in prescribing laws, administering justice, deciding controversies, and doing right betwixt man and man; acquitting himself upon the whole, with the character of this reputation, that no man ever

complained of, or appealed from his sentence. He lived to a great age, and was buried in his own country at Ephraim.

His death,
Ver. 32.

C H A P. IX.

The tyranny and death of Abimelech. Israel enslaved by the Ammonites and Philistines. Jephtha sets them free; overthrows the Ephraimites; and after the death of Jothan, Aspan, Elon, and Abdon, govern Israel.

GIDEON had seventy legitimate sons by several wives; and by Druma, his concubine, one natural son, whose name was Abimelech. This Abimelech, after the death of his father, went to Sichem, to the relations of his mother, who was born there. They supplied him with money; and Abimelech finding them to be men for his turn, and lewd and desperate enough to adventure upon any thing, let it be never so hazardous or wicked, he straight returned to his father's house, taking a cabal of these profligate wretches along with him. His first exploit there was to murder all his brothers, save only Jothan *, who slipped out of the way, so that they could not find him. When Abimelech had once by this means possessed himself of the government, he knew no other law than that of his own will and pleasure, professing an open enmity to justice itself, and all its abettors; neither was he himself less hateful to all good men than they were to him.

Gideon had
seventy legi-
timate sons,
and Abime-
lech by his
concubine,
Ver. 30, 31.

Abimelech
killed all his
brothers but
Jothan; who
makes his
escape,
Judg. ix. 5.
He seizes the
government,
Ver. 6.
He makes his
will his law.

It happened one time, upon a great day of solemnity in Sichem, and a vast number of people gathered together there, that Jothan, (who had made an escape, as we said,) upon this festival, was got up to the top of the mountain Garizim which overlooks Sichem: and thence called out aloud to the multitude, desiring only their patience for a few words he had to say. They put themselves presently into a posture of attention; and the speech was to this effect.

Jothan upon
a festival gets
up to the top
of the moun-
tain Garizim,
and thence
speaks to the
people,
Ver. 7-20.

"THERE was a time (says he) when the trees had their meetings and conferences, and talked after the manner of men. In those days, and in a great council, upon the subject of who should command, the major part of the plants made their address to the fig-tree, to take care of the government; but the fig-tree modestly declined the honour, as being amply satisfied with the esteem it had in the world for the fruit it bore, saying also, that it had no ambition to be greater, or other than it was. The trees, after this refusal, made the same request to the olive-tree, and to the vine, and they both agreed in returning the very same answer. They went next to the bramble, being an excellent sort of fuel, with the same proposals. Well, says the bramble, if you are in earnest, I'll take the government upon me; but then you must resolve to rest quietly under my shadow: for if you offer to be unruly, there shall come a fire out of me that shall destroy you". This is no tale told, says Jothan, to make you merry, but to move you to bethink yourselves what you are now a doing; that after so many sacred obligations to Gideon, can yet suffer Abimelech, the murderer of the children of your delive-

The fable of
the trees chu-
sing a king,
Ver. 7-17.

† Scrip. Zebah and Zalmunnah.

* Scrip. Jotham.

rer, to usurp, and reign over you. This Abimelech is the very fire in the fable I have told you.

UPON these words he withdrew, and was forced, for three years after, to live concealed in the mountains, and keep out of the way of Abimelech's rage and revenge. The Siche-rites came, however, in a short time to be sensible of the wickedness of that horrid barbarity upon the sons of Gideon, and so forced Abimelech out of the city and tribe; who, upon this indignity, set his wits at work how to be revenged on them.

Abimelech driven out of Siche-
Judg. ix. 23.

The Siche-rites petition Gales for a guard against Abimelech,
Ver. 26.

Abimelech's men taken in ambushes,
Ver. 25.

THE season of the vintage was now at hand, and the people durst not venture out of town to gather the grapes, for fear of some surprize or mischief from Abimelech. There happened to come to Siche-rite, just at that time, a certain prince of the country, whose name was Gales,* with a band of soldiers, and several of his relations. The townsmen petitioned him for a guard, only to secure them during the time of the vintage, and he allowed it them. They entered upon the work, and brought off their grapes at first securely enough, and without interruption, inveighing against Abimelech, in the liberty of their cups, with all the bitterness that could be thought of; and cutting off several of his men that fell into their ambushes.

While matters were in this state, Zebel,† one of the chief of the Siche-rites, and Abimelech's host, gave him intelligence by an express, how busy Gales was to irritate the people against him; but, says he, if you can but dispose of an ambush, in some convenient place near the city, I will undertake to put Gales into your power to requite him as he deserves: Beside, that when all this is done, I will become answerable to settle a fair understanding betwixt you and the people. Abimelech followed Zebel's advice, and planted his ambush; Gales unwarily staying longer in the suburbs with Zebel than he should have done, some of Abimelech's troops being by this time within sight of the town, Gales called out to Zebel, that the enemy was there upon their march. No, no, says Zebel, that's only the shadow of the mountains. "Well, but I tell you again (says Gales) upon their coming nearer, that they are bands of men and not shadows." Nay, says Zebel again, and if it be as you say, how comes it that you, who will have Abimelech to be a coward, do not now prove yourself to be the braver man of the two, and go out and fight him? Gales presently advanced toward the enemy (though in some little disorder) and receiv'd the first shock: But finding himself too weak, and having lost several of his men, he fled into the town. Zebel laid hold of this occasion to

Gales charged with cowardice, and expelled the city,
Ver. 41.

Gales defeated with a great slaughter, and Siche-rite levelled to the ground,
Ver. 43-45.

calumniate Gales with cowardice, and so got him expelled the city. Abimelech, in the mean time, being informed from very good hands, that the Siche-rites would come out again to gather the remainder of their vintage, hid several ambuscades ready to surprize them. And accordingly, upon their first coming out, he sent a third part of his army to take possession of the city gates, and by that means, to cut off the retreat of those that were come out of the town; who were so hard pressed, and scattered up and down, that there

was a very great slaughter made upon the pursuit; the city itself, in this interim, being taken upon the first assault, levelled with the earth, and finally sowed with salt, as the last insult of a triumphing enemy. This was the end of this miserable place and people. There were yet remaining considerable numbers of stragglers and fugitives, that had hitherto escaped the edge of the sword, and these having gathered themselves into a body fled to a rock for sanctuary. The place was naturally strong, beside that they ordered the running up of a wall about it, to make it impregnable. This they designed for a retreat of refuge; but Abimelech, apprized of their design, came upon them with his army before they could fortify it, and surrounding it with a mighty pile of dry wood and faggots, set fire to it; so that men, women, and children were all burnt to ashes, without so much as one individual person escaping. The calamitous fate of this wretched people would have deserved compassion, if it had not been a just judgment upon them for their inhuman ingratitude to a person who had deserved so well at their hands.

The fugitive Siche-rites fly to a rock;

Where they are all destroyed by fire, Ver. 49.

THIS cruelty of Abimelech to the Siche-rites was so far instructive and exemplary to the Israelites, as to shew them what they were to trust to, if ever it should be their lot to fall into the same hands: the usurper being resolved never to be quiet till he should have brought all to a thorough devastation.

It was not long after this, when he marched with his army against Thebes,|| where he took the out-town by assault, but the garrison made their retreat into a strong castle belonging to it; Abimelech pushing the attack up to the very gates, with a resolution either to force or put fire to it. As he was gotten just under the wall, a woman from above dropt a heavy piece of a mill-stone upon his head, which struck him to the ground. Upon coming a little to his senses, and finding that the wound was mortal, he called for his armour-bearer, and bad him kill him immediately, that it might not be said Abimelech fell by the hand of a woman. The officer did according to his order; so that Abimelech paid dear for his inhuman outrages against his brothers and the Siche-rites, as Jothan had foretold he should. Upon Abimelech's death, the army disbanded, and returned every man to his own home.

Abimelech takes Thebes by assault; but the castle stands out,
Ver. 5.

Abimelech mortally wounded with a piece of a mill-stone from a wall by a woman,
Ver. 53.

His armour-bearer kills him, Ver. 54.

THE government of Israel, after this, fell to Jair, a Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasse; a man every way happy, but most of all in the blessing of a numerous and a virtuous issue. He was the father of thirty sons, men of courage and resolution every one of them, and of eminent authority and reputation in their country. He held the government two and twenty years, died in a good old age, and his body was interred at Camon, a city in Gilead.

The government comes to Jair a Gileadite,
Judg. x. 3.

THE Hebrews were by this time exceedingly degenerated in their manners and religion; for they had neither moral honesty, nor a sense of civil obedience, religion, law, or common justice left them. The Ammonites and the Philistines having them in contempt upon this account, made such advantage of their weakness, that they broke into their country with a vast army, and laid it waste: And not

The Israelites corrupted in religion, government, and manners, V. The Ammonites and Philistines broke in upon the Israelites,
Ver. 7.

* Scrip. Gaal.

† Scrip. Zebul.

|| Scrip. Thebez.

contenting themselves to spoil, harrafs, and take possession of all beyond Jordan, they were preparing also to cross the river, and make a thorough conquest of it on both sides.

THESE afflictions brought the Israelites to their prayers and sacrifices again; which they still made use of as the last resort they had, upon all their misdoings. By these supplications, and penitent addresses, God was, however, prevailed upon for a grant and promise of mercy and relief. The Ammonites being now entered with an army into the country of Gilead, the inhabitants put themselves in arms with a resolution to oppose them: but wanting a head, there was one Jephtha proposed; a person in high esteem with the people for conduct and valour, both upon his father's account and his own; for he had at that time a considerable army of his own which he kept in pay. Upon these considerations, they applied themselves to him by consent, with the present state of their case, and an humble desire that he would be pleased to join forces with them, and accept of a commission from them, as general for life of the whole army. Jephtha refused at first, not without some admiration, that they should apply to him for help now when they themselves were in distress, who had formerly deny'd their assistance to him when he stood in need of them; and was to their knowledge so palpably wronged by his brothers. "I was, says he, the son of a strange woman, you told me, who came in to the family you knew not how, and you would have nothing to do with me. Upon this pretence was I driven out from among you, and forced into the land of Gilead, where I have continued ever since, listing all people who voluntarily offered themselves to my service." The Israelites would not take this for an answer; but continued to press him with further importunities and intreaties, till at last he was wrought upon to espouse their cause, and to take charge of the army, upon their oaths of fidelity to him as their general.

UPON this agreement, the two bodies were immediately incorporated; and so soon as ever Jephtha had given the necessary orders for what was first to be done, he marched away with the army to Mizpeh: and from thence sent an expostulatory embassy to the king of the Ammonites; taxing him with an unjust invasion of a country where he had nothing to do. The answer was only a retort of the same charge upon the Israelites, who being no more than fugitives out of Egypt, took possession by arms of the land and territories of other people; and therefore warned them to depart out

of the country of the Ammonites, as belonging to them in the right of their fathers. Jephtha on the other hand replied, that instead of charging the Israelites with taking away Amorrhæa from them, they should rather have acknowledged the obligation of giving them Ammon; and Moses might have had that too: but the last result was this; that as for the lands which they had been now three hundred years possessed of, they would not part with them, but by God's assistance defend them with their swords. This peremptory declaration put a short end to the treaty, and the ambassadors were dismissed.

THE matter being brought to this point, that the controversy was to be decided by arms, Jephtha made a vow, that if ever he returned alive and victorious from the battle, he would offer up to God in sacrifice the first living creature he should meet with after he came home again. Shortly after this he came to an engagement with the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, and had the chace of them to the city of Maniath; forcing his passage also into the country of Ammon; where he laid several cities waste, and gave the soldiers the spoil. This action, in fine, set the people at liberty, after a slavish servitude of eighteen years continuance.

JEPHTHA acquitted himself in this war with great honour; but upon returning home again, there happened to him so grievous a calamity in his own family, that it took off the relish of all his publick satisfactions. For the first living creature he set his eye upon was an only virgin daughter he had, just coming out of the door, big with joy to receive, and bid him welcome. This encounter struck him to the very heart, and exceedingly troubled he was at her officiousness to come out to meet him, telling her the story of the vow, by which he had oblig'd himself, upon such terms, to offer her to God for a sacrifice. She was not at all dejected at the tidings, but told her father with a generous constancy, "That she should never think much to part with her life upon the condition of securing her father's honour and success, and the liberty of her country; only she begg'd two months time first, for a parting lamentation with her companions, and after that he might be pleased to perform his vow." Her request was granted, and at the end of the two months, this innocent devotee was offered up for a burnt-offering, without any reverence, either to religion, law, or common fame; so far was Jephtha transported with a blind zeal into a contempt of all other considerations. †

AFTER

† The scripture no where, in express words, condemns this act of Jephtha's sacrificing his daughter, as contrary to the laws of his country, or displeasing to God; for which reason a great many christian writers have rejected this opinion, though vouch'd by the authority of Josephus, and a great many other antient and learned writers; conceiving in this oblation not a natural but a civil kind of death, and a separation only unto the Lord: for that he pursued not his vow to a literal oblation, there want not arguments both from the text and reason.

For first, it is evident that she deplored her virginity, and not her death; "Let me go up and down the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows" Secondly, when it is said, that Jephtha did unto her according unto his vow, it is immediately subjoin'd, "And she knew no man;" which, as immediate in words, was most probably nearest in sense unto the vow. Thirdly, it is said in the text, that "The daughters of Israel went yearly [to talk with] the daughter of Jephtha four days in the year," which had she been sacrificed in a literal sense, they could not have done. For whereas the word is sometimes translated [to lament] yet doth it also signify [to talk, or have conference with one] and it is in this sense translated: "Ibant filiae Israelitarum ad confabulandum cum filia Jephthæ, quatuor diebus quotannis:" and so it is also set down in the marginal notes of our translation.

It is also repugnant to reason; for the offering mankind was against the law of God; and therefore the scripture with indignation often makes mention of human sacrifices among the Gentiles. It being therefore a sacrifice so abominable unto God, although he had pursued it, it is not probable the priests and wisdom of Israel would have permitted it.

P p

Secondly,

The Ephraim-
mites pick a
quarrel with
Jephtha,
Judg. xii. 1.

AFTER Jephtha's victory over the Ammonites, and the settling of the people in a state, or at least in a fair prospect of peace and freedom, the envious Ephraimites started a fresh cause of quarrel. "Why should he engage in such an expedition without them, they cried, but only out of an ambitious and covetous design of engrossing the honour and profit of the adventure wholly to himself, and not allowing them any share or part in it?" Jephtha made answer in his own defence, "That they knew very well their allies were oppress'd; nay, and that they themselves were solicited to come into their assistance, but never came; though men of honour, in such a case, would not have staid for an invitation." And then he charged them farther, with a most scandalous piece of injustice, for men that durst not look the common enemy in the face, now when the work was done without them, to fall so insolently foul upon their friends; concluding with a menace, that if they went on in that way of clamour and outrage, he would make them smart for it. But there was no good to be done, he saw, with arguing and reasoning the matter; so that he presently betook himself to the more convincing argument of a powerful army, with which he advanced towards the enemy's main body, which they had brought from Gilead; charg'd, and utterly defeated them; prepossessed himself of all the fords and passes upon the river Jordan; and, in short, follow'd the pursuit so hard, that betwixt the battle and the chace, he cut them off near two and forty thousand men.

Jephtha cuts
off near two
and forty
thousand of
the enemy,
Ver. 6.

Jephtha govern'd six
years, and
died at Se-
beth, Ver. 7.
Apsan, Ver. 8.

Ver. 11.

Abdon suc-
ceeds Elon,
Ver. 13.

JEPHTHA, after these exploits, departed this life, having held the government six years, and was buried at Sebeth, the place of his nativity, in the land of Gilead. Apsan*, of the city of Bethlem, in the tribe of Judah, succeeded him, and ruled for the space of seven years, without doing any thing worth taking notice of. He had ninety children, sixty males, and the rest daughters, which he left all living and married. He died ancient, and was buried in his own country. Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, had the government for ten years after him, and there pass'd nothing memorable in his reign neither. Abdon, the son of Heliel, succeeded Elon, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a native of the city of Pharathon;

a man of a numerous issue, and remarkable for little else. But the times being easy and peaceable, gave him little or no occasion for the exercise of his bravery and courage. He had forty sons, and thirty grandchildren, all excellent horsemen; and these seventy were his constant guard. He left them all behind him, died in an advanc'd age, and was buried at Pharathon with great magnificence and state.

CHAP. X.

The prediction and birth of Samson. His amours and encounters.

AFTER the decease of Abdon, the Philistines prevail'd against the Israelites, and kept them tributaries for about forty years; but in the end, they were set at liberty in this manner.

The Israelites tributaries to the Philistines for forty years, Judg. xiii. 1.

THERE was one Manoah of the tribe of Dan, and the first man of quality and distinction in his country, beyond all dispute. This Manoah had for his wife a lovely woman, and one that was look'd upon to be the most complete beauty of that age; but to Manoah's unspeakable affliction he had no children by her. In this uneasiness he would frequently be taking his wife to a country house he had in a large plain, in which solitude he spent almost his whole time in prayers to Almighty God for the blessing of children. He was passionate to the highest degree, and in proportion jealous of her. As the woman was there alone once, there appear'd an angel to her in the resemblance of a tall handsome young man, who told her for her comfort, that God in his providence would give her a male child, who should come in time to be a man of a very graceful presence, and prodigious strength; and one who should humble the pride and arrogance of the Philistines; charging her in the name of God to let his hair grow uncut, and to see that he drank nothing but water; the vision vanishing so soon as it had deliver'd this message. Upon her husband's coming in, she told him of this apparition of the angel, wonderfully enlarging upon the comely stature and loveliness of the shape it appear'd in; in so much, that the husband grew jealous of some unwarrantable love under that pretence†. The

Manoah, an uxorious and a jealous husband, troubled for want of children, Ver. 2.

The woman foretold in a vision, that she shall have a male child, Ver. 3.

She tells her husband the story, and puts him into a jealousy, Ver. 6, 7.

The
dis-
Ver.

Sam-
Ver.

Samson
in love
a damsel
Thamna
Judg. xi.

Secondly, The offering up of his daughter was not only unlawful, and entrenched upon his religion, but had been a course that would have much condemn'd his discretion; that is, to have punish'd himself in the strictest observance of his vow, when as the law of God had allow'd an evasion; that is, by way of commutation or redemption, according as is determin'd Levit. xxvii. 4-7. whereby, if she were between the age of five and twenty, she was to be estimated but at ten shekels; and if between twenty and sixty, not above thirty; a sum that could never discourage an indulgent parent, it being but the value of a servant slain, the inconsiderable salary of Judas, and will make no greater noise than three pounds seventeen shillings and six pence with us.

Lastly, although his vow run generally for the words, "Whatsoever shall come forth, &c." yet might it be restrain'd in the sense, for whatsoever was sacrificable, and justly subject to lawful immolation; and so might have exempted him from sacrificing either horse or dog, if they had happen'd to come out upon him first. Nor was he oblig'd by oath unto a strict observation of that, which promissorily was unlawful; or could he be qualified by vow to commit a fact which naturally was abominable. Now the ground at least which promoted the opinion of Josephus and others, who have expounded this passage in a literal sense, might be the dubious words of the text, which contain the sense of his vow, most men adhering unto their common and obvious acceptation. "Whatsoever shall come forth of the doors of my house shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." Now whereas it is said, "Erit Jehova, & offeram illud holocaustum." The word signifying both Et and Aut, it may be taken disjunctively; aut offeram, that is, it shall either be the Lord's by separation, or else an holocaust by common oblation, even as our marginal translation advertiseth; and as Tremellius rendereth it, "Erit inquam Jehova, aut offeram illud holocaustum;" and for the vulgar Latin, it often useth Et where Aut must be presumed, as Exod. xxi. 15. "Si quis percusserit patrem & matrem," that is, not both, but either. There being therefore two ways to dispose of her, either to separate her unto the Lord, or offer her as a sacrifice, it is of no necessity the latter should be necessary; and surely less derogatory unto the sacred text and history of the people of God, must be the former.

* Scrip. Ibsan.

† This is Josephus's comment; the scripture makes no mention of Manoah's jealousy.

poor

poor woman was in great perplexity how to cure him of this anxious and unreasonable suspicion, and in the anguish of her soul, made it her supplication to Almighty God to send his angel yet once again, and in such a manner, that her husband might be convinc'd of the authority of the revelation as well as herself. Upon this prayer of her's, the angel, a while after, presented itself a second time to the woman alone, in the same place as before; who immediately, upon the appearance, befought the angel's patience till she might fetch her husband. Her request was granted, and so Manoah was fetch'd; but such was the force of his jealousy, that, though he actually saw the angel, he would hardly be brought to believe his own eyes; pressing to have the same thing said to them over again, that had been spoken to his wife. "Let it suffice, says the angel, that it is known to your wife." Manoah then desir'd him to declare who he was; to the end, that when God should send him a child, he might know who to thank for it, and where to pay his acknowledgments for the blessing. The angel told him, "That he had no need of rewards, neither did he expect any for his news." "Why then, says Manoah, be pleased to accept of a hospitable homely treat." The angel declin'd it at first; but by prayer and importunity he was over-persuaded to stay till somewhat might be provided. Manoah immediately kill'd a kid, and gave it his wife to dress; and when every thing was ready, the angel commanded the bread and the flesh to be laid loose upon a rock there, without dishes. This being done, he touch'd the flesh with a rod he had, and presently there started a fire from it that consumed flesh, bread and all; and as the smoke mounted, the angel was seen to ascend to Heaven in the vehicle of that cloud. Manoah lay under a superstitious dread of some great mischief that might befall them upon this vision; but his wife dispell'd his fears by a confident assurance, that it would turn to their comfort; and prove the greatest blessing imaginable to them both in the conclusion. She found herself soon after to be big, and from that time forward kept punctually in her mind the orders the angel had given her.

THE child, when born, prov'd to be a son, and they gave him the name of Samson, that is to say, robust. He improv'd every day wonderfully as he grew up, in the advantages both of his body and mind; inasmuch, that betwixt the comeliness of his loose flowing hair, and the sobriety of his way of living, in the government of his appetite, he seem'd to have somewhat in him that was more than human.

IT was his hap once upon a solemn festival-day at *Thamna**, a city belonging to the Philistines, being there with his parents upon that occasion, to fall in love with a damsel of the country, whom he saw at that meeting; and upon the sight of her, he was very earnest with his father and mother to procure her for him in marriage. His parents told him, that it was against the rules of their religion to marry with strangers, and that there was choice enough of matches among the Hebrew women, who were fitter for him. But the will

and humour of the son prevailed over the reason and authority of the father, and the love proceeded to a contract. It was Samson's fortune, as he was once upon the way on a visit to his mistress, to meet a lion directly in his road. He never gave way, or boggled for the matter, but advanced up to the very throat of him; and unarm'd as he was, with his naked hands strangled him, casting the body into a thicket afterwards, by the way side. As he was upon the same journey some few days after, and on the same errand, he stept aside to look at the carcass of the lion, and there he found a swarm of bees working their wax and honey in the breast of him. He took out three honeycombs; and with some curiosities that he had gotten together, made a present of them to his sweet-heart. The nuptials being now to be solemniz'd, his wife's relations, and the people of the place who were invited, assign'd him thirty of their stoutest young fellows to wait upon him, as an instance, in pretence, of the great honour and respect they had for him; but in truth, as so many spies and guards upon him, in case he should be troublesome in his cups, being a man of so prodigious and incredible a strength. As the guests grew warm and chearful, and passing from one merriment to another, Samson told the company that he had a riddle to propound; and if any of them should resolve it in seven days, he would be bound to give them every man a shirt and a coat, as a respect and a reward; so that they should have both honour and profit. Now betwixt those who had a mind to be thought wise, and others who had an eye upon the benefit, they accepted the proposal by consent, and bad him put the question. "Why then, says he, the parable is this. [Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.]" In short, the Philistines laid their heads together about it, till after three days puzzling, to no purpose, they were at last obliged to make their application to the new bride, and intreat her to get the secret out of her husband; threatening moreover, that unless she therein prevailed, and made a full discovery of it to them, they would burn her without any more ado. Samson for a good while refused to gratify her request; but in the end, betwixt tears, importunities, and reproaches, (for she imputed his refusal to his want of love,) he was prevail'd upon to give her the whole story, of his killing the lion, and of the three honeycombs he brought her; and so expounded the riddle from end to end, without so much as suspecting any treacherous intrigue betwixt her and the Philistines. But still, whatever he told her, she told it again to them. The seventh day was now come, which was the precise time appointed for the solution of this difficulty; so that the Philistines met before sun-set, and told Samson, by way of answer to his question, "That nothing is stronger than a lion, or sweeter than honey." "No, says Samson, nor falselier than the woman that has put my words in your mouths." This did not hinder Samson yet from making good what he had promised; for happening to meet thirty men of Askalon†, he stripp'd them, and made payment of the shirts and coats he had under-

He contracts himself to her, Ver. 8.

Samson encounters a lion, and strangles him, Ver. 6.

A swarm of bees in the breast of the lion, Ver. 9.

Samson propounds a riddle, Ver. 12, 13, 14.

His mistress gets the meaning of it out of him,

and so betrays him, Ver. 17.

The Philistines resolve the riddle, Ver. 18.

The husband sees the apparition, and is still jealous.

The angel disappears, Ver. 20.

Samson born, Ver. 24.

Samson falls in love with a damsel at *Thamna*, Judg. xiv. 1.

* Scrip. Timnah.

† Askalon at that time belong'd to the Philistines.

Samson puts
away his wife,
Judg. xiv. 20.

Judg. xv. 4.

Samson burns
the Philis-
tines corn,
Ver. 5.

Samson's wife
and relations
burnt alive,
Ver. 6.

Samson with-
draws to
Etam, a
strong rock
in the tribe
of Judah,
Ver. 8.

The Philis-
tines demand
Samson's per-
son, Ver. 9,
10.

Three thou-
sand armed
Philistines
treat with
Samson, V. 11.

Samson ren-
ders himself
upon condi-
tions, Ver. 12,
13.

Samson's ex-
ploit with the
jaw-bone of
an ass, V. 15.

The vanity
of Samson in
assuming all
to himself,
Ver. 16.

taken for. He cast off his wife upon it how-
ever, and she in spite married his friend who
solicited the match, which Samson took for so
unpardonable an affront, that he determin'd a
revenge, not only upon the woman, but upon
the whole nation for it, having at that time
also a fair opportunity before him of putting
it in some measure in execution. It was then
towards harvest-time, and the corn being ripe
upon the ground, Samson got three hundred
foxes, and tying them tail to tail, with fire-
brands between them, turn'd them loose into
the corn-fields of the Philistines. In the hurry
of this fright they carried the fire from place
to place, all over the grounds; and wherever
they came, they spoiled all the fruits of the
earth in an instant. So soon as the Philistines
came to understand that it was Samson's doing,
and what it was provoked him to it, they sent
the princes of the country to Thamna, who
took up the wife of Samson, and all her rela-
tions, and burnt them alive, as the authors of
this calamity.

SAMSON made several bloody inroads into
the land of the Philistines, and took up his ha-
bitation at Etam, a rock of great strength, and
in the tribe of Judah; against which tribe the
Philistines were now upon the point of decla-
ring war. The people pleaded for themselves,
that they liv'd quietly, and paid their taxes,
and they hoped they should not be punished
for Samson's fault; but they were answered,
that nothing could discharge them of Samson's
guilt, but the delivering up of Samson's per-
son. They were so much concern'd to clear
themselves of this suspicion, that they drew
together three thousand arm'd men, and
marched to the place of his retreat, where they
enter'd into expostulations with him, what a
mischief his violence had drawn upon the He-
brews, in stirring up an enemy against them,
who might bring a ruin perhaps upon the whole
race. Their coming, they said, was only to
take possession of his person, and give him up
to the Philistines, which they desired him to
submit to, both for their sakes and his, as his
own voluntary act. Upon this overture Sam-
son came down from the rock, and upon their
solemn oath that they would do him no far-
ther hurt, than barely to deliver him up into
the hands of the enemy, he rendered up his
person to his countrymen, who led him away,
bound with two ropes, in order to deliver him
to the Philistines, according to agreement,
when they came to a place that was formerly
obscure, but since made famous by a memora-
ble exploit of Samson's there, and was not
far from the enemy's camp; the people came
out in troops to meet them, with shouts of joy
and exultation, for the good fortune that had
befallen them. Samson in the mean while
broke his cords to pieces, and with the jaw-
bone of an ass that lay there upon the ground,
fell upon the Philistines, and defeated them;
killed a matter of a thousand upon the place,
and routed all the rest. Samson was so trans-
ported upon the thought of this victory, that
he had the vanity to assume the honour of the
action to himself, without ascribing the glory
of it to God's power and providence, as he
ought to have done. But while this arrogant

and overweening humour was yet upon him,
he found himself seized with a violent parch-
ing * thirst, which gave him to understand,
that after all his successes, he was but flesh
and blood still, and liable to human infirmi-
ties. The sense of this disorder brought him
to the knowledge of himself, and to a penitent
confession that the victory was God's, and that
he was able to do nothing of himself, without
the divine assistance. He begged pardon for
his past vanity and presumption, and so cast
himself wholly upon God's infinite power and
goodness, as his only dependance for delive-
rance out of all his distresses. His prayers
were not in vain, for there gushed immediate-
ly out of a rock near at hand there, a stream
of delicious water to relieve him in his raging
drought; which rock, from the exploit of
Samson, bears the name of the Jaw unto this
very day. After this combat, Samson made
nothing of the Philistines, but went publicly
to Gaza, and took up his lodging there in a
common inn. The governor of the town ha-
ving intelligence of it, had guards and spies
set at the gates to watch him, that he should
not give them the slip; but Samson having
some hint of the design, got up at midnight,
and taking the gates off the hinges, carried
them away upon his shoulders, frames, bolts,
locks, and every thing that belonged to them,
to Mount Hebron, and there he left them.

SAMSON soon after this begun by degrees to
forsake the laws of his country, and conse-
quently to a hankering after the laws and cus-
toms of other nations, which proved in time
the foundation of his ruin. It was his hap to
fall passionately in love with a common pro-
stitute of the Philistines, whose name was Da-
lilah †; and the amour was gone so far, that
they lived and accompanied together. The
Lords of the Philistines finding how great a
power this mercenary woman had over him,
made use of her interest, by flattery and cor-
ruption, toward the betraying of him. It was
their business upon the main, some way or
other to destroy Samson; and the part she had
to play, was to find out his weak side, and to
discover where that invincible strength of his
lay. This was the state and condition of af-
fairs betwixt the Philistines and the harlot;
and as there wanted not either art or bribery
on the one side, so neither was there any fail-
ing in the matter of treachery and deceit on
the other. For the bringing of it about, she
took all occasions in his cups and dalliances,
to extol his exploits, admiring his prodigious
strength and vigour; using all her artifice to
get out of him wherein that excellency lay,
that put such an unaccountable difference be-
twixt him and all other men. Now Samson,
as yet master of his reason, had prudence
enough to defeat the artifice of his mistress by
counter-cunning; and so he told her, that if
his hands were but bound with seven green
withs, or creepers of a vine, it would be with
him as it is with other men. Dalilah said no
more, but went away presently to the magis-
trates with the story. Upon this report there
were soldiers ordered privately into the house,
who upon the first opportunity of finding Sam-
son drunk and drowsy, laid hold of him, and

Samson seiz'd
with a parch-
ing thirst to
humble him,
Ver. 18.

His repen-
tance and
prayer, ibid.

A fountain
gushes out of
a rock to
quench Sam-
son's thirst,
Ver. 19.

They coop
him up in
Gaza, and he
carries away
the gates up-
on his shoul-
ders to
Mount He-
bron, Judg.
xvi. 3.

Samson hank-
ers after in-
novations.

He falls in
love with Da-
lilah, a Phi-
listine and a
prostitute,
Ver. 4.

Dalilah is
employed to
discover
where his
strength lies,
Ver. 5.

He puts her
off with three
abuses, Ver.
7, 11, 13.

* See Bochart's Hierozicon, Part I. lib. ii. c. 15. p. 201. Ed. Lond.

† Scrip. Delilah.

bound him according to their instructions: but Dalilah awaked him immediately with an outcry, that the Philistines were upon him. Samson upon the very instant took the alarm, and snapping the withs in pieces, put himself in posture, as for an encounter of an enemy.

There followed a heavy quarrel a little while after, betwixt Dalilah and Samson. "If he had loved her, she said, he could never have denied her a thing her heart was set upon; but she found he durst not trust her, and so deluded her with a lye; as if she could not keep a secret as well as another woman." At this rate she went on, importuning him with the same question over again; and over again he fooled her too, with a mock-story, that if he were tied up with a band of seven cords it would do the work; but upon trial, that experiment failed them likewise; and so did a third also, of filleting and twisting up his locks. Dalilah having been now thrice imposed upon, was not at all discouraged yet, but betwixt spite and wilfulness, pressed him so hard with fresh charms and importunities, that he was now brought to the last fatal necessity of yielding up what he could hold no longer; and so he discover'd to her the desired secret, in this manner:

"That God, says he, who gave me my being, hath been pleased in his goodness, to take me into his particular care, and to give me in special charge not to suffer my hair to be cut, for that in the preservation of that hair consisted my security and strength." Upon this discovery, she cut off his locks in his sleep, and when he was no longer able to defend himself, delivered him up to his enemies, who put out his eyes, and carried him up and down in bonds, for a spectacle. Some considerable time after this, when Samson's hair was pretty much grown again, there was a great meeting of the princes and nobility of the Philistines: the feast was held in a building which had only two large pillars to support its roof. While they were together at this festival, in their jollity blind Samson was sent for to make sport for the company in their cups. It was the most sensible part of his afflictions to find himself not in a condition to revenge the insolence of his enemies; but he spoke to the boy, however, who led him, to let him lean against one of the pillars, for he was weary he said of standing. The boy did so; and Samson, with all his might gave the pillar such a shake, that he brought down the house upon the heads of three thousand men, besides himself, and they were all crush'd to death under the ruins.

After three abuses, he tells her the truth at last, that his strength lay in his hair, Judg. xvi. 17. She cuts off his locks, and delivers him up to his enemies, Ver. 19. who put out his eyes, and expose him for a spectacle, Ver. 21.

Samson brings down the house upon his own, and the heads of three thousand Philistines, V. 30. Samson ruled twenty years, Ver. 31.

THIS was Samson's end, in the twentieth year of his government. He was a man of wonderful strength and courage, and to his immortal honour, he employed his utmost force to the confusion of his enemies. It is true that it was his hap to be inveigled by a woman; and where is he that has not been so more or less, who carries flesh and blood, and human frailty about him? to say nothing of his other excellent qualities, which deserve eternal memory. His dead body was under the care of his kindred, who caused it to be transported to Sarafa, and there interr'd amongst his ancestors.

CHAP. XI.

Of Naamis, Ruth, and Booz. The birth of Samuel. The Hebrews defeated by the Philistines.

ELI the high-priest succeeded Samson in the government of the Israelites; and in his time there happened a miserable famine. Abimelech*, a citizen of Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, unwilling to bear the miseries of it, took Naamis† his wife, and two sons that he had by her, Mallon and Chellion‡, and so withdrew into the land of Moab, where every thing went prosperously with him, and there he married his sons to two Moabitish women, Chellion to Orpha, and Mallon to Ruth. Within the compass of ten years Abimelech and his two sons died, in a short time one after another. Upon their decease, Naamis who had now to her inconsolable affliction, lost those dear friends and relations, for whose only sake she was prevailed upon to quit her country, with this change of affairs changed counsels too, and resolved to go back again; especially being informed that affairs at home were now in a better state than she left them. Her sons widows could not endure to think of parting with her, but pressed her with importunities, even whether she would or no, to bear her company. She wished them all manner of good fortune, and that they might be happier in their next husbands than they had been with her sons; but alas! she was not in condition, she said, to be any way helpful to them; and for them to venture a certainty for an uncertainty, in the risque of such a journey, only to condole with a miserable mother-in-law, to no sort of purpose, was, she said, utterly against her mind. Upon this reasoning of the matter, Orpha was over-ruled; but for Ruth's part, "Come life, come death, nothing should ever make her forsake her mother," she said: so that Naamis, without any more ceremony, went her way, and took Ruth along with her.

WHEN they came to Bethlehem, they were received by Booz††, a kinsman of Abimelech's, and the people calling Naamis by her name, nay, says Naamis, let it be rather Mara; the former in Hebrew signifying felicity, the other sorrow. It was now harvest-time, and Ruth, with her mother's leave, being gone out a gleaning for somewhat to eat, she happened into a field of Booz, who, a while after, came himself, and upon the sight of this young woman, enquired more particularly of his head-servant what he knew concerning her. So he told his master what he had heard from her but a little before. Booz was wonderfully pleased with the tenderness of her affection for her mother-in-law, and for the memory of her dead husband; and therefore ordered his servant, not only to suffer her to glean what she could, but to let her reap, and carry away whatever she had a mind to, and to supply her with meat and drink sufficient, in common with his own people. Ruth saved part of the bread and provisions they gave her for her mother-in-law, and at night carried it to her, with her gleanings, all together; Naamis doing the like for Ruth, in what she had received

Eli succeeds Samson.

A famine in his days, Ruth i. 1. Abimelech and Naamis his wife withdraw to Moab, Ver. 1, 2. Abimelech's two sons, Mallon and Chellion, marry Orpha and Ruth, Ver. 4. The father and his two sons die not long after, Ver. 5.

Naamis and Ruth go back again to Bethlehem; but Orpha stays behind, Ver. 6, 7.

Booz receives them at Bethlehem, and treats them kindly, Ruth ii. 3 &c.

* Scrip. Elimelech.

† Scrip. Naomi.

‡ Scrip. Malon and Chilion.

†† Scrip. Boaz.

that day from her charitable neighbours. As they were together in the evening, Ruth gave her mother the whole history of what passed betwixt her and Booz, the mother giving her to understand that Booz was her near relation, and that being a considerable person, and a man of great piety, she did not know but he might take his poor kindred into his care. So that Ruth went on still, day after day, into fields a gleanings, with the maid-servants of Booz, till barley-harvest was over; and then after some few days, when the corn was threshed out, Booz took up his lodging in his own barn, which coming to the knowledge of Naamis, put her upon a contrivance how she might bring him and Ruth to lie together, to the advantage of them both: which was, that Ruth should convey herself into the barn to the feet of Booz, and there lie down to take her rest.

Ruth, by the advice of Naamis, lay herself in the night at the feet of Booz, Ruth iii. 7.

Ruth making a conscience of obeying her mother, did as she was commanded. But Booz, being fast asleep, knew nothing at all of the matter, till waking about midnight, he found that he had gotten a companion; and calling out to know who it was, Ruth told him her name, and begged his permission, in the quality of his servant, that she might still lie at his feet. There passed no more words at present, but early in the morning before any of the servants were gotten up to their work, he called to Ruth, and bad her take as much corn as she could carry, and be gone immediately to her mother with it, before any notice could be taken where she had been that night; for, says he, in cases of this nature people cannot be too cautious, let them be never so innocent. "But" in one word, says he, before you go; there "is a person nearer to you in blood than myself. My advice is, that you demand him for your husband. If he agrees to it, you are bound to follow him: if he refuses, I can lawfully take you to wife myself." Ruth at her return, gave her mother-in-law a relation of all that had passed, who was mightily overjoy'd to find that their affairs were in so promising a situation, as to become the care of Booz.

ABOUT the noon-time of the day, Booz was back again at the city, where he called a court, and summoned Ruth and her kinsman to make their appearance. Well, says Booz to the kinsman, "If I am not mistaken, you are at present possessed of the estate of Abimelech, and his sons." I am so, says t'other, and the law has put me in possession of it by virtue of a right I have to it by nearness of blood. pray, says Booz, do not talk of the law by halves; but whether it be for you, or against you, take your lot in the one part as well as in the other. Here stands before you the widow of Mallon, and you are bound by the law to marry the woman, or to quit the inheritance. The kinsman excused himself from marrying her, by saying that he had a wife and children of his own already; and so by a publick declaration in court, rendered both the one and the other to Booz, he being then the next a-kin to the deceased. Booz had this declaration recorded, and then commanded the woman to loosen her kinsman's shoe, and spit in his face, according to a formality of law. This being done he took Ruth for his wife, and within the compass of a year, she brought him a son, which he committed to the care of

Booz takes Ruth to wife, Ruth iv. 13.

Naamis, and by the advice of the women called him Obed, which in Hebrew is as much as service, or assistance; applying the name to the assistance they expected from him to Naamis in her old age. From Obed came Jesse, and Jesse was the father of king David; in whose family the government continued for one and twenty generations. I have been the more particular in this history of Ruth, to set forth the power and dispensations of God in his providence, who brings the greatest things to pass, even by the meanest of instruments, advancing to the throne, many times, men of the lowest condition, according to his good pleasure. This we find verified abundantly in the genealogy of David.

MATTERS at this time went very ill with the Hebrews, having engaged themselves afresh in a war with the Philistines. Eli the high-priest had two sons, Ophnes and Phinees; who were libertines to the highest degree, in contempt of religion and common justice. They were men who stuck at nothing that was ill. The ordinary way of gratuities and honorary presents made them by the elders would not serve their turn, unless every thing were extorted from them by violence and rapine. They made it their business to debauch women, even at their devotions, and to corrupt them by force or bribes, at the very altar: and all this with an insolence equal to any tyranny that ever was heard of. The profligate wickedness of these licentious men was no small affliction to their father, by reason of the daily dread and apprehension he lived in of some terrible judgment that would befall them. To say nothing of the groans of the people under a most intolerable oppression; but when it came soon after to be revealed by God to the father, and to the prophet Samuel, who was at that time but a child, what would be the wretched fate of these men, Eli gave them quite over, and mourned for them as already lost or dead. But for order sake, I shall first speak a word of the prophet, and pass afterward to the wretched end of these lewd young men, and so to the true cause of the miseries that befel the Hebrews.

THERE was one Elkanah, a Levite, and an inhabitant of Ramath, in the lot of Ephraim, who had two wives, Hannah and Phenannah; by the latter he had children, but by the former, for a good while, none at all: but this disappointment, however, did not one jot lessen his affections to her. Coming one day with his family to Shilo to worship, the holy tabernacle being there, as has been said heretofore, Elkanah made a distribution of part of his own portion and provision, to his wives and children; Phenannah, and her little ones, feeding together. This sight made such an impression upon Hannah, that she look'd upon it as a tacit reproach of her barrenness, and upon that thought, betwixt grief and envy, burst out a weeping. Her husband and friends did what they could to comfort her; but she rejected all, and in that passion went away directly to the tabernacle, where she besought God with earnest supplications to grant her the comfort of a son, vowing, with a most religious solemnity, to dedicate him wholly, and in a most peculiar manner, to his worship and service. The length and earnestness of her prayers gave Eli, who was then sitting before the

The birth of Obed, from whom came Jesse, and from Jesse David, Ver. 17, 22.

Eli's two sons, Ophnes and Phinees, notorious libertines, 1 Sam. ii. 12-17. + Scrip. Hophni and Phinehas.

1 Sam. i. 2.

+ Scr. Phenannah.

Hannah the wife of Elkanah, pray earnestly for a son, and vows him to God, Ver.

God the Eli's sons, trans of the hood his fa Eleas 11-1

God the Eli's sons, trans of the hood his fa Eleas 11-1

1 Sam. * Scrip. Apher

The Hebrews four the men in the with Philistin Ver. 2.

Eli comforts
Hannah with
the promise
of a son,
Ver. 17.

The birth of
Samuel, Ver.
20.

Samuel be-
gins to pro-
phesy at thir-
teen years of
age, 1 Sam.iii.
4-10.

God foretels
the death of
Eli's two
sons, and the
transferring
of the priest-
hood from
his family to
Eleazar, Ver.
11-14.

1 Sam. iv. 1.
*Scrip.
Aphek.

The He-
brews lose
four thousand
men in a bat-
tle with the
Philistines,
Ver. 2.

the tabernacle, an occasion to suspect she was in drink; insomuch, that he called out to that drunken woman to be gone. She made answer, that she drank nothing but water, only her heart was heavy for want of children, and that she was now imploring God in his mercy to make her a mother. Eli had her set her mind at rest then, for God would send her children. Upon this encouragement she went back chearfully to her husband, fell to her meat again, (which before went against her stomach,) and so returned with her husband into the country, where, after a while, she conceived, and in due time brought forth a son, whom they called Samuel; that is to say, Asked of God. The parents returning to Shilo, to offer up sacrifice, and pay their tenths, according to custom, and to give God thanks for the blessing of a son, the woman was not unmindful of her vow, but delivered the child up to Eli, and dedicated him to God. They let his hair grow; his drink was altogether water, and his station about the temple, where he officiated, and was in time to become a prophet. Hannah, after this, brought Elkanah other sons, and three daughters.

WHEN Samuel was just entered into the thirteenth year of his age, he began to prophecy; and as he lay asleep one night, God called him by name. He took it for the high-priest's voice, and so went to him to know his pleasure; but the high-priest had not called him, he said; and so he told him over and over again, upon a second, and a third call, after the same manner; but Eli finding at last where the mistake lay, told him that it was God who called him; wherefore my son, says Eli, whenever thou hearest the voice again, let this be thy answer, "Here I am Lord; speak, for thy servant heareth, and is ready to obey thee." The words that Eli put into his mouth, Samuel made use of at the next call, and the voice then went forward, saying, "Since thou art here at hand, I will now give thee to understand, that the Israelites are at this instant upon the brink of so dreadful a calamity, that it is not to be expressed or believed, and hardly to be conceived. The two sons of Eli shall be cut off both in a day; the high-priesthood taken away for ever, from himself and his family, and transferred to Eleazar; for Eli, says the voice, hath had more regard to his sons than to my worship, though to the common destruction of them all." Samuel was not willing to be the reporter of these dismal tidings to Eli and his family; but being adjured by the high-priest to give him a faithful account of the whole revelation, he delivered it in order from point to point, and left the old man no place to doubt of the inevitable destruction of his sons. Samuel's reputation for a prophet increased daily, the event making good his predictions.

AT the same time the Philistines marched with an army against the Israelites, and encamped in Aphek*; but meeting there with no opposition, they advanced farther, and came soon after to a battle, wherein the Hebrews were routed; and having lost four thousand upon the place, the remainder fled, and were pursued to their very tents. This blow struck the Hebrews with so mortal a dread, that they gave all in a manner for as good as

lost, and sent immediately to the high-priest and the elders, to cause the ark of God to be brought into the army; that by its presence they might obtain a victory, little dreaming that they were doomed to destruction by a higher power than that of the ark; nay, by that divine original, for whose sake alone the ark itself was had in veneration. The ark, however, was brought into the field, the sons of the high-priest attending it with a charge, that if it should happen to be lost, they should never look their father in the face again. Phinees assisted only as the old man's deputy, who was far gone in years, and out of condition for that service. The presence of the ark inspired the Hebrews with new courage, as if the very appearance of it brought victory along with it, while the other side looked upon it as a foreboding of their ruin; but upon the event, they both found themselves mistaken; for the hopes of the one were disappointed, and so were the fears of the other also; if an error to their advantage may be called a disappointment. But in short, the Hebrews turned their backs upon the first encounter, lost thirty thousand men upon the spot; the two sons of Eli fell in the number, and the ark itself into the enemy's hands.

The ark is brought into the army, Ver. 4, 5.

Thirty thousand Hebrews lost in another battle, the sons of Eli being in the number, and the ark taken, Ver. 10, 11.

CHAP. XII.

The death of Eli for the loss of the ark; and the birth of Ichabod.

THE sad news of this overthrow, and the taking of the ark, being brought to Shilo by a young Benjamite who made his escape out of the battle, filled the city with mournful cries and lamentations, which coming to the ear of the high-priest, as he sat mounted upon a high chair at one of the gates, gave him reasonably to presume the truth of the matter, and that some miserable disaster had befallen the army; so he called for the young man to speak with him; from whom he understood the particulars, and the event of the battle. As for the loss of men, and for the death of his sons, he supported that part of the story with constancy enough, being, in truth, prepared for it by a revelation, which gave him fore-knowledge of so much of the calamity, and he bare it the better, in regard that it was no surprize to him. But when he came to the circumstance of the ark being taken, the stroke was so unexpected, that he sunk under the weight of it; dropp'd down out of his chair of state, and gave up the ghost, in the ninety eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government. The wife of Phinees was seven months gone with child, fell in labour upon the news of her husband's death, and died the same day; but the child lived, and was called Joachab†, that is to say, shame and ignominy, pointing at the disgrace of that defeat.

Eli falls down dead upon the news of the ark's being taken, Ver. 18.

†Scrip. Ichabod. Ver. 21, 22. The succession of the high-priesthood.

ELI was the first of the family of Ithamar, (another of the sons of Aaron,) that exercised the function of high-priest; for till then, it passed from father to son in the line of Eleazar, who left it to Phinees, and he to his son Abiezer; from him it went to his son Bocejas, and thence to his son Ozis, whence afterward to Eli, of whom we are now speaking; and in his family it continued till the reign of king Solomon, after which it returned again to the house of Eleazar.

FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK VI.

From the Tear of the World 2850 to 2890.

CHAP. I.

The taking of the ark. Dagon falls down before it. The plagues that attended it till it was brought back again.

The ark carried in triumph to the temple of Dagon, 1 Sam. v. 1, 2.



Dagon falls down before the ark, Ver. 3.

The judgments that follow'd upon the detention of the ark, Ver. 6.

AFTER this rout of the Hebrews, and the taking of the ark prisoner, as is said already, the Philistines carried it to *Azotus, in triumph, and there lodged it among other donatives and trophies, in the temple of their god Dagon. Upon coming thither next day to their morning devotions, they found Dagon tumbled down from his pedestal, and lying flat upon the ground before the ark. This accident put them into a superstitious confusion what to think of it; but they presently helped him up again, and put him in his former place. They continued going and coming as they had occasion, and still as they set him right one day, they were sure to find him prostrate upon the floor, and in a posture of adoring the ark next time they came, which was look'd upon by the people as the worst of omens. In conclusion, the city and province of Azotus was visited with a most judicial plague of the guts, which rotted them alive, and carried them off by a violent dysentery, with vomitings and torments not to be express'd. They

had another plague in the fields too; that is to say, such swarms of mice, that they laid all waste wherever they came; plants, fruit, corn, and in short nothing escaped them. While the people of Azotus lay groaning under these afflictions, without any hope or prospect of ease or remedy, they came to understand that all this had befallen them for their sacrilegious violence upon the ark; and that at this rate, all things consider'd, they had paid dear for the victory; so that they sent a messenger with a request to the people of Ascalon, that they would be pleased to take the ark into their city; who were so far from any difficulty of complying with them, that they most thankfully admitted it. After a short time they found that the judgments went along with the ark; for the very plagues of Azotus were now transferr'd to Ascalon; and it staid not long there neither, but was still sent away from one place to another, till it had travelled through five of the Philistines cities; and wherever it went, the same calamities attended it, with such a mortality, as if divine justice had impos'd a tribute upon the violators of God's holy worship. The ark wander'd, in fine, so long, and so far, that people were

The ark removed to Ascalon.

The plagues that went along with it, through the five cities of Gath, Ekron, Ascalon, Gaza, and Azotus, Ver. 5, 6, &c.

* Scrip. Ashdod.

grown shy of it, and would have nothing further to do with it; so that it was now the question, how to get quit of it for good and all.

To this end, there was a council call'd of the principal men of the five cities before spoken of; that is to say, of * Gitta, Accaron, Ascalon, Gaza, and Azotus, to advise what measures to take upon this occasion. Some were of opinion at first, for sending the ark back to the owners of it; for the God, they saw, who had it under his care, would vindicate it, having already upon that account destroy'd their people with pestilential diseases, and laid several of their cities desolate. There were some again that would not allow their opinion to be well grounded, who would have the ark to be the occasion of the calamities wherewith they were afflicted. "If God, they cried, "had such a kindness for it, he would never "have suffered an enemy to have taken it, and "an enemy of another religion too." So that this party was absolutely against the sending of it home again; advising them rather to bear the common chances of human life with courage and patience; and to consider, like wise men, that there was nothing in all this, but according to the course of nature, that has a power over men's bodies, plants, seasons, and the like, to do greater wonders than any thing here amounted to. There remained yet another sort, and men of gravity and experience too, who advised a middle course betwixt either sending it home, or detaining it; and this expedient carried it from the former, as being more congruous to the present humour and affair. The proposal was this, that there should be made five golden images, one for each of the five cities, and dedicated to God, in acknowledgment of his goodness in delivering them from a plague by his Almighty power, which was out of the reach of any natural remedy to relieve. They propounded also five golden mice, alluding to the vermin that devour'd their plants; all to be put in a box, and laid upon the ark, the ark itself to be put into a new waggon, made expressly for that service, and so to be drawn by two milch kine, their calves shut up, and left behind to keep them from lingring upon the way: this waggon, with the ark, to be conducted to the parting of three ways, and the cattle there left at liberty to go whither they pleased. If they took the Hebrew road, and went forward in it, the calamities they suffered might be imputed to the ark; but if they bent their course any other way, they might conclude there was nothing of the ark in the case. This advice was the sense of every man that was there present; and it was soon after put in execution; every thing being provided according to the order, the waggon drawn out to the crossway, and the company leaving it.

CHAP. II.

The joy of the Israelites at the return of the ark. A miraculous victory obtain'd over the Philistines.

THE beasts being left to themselves, struck directly into the Hebrew way, and

went forward in it as directly as if they had been led or driven; divers Philistines following at a distance, out of a curiosity to see whether they would go, and where they would take up. They went travelling on till they came to Bethsama †, a village in the tribe of Judah; and there they stopp'd, notwithstanding the temptation of a large plain in sight to invite them further. It was now summer-harvest, and the people all busy about their corn; but upon this occasion there came great multitudes thronging in; some from their work, others from their houses in the village, to see the ark; and overjoy'd they were at the occasion. Upon coming to the waggon, they took down the ark and the box, with the images and mice in it, and set them down upon a great stone that was there in the field. After this they sacrificed and feasted, presenting both the waggon itself, and the beasts that drew it, to God, for a burnt-offering. So soon as this ceremony was over, the Philistines, who had follow'd them thus far, returned into their own country. Upon this occasion several of the Bethsamites, to the number of seventy, fell under God's displeasure for the temerity of laying profane hands upon the ark, without the due authority and qualification of the priesthood. This judgment cast a terrible damp upon the spirits of the multitude in the middle of their rejoicings, to see so many of their friends and companions taken away from them by so judicial a stroke. By this calamity they became conscious to themselves of their own unworthiness, to have the ark of God lodged under their care; so that they sent messengers up and down to all the Hebrews, with advice, that the Philistines had brought it back again. Upon this notice, it was forthwith transported to Cariathirim ‡, not far from Bethsama, in the house of Aminadab, a Levite; a man of great repute for religion and integrity, and therefore the fitter for the entertainment of so sacred a trust. It was committed to the charge of himself and his sons, and with them it rested twenty years, (saving only the four months that it was detained by the Philistines,) to the great honour of themselves, and the satisfaction of the people. For the twenty years that the ark continued at Chiriathirim, the people spent their whole time almost in prayers and sacrifices, attendances upon God's worship, and the exercise of holy duties. Samuel took an occasion from this good disposition of the multitude, to harangue them upon the subject of liberty, and the blessings which attend it; accommodating his discourse very pertinently, both to the season and to his business.

"Ye men of Israel, says he, since you find "by experience that the malice of your enemies is implacable, and that your earnest "supplications to God for relief are graciously "receiv'd, you would do well to consider, "that your wishing for the freedom you want, "will never do your business, without exerting your power to the utmost, upon the "proper means of procuring it; for to do "otherwise, is but praying one way, and acting another. Wherefore, in the first place, "be careful not to bring a scandal upon your "profession by ill manners, but inure your-

The people sacrifice, and feast for joy at the ark's coming back, Ver. 15.

The ark transported to Cariathirim, into the house of Aminadab, a Levite, 1 Sam. vii. 1.

It continued there twenty years, 1 Sam. vii. 2.

Samuel to the multitude, upon the subject of religion, liberty, and good manners, Ver. 3.

* Scrip. Gath, Ekron, Ascalon, Gaza, and Ashdod. N^o 6.

† Scrip. Bethshemeth. R r

‡ Scrip. Kirjath-Jearim. selves

A council about the ark, what to do with it, 1 Sam. vi. 1-9.

A resolution taken how to dispose of the ark; Ver. 10, 11.

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plagues went with it, hgh the cities of Ekron, lon, a, and us, 5, 6, &c.

The beasts carry the ark into the Hebrew way, and so stop at Bethsama, Ver. 14.

"felves to the love and practice of justice, without partiality or corruption; purge your minds of all gross affections; turn to God, call upon him, and adore him, and honour him in your lives and conversations, as well as with your lips. Do good things, and good will come of it; that is to say, liberty and victory; for these are blessings not to be obtain'd by force of men, strength of body, or bands of soldiers; but God, who is truth itself, hath promised them as the rewards of probity and righteousness; and you may depend upon it, he will never disappoint you." This discourse was follow'd with the acclamation of the whole multitude, who with one voice made a solemn profession of their readiness to do or suffer any thing that it should please God to will and command them.

Samuel calls an assembly to Mizpeh, 1 Sam. vii. 5.

The Philistines advance with a great army.

The Hebrews in a fright repair to Samuel, Ver. 7, 8.

Samuel offers up prayers and sacrifices on their behalf, Ver. 9.

A comfortable assurance of an entire victory, ibid.

A terrible earthquake, with thunder and lightning, Ver. 10.

SAMUEL, after this, summoned the people to a congregation in a city call'd Mizpeh, (that is to say, conspicuous,) where they drew water, and sacrificed; spending the whole day in fasting and prayer. The Philistines, in the mean time, were not without intelligence of this meeting of the Hebrews; and so they advanced toward them with a very great army, designing to fall upon them, while they were utterly unprepared for action, and not so much as in the least apprehensive of any occasion for it. This surprize put them in the greatest terror imaginable; insomuch, that they went trembling and half dead to Samuel for advice what to do, telling him in plain terms, "That they had neither hearts nor strength to encounter an enemy, by whom they had been so often worsted. They should be glad to be quiet, they said, without giving any farther provocation to so powerful an adversary." They told him that they came thither in obedience only to his order, to offer up prayers and sacrifices, and to enter into a military oath of fidelity; and "here are we," they said, naked and unarmed, at mercy, without any hope or possibility of escaping, unless you can prevail with God to rescue us miraculously out of the hands of the Philistines." Samuel bad them fear nothing; for God had promised them his protection and assistance, and he would most certainly make good his word; so Samuel sacrificed a sucking lamb to God, in the name of the people, imploring his aid against the power of the Philistines, in favour of the Hebrews, who put their whole trust in him, and not to forsake them at present, nor suffer them to be afflicted with a second and final ruin. God accepted of the sacrifice, and answer'd Samuel's request with the comfortable assurance of giving the Hebrews an entire victory. But while the sacrifice was yet upon the altar, and not wholly consumed, the Philistines drew up in a body, and presented themselves in order of battle, in such hopes and assurances of a victory, as if the Jews were already taken and surpriz'd, without either arms or order, or the least thought or design of fighting. The event, however, prov'd so contrary to what they expected, that if they had been foretold by an oracle of the issue, they would not have believ'd it.

IN the first place, God shook the foundations of the earth under the feet of the Philistines, so that they could not stand without

flaggering. In some places it open'd, and swallow'd them up alive, before they knew where they were; and all this, accompanied with such dreadful claps of thunder, and flashes of lightening, that their very eyes and limbs were scorched to such a degree, that they could neither see their way before them, nor stand to their arms. In this consternation they fled in as defenceless a condition as if they had been so many naked men without their arms; Samuel and his people closely pursuing them with a terrible slaughter, till they came to a place call'd Chore, and there he fixed a kind of monumental stone, in the nature of a trophy, for a mark of the bounds, both of the victory and of the chace, calling the place the Strong, in remembrance of God's powerful assistance to his people in the action. The Philistines were so cow'd, and cast down with this disaster, that betwixt the dread they had of the Hebrews, and the memory of what they suffered, they never had the hearts afterward to lift up their hands against them, but contented themselves to sit down losers, and to keep within their bounds. The ancient courage of the Philistines was now gone over to the other side; and Samuel would not give them over, till by repeated inroads, and frequent executions upon them, he had brought down the stomachs of the whole nation to the lowest degree of despondency and abjection. In this course of successes, he retook the country that lies betwixt Gath and Accaron*, which the Philistines had formerly taken from the Jews. But there was peace at this time betwixt the Hebrews and the rest of the Chanaanites.

The Philistines, in a consternation, fly before the Hebrews, Ver. 11.

Samuel sets up a stone for a monument of the victory, Ver. 12.

Samuel recovers all the country they had lost betwixt Gath and Accaron, Ver. 14.

* Scr. Ekron.

C H A P. III.

Samuel being now in years, transfers the government to his two sons.

SO soon as Samuel had put the people in some sort of order, and re-instated them in the possession of their lands and cities, he appointed publick meetings at certain times and places, for the hearing of causes, and administration of common justice; taking a progress twice a year into all those towns of appeal, and law-business, to see right done himself; making it his principal care still, not to depart from the laws of his country. This was the polity and method of his management for a long time; but in the end, when old age, and the weaknesses that attend it, had rendered him unfit for the personal performance of these publick offices, he devolved the authority and care of the whole upon his two sons, Joel and Abiah; the former being the elder, and the other the younger; directing them to make a distribution of the people into two divisions, and the two brothers to go several circuits; the one to have his court of judicature at Bethel, the other at Beerseba.

WE may learn from hence, that sons do not always tread in their fathers footsteps, either in the ways of good or evil; but many an excellent father has a wicked wretch to his son; and so on the contrary, a sober virtuous child may be the son of a graceless father; as these young men for example, without any regard to the doctrine and practice of Samuel, steered

The excellent polity and method of Samuel's government.

Samuel, now in years, devolves the care of the government upon his two sons, Joel and Abiah, appointing them their walks and circuits, 1 Sam. viii. 1.

The sons of Samuel degenerate, 1 Sam. viii. 3.

a course directly contrary to the prudence and equity of his institutions and measures. They prostituted the sacred name of justice for money, making judgment to be mercenary; and in this state of corruption, controversies were decided by the value of the bribe, not the righteousness of the cause. They were still indulging themselves in riot and excess, when they should have been upon the bench, and so abandon'd to their avarice and pleasure, as if they had deliberately entered into an equal defiance of the will and commands of their God, and of their father; for Samuel laid nothing more to heart, than the care of keeping the people in the train of a dutiful obedience to their superiors, and in the knowledge and observance of common justice one with another.

C H A P. IV.

The Israelites press earnestly for a king, and God in his wrath gives them one.

The people are weary of Samuel's sons, Ver. 4.

THE people were so outrageously transported against the sons of Samuel, to see such abuses in a frame of government so excellent, both in respect of policy and of manners, that they gathered themselves together, and went unanimously to the father, who was then at Ramah, with a grievous remonstrance against his sons for their misgovernment in general, and the particulars at length of their male administration; making it their earnest request to him, in regard of his own infirmity of body, and the intolerable extravagancy of his sons, that he would set some king over them, under whose conduct they might revenge themselves upon the Philistines, for the injuries they had done them.

And press to have a king over them, Ver. 5.

Now these words to Samuel, who was naturally a lover of justice, and a profess'd enemy to tyranny, so disturbed him (being in his judgment also for an Aristocracy, as a form most accommodate to the well-being of the people,) that he could neither eat nor sleep for the thoughts of it, but lay tossing and turning himself all night, restless and unquiet. While he was thus labouring under an anxiety of mind, God appeared to him in a vision; and for his comfort, bad him trouble himself no further with this remonstrance of the people;

Samuel could not sleep all night for the thoughts of this, Ver. 6.

For, says the voice, they have not put an affront upon thee, but me, in rejecting me for their king; and this is no more than what they have been continually attempting, since I first brought them out of Egypt; wherefore let them have their own way; but they shall dearly rue it ere it be long, and abhor themselves for their ingratitude, both to me and to my prophet, but it will be then too late, and to no purpose; for when the thing is once done, 'tis never to be undone; wherefore I will have thee give them a king, and he shall be a king of my designing too; but before they go any further, forewarn them of the miseries they are now drawing upon their own heads. Do as I bid you; but protest to them at the same time, how much it goes against your heart to comply with them, in changing the form of government, which will certainly be for the worse."

God tells Samuel they have not cast off thee, but me, Ver. 7.

God orders Samuel to give them a king, Ver. 9.

SAMUEL, according to his commission and instructions, summoned an assembly to meet the next day, engaging that he would assign them a king, but not without letting them know beforehand what they were to endure under a monarchy. "Your kings, says he, shall take your sons to drive their chariots, and to be their horsemen and body-guard, and some shall be their lacqueys; others they will make tribunes and centurions; some again they will set to till their ground, reap their harvest, dig in their vineyards, and make them instruments both for war, and for other purposes. There is nothing so mean or extravagant, but you shall be forc'd to do it, like slaves bought with their money: they will make your daughters perfumers, cooks, and pastry-servants; compelling them to do all that upon necessity, which the meanest of your slaves are frighted into for fear of correction and blows. They shall give away your possessions to their eunuchs and guards; divide your flocks and herds among their favourites; but to say all in a word, you and yours shall be as much vassals to your king, as his own domesticks. When you come to find all this to be true, remember what I foretold you. When that day comes, you shall beg to be quit of your king, with as much importunity as ever you did to have one: you shall then curse your obstinacy, and reflecting upon your sins, cry to God for mercy, in the anguish of your souls, and not obtain it: you shall despair under the repulse, and suffer the punishments of your wickedness in the torment of a guilty conscience."

Samuel calls an assembly, and promises them a king; telling them first what kind of king it will be, Ver. 10-18.

The people are foretold they shall repent when it is too late, ibid.

THESE counsels and premonitions wrought no more upon the multitude than if they had been all deaf; for they shut their ears against all that could be offer'd them, either of sobriety, or sound reason; and instead of desisting, nothing would serve them but a king immediately, at all hazards. "They could not defend themselves, they said, against their enemies under any other form of government; and why should not they have a king as well as their neighbours?" When Samuel found them so untractably wilful, in despite of all counsels and forebodings, he dismiss'd them all to their own homes, with this assurance, that he would call them together again so soon as ever he should receive direction from God what king to give them.

C H A P. V.

Saul declared king. Nabal's besieges Jabez. Saul relieves it, and gives the enemy a total defeat.

THERE was one Kis, of the tribe of Benjamin, a man well born and bred, who had a son named Saul; a man of a proper goodly stature, and a mind answerable to the graces of his body. The father took much pleasure in a breed of asses he had, above all his other beasts; and some of them being misfing, he sent his son abroad, and one servant with him, to look after them. When he had sought and enquired from one tribe to another, without any tidings of them, he steered his course homewards, for fear his father should be

Saul, the son of Kis, of the tribe of Benjamin, is sent abroad to look after his father's asses, 1 Sam. xix. 2, 3.

He goes to the prophet Samuel, to enquire after them, 1 Sam. ix. 10.

Saul's coming to Samuel was foretold him, Ver. 15, 16.

Samuel takes Saul to supper with him, Ver. 24.

Samuel anoints Saul, and pronounces him king, 1 Sam. x. 1.

be troubled to think what was become of him. As they were upon the way near Ramah, the servant told Saul, that there was a famous prophet liv'd there, and advised him to go and enquire of him after the asses. Ay, but says Saul, I have not wherewithal about me to gratify him for his pains, for the stock is all spent that I brought out with me. The servant told him, that he himself had a quarter-sicle * left yet, and he thought that might be sufficient; not understanding that this was none of the prophets who made a trade of discovering things lost for money. So they went forward, and meeting several damsels at the gates of the town, going out to fetch water, asked them whereabouts the prophet lived. They shew'd them the house, and told them, that if they had any business with him, they would do well to make haste, and get to him before he went to supper; for he had invited a great deal of company that night, and they staid only for his coming, to take his place with the rest of his guests.

SAMUEL had been close at his prayers the whole day before, for directions from God who should be king; and he was answered, that the next day he should receive his order; for there should come a young man to him of the tribe of Benjamin, at the same hour. Samuel sat waiting in the house all this while, in expectation of this Benjamite, till the precise hour was come, and then going to supper, found Saul, whom he knew by an immediate inspiration to be the person design'd for the government. Saul advanced toward Samuel, and saluting him, told him he was a stranger, and so desir'd the favour of him to know where he might find the prophet. Samuel's answer was, that he was the man; and so taking him to supper, he discover'd unto him, not only that the asses he sought for were all safe, but that he himself was upon the point of being exalted from that employment, to the highest pitch of sovereign power. "Alas! my lord," says Saul, I have no such hopes in my thoughts, as you do me the honour to imagine; neither am I of a tribe or family that sets up for kings; it looks as if you were not in earnest, to put a fancy in my head of a dignity so much above my condition." The supper waited, and the prophet took Saul, and placed him above the rest of his guests, (who were seventy in number,) and his servant next him, giving orders to the waiters to bring Saul a royal mess; there sat in conference together till towards bed-time, when the company broke up, and every man went to his own home, saving only Saul and his servant, who staid with the prophet that night.

By break of day next morning, Samuel call'd up his guest, and directed him in his way. When they were gotten out of the city, he desir'd Saul to bid his servant go a little before; for he had somewhat to say to him in private. He did so; and when the prophet had him alone, he took out a glass of oil, and pouring it on his head, he pronounced and saluted him king, upon that anointing; telling him, that this honour was done him in expectation that he would protect the Hebrews, and do them right upon the Philistines, for the injuries they

had done them. "Now, says Samuel, to confirm what I tell you is truth, satisfy yourself with this token, you shall fall into company upon your journey, with three men going to Bethel to worship; one of them carrying three loaves, the second a kid, and the third a bottle of wine. They shall treat you with respect, and give you two of their loaves, which you are to receive. You will then advance to the sepulchre of Rachel, where you shall meet the news of your asses being found. After that you will go to Gabatha, and join yourself to a congregation of prophets that you shall find there, and by the assistance of the spirit of God, you yourself shall prophecy in company with them, to the astonishment of all that shall see and hear you; inasmuch, that the people shall say among themselves in admiration, how comes the son of Kis to be found among the prophets? When this comes to pass, you may conclude for a certainty, that the hand of God is in it. You may go then to salute your father and kindred; and when I send to you, come to me to Gilgal, where we may offer up our prayers to God, with sacrifices and thanksgivings." Upon these words they parted, and Saul found every circumstance in his journey to fall out as Samuel had foretold him.

UPON coming back to his father's house, his kinsman Abner (for whom he had a very great kindness and esteem) was mightily inquisitive into the story of his late adventure, and Saul very frankly told him the whole business of his going to the prophet, and how he came to hear of his asses again, but not one word of his elevation to the throne, for fear either of drawing an envy upon him, if it should be believ'd, or of incurring the censure of a vain whimsical man, if it should be mistrusted; so that though Abner was his singular friend, and near relation, yet considering that men's affections are changeable, and flesh and blood frail, he thought it safer, and more discreet, to reserve himself upon that point; for men do naturally cast an evil eye upon other people's prosperity, in preference to themselves, even where the distinguishing favour of God shews itself most remarkably in the blessing. The next thing Samuel had to do, was to call the people together; which he did, and they met at Mizpeh; where, in a full congregation, he deliver'd himself to this effect:

"I AM now, by the command, and in the name of God, to tell you, that it was he who deliver'd you out of your Egyptian bondage, and over and over rescued you out of the hands of your enemies, when they had you under their feet at mercy: I am likewise to mind you of your contumacy and ingratitude toward that God, in return for all those mercies and benefits; how you have, as much as in you lay, deposed him from his authority over you, and rather chosen a man of your own make and frailty, than the Almighty King of Kings for your governor; as if any ruler would do better for you than he that made you; a king that will treat his subjects like beasts, at will and pleasure, and use them only as instruments and ministers of his passions and lusts. But

Samuel foretells Saul what would befall him in his journey, Ver. 2-8.

Samuel calls the people together, Ver. 17.

Samuel's discourse upon the subject of God's goodness, and the people's ingratitude, in renouncing God for their king, Ver. 19.

* Viz. about seven pence three farthings in our money.

† Maspadá.

"well, my brethren, since you are unalterably determin'd to have it so, and for the sake of an inconsiderate transport of levity, to cast off all manner of reverence for the duties of honour, honesty, and conscience: Since this, I say, is your final resolution, a king you shall have, and therefore divide yourselves into tribes and families, and put it then to the lot who shall be the man." They did so, and the lot of the tribe fell upon Benjamin; that of the families upon Matri; and in conclusion, when they came to try it man by man, the personal lot fell upon Saul, the son of Kis; who being made privy to all this beforehand, slipp'd out of the way so soon as the choice was over, that he might not be thought ambitious of the honour. It was an instance of great modesty and good government in him, that being advanced from a private state to a sovereign authority over a mighty nation, he was not only, not vain, proud, and forward to shew himself upon the promotion, but to avoid the pomp and ostentation of his new dignity, he so industriously withdrew himself from the eyes and acclamations of his own subjects, that no body knew where to find him; whereas the hundredth part of this surprize would have turn'd the brain of a man less temperate, with joy and ostentation.

UPON Saul's not appearing, or rather upon his not being to be found, they were all at a nonplus what to do without him, and how to come at him; till upon the application of the prophet for further light and direction, God was pleas'd to make known to him the place where Saul lay conceal'd; whereupon Samuel caus'd him immediately to be sent for, and brought into the field, where he was observed to be taller by the head and shoulders than the rest of the people, and to have somewhat of a natural majesty in his very person.

SAUL being thus produced, the prophet presented him in manner as follows: "Behold, says he, the king that God hath given you, and you may read in the excellency of his person how well he is qualified for this honour; the people seconding this recommendation with shouts and acclamations of, God save the king." Samuel had committed to writing the prediction of what would befall this people under a kingly government, and read it over to them in the hearing of Saul himself; depositing the book at last in the tabernacle of God, to remain as a memorial to posterity of the truth of all he foretold.

THIS solemnity being now over, Samuel discharged the congregation, and went home himself to Ramah*, and Saul to Gibeah†, the place where he was born. He was attended with a great train of very good men, who made their court out of pure loyalty and respect, to congratulate his accession to the throne, but not without matineers and malecontents in abundance, who out of spite and envy, made sport of the whole matter, behaving themselves contemptuously even toward the king himself, as well as his dutiful followers, neither offering presents or congratulations to bid him welcome to his dignity.

SAUL had not been invested king above a

month, but there broke out a war with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, which redounded very much to his honour. This Nahash had committed several outrages upon the Jews beyond Jordan, making inroads into their country, and conquering their cities with a numerous and powerful army; nor was he content to make slaves of them at present by force, unless he also put them out of all possibility, by stratagem and cunning, of ever recovering their freedom. Now the invention was this; they pluck'd out the right eyes of all they got into their power, whether by force, or by treaty; so that they must either lose the use of the buckler which cover'd the left eye, or the benefit of having any eyes at all.

NAHASH having treated the people beyond Jordan after this cruel manner, marched with his army on the same design to the country of the Gileadites, and so to Jabesh, the capital city of the province, and there encamp'd. From hence he sent a summons to the inhabitants, either to deliver up the town, and submit to the loss of their right eyes, or otherwise to stand the uttermost peril of fire and sword; leaving it at their choice, either to compound for a part, or to run the hazard of the whole, life and all. The men of Jabesh were now at a stand, neither daring to give a tame nor a resolute answer; but upon consideration, they divided the business, and the return was this: they desired only seven days liberty to send to their friends and allies for relief; which if obtain'd, they said they would wage war; but if none came in that compass of time, they promised to render themselves up to the enemy upon their own terms. Nahash had so contemptible an opinion of these people, that he made no difficulty at all of complying with their conditions.

UPON this crisis they posted away expresses to their friends throughout all the cities of Israel, for immediate succour, with an account of the desperate streights they were in, under the menaces of a powerful enemy. The miserable distress of their condition drew tears and pity wherever they came, but not a creature durst so much as attempt to help them; and it was the same thing with the inhabitants of the metropolis also, where Saul kept his residence, as it was in other places; but he having been abroad, and upon coming to town again, finding the people under so dismal a consternation, he instantly enquir'd if all was safe, and the reason of their sudden sadness; and from the couriers who brought the news, he got the whole story.

WHILE things were in this desperate extremity, the spirit of God came upon Saul; who in the heat of this impulse, sent some of the messengers back again to the men of Jabesh, with an assurance, that on the third day || he himself would come to their assistance, beat the enemy by break of day, and that the rising sun should see them totally routed and destroy'd, and the wretched citizens freed from their fears, and secured against any farther danger. Some he dispatch'd away with this message, others he kept for guides, to conduct him the right way upon his march.

A war with Nahash, king of the Ammonites, 1 Sam. xi. 1.

The Ammonites pluck out the right eyes of all the prisoners they take, Ver. 2.

A terrible summons to Jabesh, ibid.

And seven days allow'd them to consider of it, Ver. 3.

They send messengers to Saul, and elsewhere, for relief.

Saul answers them prophetically, that on the third day they should be relieved, and the enemy routed and destroy'd.

* *Acqua-Sai*.

† *Giladai*, Jos. See Berkelius upon Steph. Byzant. v. *Giladai*.

|| There is a small variation here from the scripture, with respect to time; for in 1 Sam. xi. 9. 'tis said, "And they said unto the messengers that came, thus shall ye say unto the men of Jabesh-Gilead, to-morrow, by that time the sun be hot, ye shall have help."

C H A P. VI.

Saul raises an army, routs Nabash, and is a second time anointed and declar'd king.

Saul's project
of houghing
his own oxen.

He gets two
prodigious
armies toge-
ther, 1 Sam.
xi. 8.

And falls up-
on the enemy,
flank, front,
and rear,
Ver. 11.
A complete
victory, and
Nabash slain
in the battle.

Saul gets a
mighty repu-
tation by this
action, V. 12.

The people
make their
boasts that it
was done by
their king,
ibid.

SAUL being now streighten'd in time, and the people backward enough to the war, bethought himself of an invention how he might both quicken and encourage them; making account, that in some cases men will do more for fear of loss, than for the love of virtue; so that he first hough'd the * legs of his own oxen, and then publish'd a declaration, that whoever should fail of appearing the next day in arms at the river Jordan, and thence to follow him and Samuel, wheresoever they should lead them, he should have his oxen served after the same manner. This succeeded so well, that for fear of incurring the penalty, there came together at the precise time, a body of seven hundred thousand fighting men, as appear'd upon a review near the city of Balam, where they had their rendezvous; not reckoning seventy thousand men more of the tribe of Judah. With this army they pass'd the Jordan, and after a march of about ten schœni † that night, they possess'd themselves of the ground which Saul had pitch'd upon, before sun-rise next morning. From this place they broke in upon the enemy, front, flank, and rear, in three divisions, by a most unexpected surprize, cutting them down on all hands with a dreadful slaughter. The Ammonites, in fine, were totally routed; and among others Nabash their king was slain in the battle, the Hebrews remaining masters of the field, having obtain'd a complete victory. This glorious action gave Saul a mighty reputation, both for his valour and conduct; insomuch, that it brought his very enemies over to him; and those who betwixt envy, hatred, and contempt, could not before afford him a good word, were now the men that paid him the greatest honour, and extoll'd him to the skies for the bravest and the best of governors. Nor did Saul content himself with having deliver'd the inhabitants of Jabesh, but he carried the war into the land of the Ammonites; laid waste their country, enrich'd his army with the spoil, and brought off the people safe and victorious to their own homes again.

NEITHER did the multitude forget to applaud themselves all this while, for the notable expedient of chusing a king; for they look'd upon Saul to be the people's king, and consequently their instrument; so that whatever he did, they took it virtually to be their own act. "Where are those busy fellows," they cry'd, "that were so fierce against our having a king? why are not those traitors to their country brought to condign punishment, and made examples of?" After this outrageous and extravagant rate they went rambling up and down, (as the humour of the rabble is to judge of every thing by the event,)

till Saul interposed with an oath, that he would not suffer any thing so derogatory to the occasion, as the confounding of God's mercies with human passions, by polluting a day of victory over their enemies with the blood of their friends. He put a compliment, however, upon the good intention of their laudable zeal, but still adjur'd them to lay aside all animosities and hatred, and to join all as one man in the dedication of that blessed day wholly to joy and thanksgiving.

WHEN matters had proceeded thus far, Samuel advis'd the calling of another assembly, to ratify and establish Saul in the right and possession of the throne. So the convention was appointed, and met at Gilgal, where Saul was again anointed by Samuel, and proclaimed king a second time, in the sight and hearing of all the people. Thus was the republican state of the Hebrews translated to a monarchy: the form of the government, military and civil, under Moses and his successor Joshua, was an Optimacy or Aristocracy; and for a matter of eighteen years after that, it was no better than a direct anarchy, without any order at all; but re-assuming their old form of government, which was to chuse some eminent person whom they found most competent for the function, the sovereignty was lodged in magistrates, under the name of judges, and there it continued so long as the administration lasted.

THE assembly being by this time ready to break up, Samuel applied himself in a discourse to them, by way of appeal, to this effect: "I do adjure you, says Samuel, in the name of the great God of your forefathers, who gave them those incomparable brothers, Moses and Aaron, for their rulers and guides, and delivered them out of the bondage of Egypt, to give me a true answer now, in the presence of the king, without any restraint or fear, tenderness or respect, to some few questions that I shall ask you. Can you, or any of you, charge me with so much as one single act of corruption, partiality, or injustice, in my whole administration? Whose ox, whose sheep, or whose ass have I taken? not but that presents of good-will in the matter of necessities for life, may be received, without either crime or scandal. Yet give me leave to say again, if you can lay any thing of this kind to my charge, speak it before the king's face, and do not spare me." Upon this, the whole multitude acquitted him with one voice, declaring unanimously, that his government had been faultless, and according to the strictest rules of piety and justice.

"WELL, says Samuel, I am glad of your acknowledgment here before the king, that you have no cause of complaint against me. I wish I could say as much for you too; for to deal freely, you have been mightily to blame. What should you chuse another king for, after the experience of so many signal mercies, and miraculous deliverances,

Samuel calls
another as-
sembly at
Gilgal, V. 14.

Saul a second
time anoint-
ed, and pro-
claimed,
Ver. 15.
The Hebrews
Aristocracy
turn'd into a
monarchy.

Samuel justifies his admi-
nistration, in
an appeal to
the people,
1 Sam. xii.
2--5.

Samuel taxes
the people
for their in-
gratitude, in
casting off
God to chuse
a king, Ver.
6--15.

* This fact is also somewhat differently circumstanced in Scripture; for ver. 7. of the same chapter 'tis said, "And he, Saul, took a yoke of oxen, and hewed them to pieces, and sent them throughout all the coasts of Israel, saying, whosoever cometh not forth after Saul, and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen."

† Admitting, according to some, who suppose the least, a Schœnos to be four miles, ten Schœni must be forty miles, which was a prodigious way for one night's march; but there is such a variety of opinions amongst authors, that nothing certain can be fix'd upon.

" while you were under God's protection,
 " and own'd him for your governor. You
 " have forgotten the story of your forefather
 " Jacob's coming into Egypt, only with se-
 " venty men in his train, distress'd for want
 " of bread; how God provided for them, and
 " by his blessing how they increased and mul-
 " tiplied. You have forgotten the slavery and
 " oppression they groan'd under; till upon
 " their cries and supplications for relief, God
 " rescu'd them himself without the help of a
 " king, by the hands of Moses and Aaron,
 " who brought you out of Egypt into the land
 " you are now possess'd of. How can you be
 " so ungrateful now, after so many blessings and
 " benefits received, as to depart from the re-
 " verence and allegiance you owe to so power-
 " ful and so merciful a protector? how often
 " have you been deliver'd up into the hands
 " of your enemies for your apostasy and diso-
 " bedience; and as often afterward restor'd
 " to God's favour, and your liberty, upon
 " your humiliation and repentance? who was
 " it but God that gave you victory, first over
 " the Assyrians, and then over the Ammo-
 " nites, and the Moabites, and last of all, o-
 " ver the Philistines? not by the influence and
 " direction of kings, but under the conduct
 " of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness has
 " possess'd you then, to abandon a heavenly go-
 " vernour for an earthly! but however, to gra-
 " tify your asking; a king you would have,
 " and a king you have, whom I have only mi-
 " nisterially declar'd, according to the over-
 " ruling order, and appointment of God.

Samuel prays
 for a tempest
 from heaven,
 in token of
 God's dis-
 pleasure,
 1 Sam. xii. 17,
 18.

A dreadful
 storm of
 thunder, light-
 ning, and
 hail, *ibid.*

Samuel's
 charge to the
 people, Ver.
 20, &c.

" But to shew you now, by an infallible
 token from heaven, that God is highly of-
 fended at this importunity of yours, for an
 alteration of your government, I do now
 beg from heaven, as a sign that I speak truth,
 and that God is infinitely displeas'd with
 you, that such a tempest may fall now as in
 the middle of summer never was heard of
 before in this quarter." The word was no
 sooner out, but there follow'd such an hurricane
 of thunder, lightning, and hail, that it look'd
 as if heaven and earth were coming together.
 The people, struck with consternation and ter-
 ror, immediately betook themselves to prayers,
 begging that God would forgive them the sins,
 both of their iniquity and of their ignorance;
 desiring the prophet also, out of his fatherly
 tenderness, to join with them in his mediation
 to God for their pardon, for this last, as well
 as for former transgressions. Samuel promised
 them his intercession, and not without hope of
 obtaining mercy for them: but at the same
 time gave them " a strict charge, to lead so-
 ber, virtuous lives, and never to forget the
 miseries and calamities that had befallen
 them for departing from their duties, and to
 bear likewise in perpetual memory, the mi-
 racles which God had wrought in their fa-
 vour, and the laws deliver'd by him to his
 servant Moses; and this to do, as they had
 any consideration, either for the well-being
 of their king, or of themselves; upon the pe-
 nalty, as he foretold them, of a certain ruin
 both to the one and to the other, if they
 acted contrary to what he had prescri-
 bed." And so with this second confirma-
 tion of Saul in his government, the assembly
 was dismiss'd.

C H A P. VII.

*Saul incurs God's displeasure. Jonathan obtains
 a glorious victory over the Philistines. Saul
 makes a rash vow. His children, and his
 mighty power.*

SAUL being now settled, and confirm'd in the possession of his royal dignity, made a choice of three thousand men out of the whole body of his people. Two thirds of them he took with him to Bethel, where he kept his residence, for the guard of his person; and the other thousand, he order'd to attend his son Jonathan, whom he sent to Gibeah: with which party, Jonathan reduced a castle, not far from thence, belonging to the Philistines. Now the Philistines thereabouts whenever they got the better of Jews, did not only disarm them, but forbade them the exercise of any trade that wrought in iron: so that for the very iron-work of their ploughs, spades, mattocks, and other domestick necessities, they were fain to have recourse still to Philistine workmen to supply them. They took care also to secure all passes; fortify all tenable towns, and to furnish them with men and munition. The news of this baffle was receiv'd by the Philistines with all the indignation and contempt imaginable; and presently they drew an army into the field of three hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horse, and pitched their tents at Michmash. So soon as the tidings of this preparation came to Saul's ear, he went to Gilgal, and sent his messengers and proclamations, every where up and down to summon all his people, that had any regard for the liberties of their country, to take up arms against the Philistines; making them much less considerable than in truth they were, both for numbers, and military prowess. But when Saul's people came to understand, upon the certainty of better intelligence, the full state and strength of the enemy, a panick terror seized the whole body of them, to such a degree, that they fled diverse ways as in a rout; some concealing themselves in vaults and caves, and other hiding-places; but the greater part of them made over the Jordan for shelter and concealment, among the tribes of Gad and Reuben.

WHILE things were in this hurry and confusion, Saul sent for the prophet to advise with him upon the present juncture: who made him this return, that he should continue where he was; get sacrifices in readiness; and that at the end of seven days, he himself would be with him, when they would offer them up, and so advance to give the enemy battle. Saul waited out his time, but most unhappily failed in another article of his commission; for the prophet delaying his coming, and his men perpetually deserting him, he offer'd up the sacrifice without attending any farther for Samuel. The ceremony was no sooner over, but word was brought that the prophet was come; and Saul immediately, as upon a point of honour and respect, went out to meet him. When Samuel came to understand what had pass'd, he told Saul that he had done very unadvisedly in not keeping to his instructions, and in taking so rashly upon himself the office of delivering up

1 Sam. xiii. 2

Jonathan the son of Saul takes a castle of the Philistines, Ver. 3. The Philistines forbid the Hebrews meddling in iron-work, Ver. 19, 20.

The Philistines draw out a mighty army, in horse, foot and chariots, Ver. 5.

Saul summons the people to join, and make head against them, Ver. 3.

The people run away at the sight of the enemy, and hide themselves, Ver. 6, 7.

Saul consults the prophet, Ver. 8.

Samuel bids him have sacrifices ready, and wait for him seven days, *ibid.*

Saul unhappily sacrifices before the prophet comes, V. 9.

The prophet reprehends him for it, Ver. 11, 14.

el calls
 her af-
 ly at
 al, V. 14.

a second
 anoint-
 and pro-
 ned,
 15.
 Hebrews
 ocracy
 d into a
 archy.

uel justifi-
 his admi-
 ration, in
 appeal to
 people,
 m. xii.

uel taxes
 people
 their in-
 titude, in
 ing off
 d to chuse
 ing, Ver.
 15.

up the prayers and sacrifices which God had appointed on the behalf of the people in his absence. Saul excused it, that he had attended so many days according to his order; but that the enemy's leaving Michmash, and marching directly toward Gilgal, had so frightened his men, that he was under an absolute necessity in all haste to offer up the sacrifice before his people had quite forsaken him. "Well," says the prophet, it would have been better "for you to have follow'd my direction, which was effectually a message to you from God himself, than so heedlessly to incur the censure of so dangerous a contempt: For in short, your obedience would have secured the government to yourself, and your posterity." Upon this reproof, the prophet left him, and went his way home again, highly unsatisfy'd with what had been done. Saul, after this, with six hundred men only, and his son Jonathan, marched to Gibeah, the greater part of his people unarmed too; for there was little iron in that country; and none of the Hebrews permitted to exercise the trade of armourers, as we have said already.

Samuel goes back again much unsatisfy'd, 1 Sam. xiii. 15. Saul marches with 600 men, and his son Jonathan to Gibeah, Ver. 16.

The Philistines in three bodies break into the country of the Hebrews V. 17,

THE Philistines divided their army into three bodies, and so marched three several ways into the country of the Hebrews, where they ravag'd and destroyed all the way they went. Saul and his son, with Ahiah the high-priest (of the house of Eli) helplessly looking on from an eminence near hand, but in no condition (to their infinite affliction) of contributing to their relief.

JONATHAN was so transported with the spectacle of this outrage, that he took his armour-bearer aside upon it, and put a short question to him how far he would stand by him in a bold and generous enterprize, for the saving of his country? His answer was (and he bound it with an oath too) that let the hazard be what it would, he would die at his feet. Now the plot was this, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer should convey themselves secretly into the enemy's camp, and try what they could do to put them into a tumult and confusion. So they went away down the hill toward the enemy's quarter, who were posted in a craggy place that ran out at length into three angles, encompassed every where with rocks, that were as good as ramparts, to keep off an enemy. The place was so strong of itself, that there hardly needed any guard to defend it, the passage to it being not only difficult, but dangerous, and almost inaccessible. As they two were upon the way, Jonathan told his armour-bearer, for his comfort and encouragement, "If, (says he) they discover us, and call out to us to come up, you may depend upon it that we shall succeed; but if they say nothing at all, we must content ourselves to go back again as we came."

Jonathan's discourse to his armour-bearer, V. 6.

WHEN they were come within a very little of the enemy's camp, the Philistines got sight of them, and made sport of it from one to another, how the Hebrews were come creeping out of their holes and burrows; calling out to Jonathan and his companion, to come up to them, and take the reward of their impudence: These words were looked upon by Jonathan as a most auspicious presage of victory; and so they went on from one side of the rock to the other, where the very situation was look'd upon to be defence sufficient

without a guard. They at last however, gain'd the summit of the rock, though not without infinite toil and difficulty; and from thence, fell upon the enemy at unawares, cutting off a matter of twenty of them in their sleep. The alarm the enemy took upon this astonishing surprize, put the whole army into such a terror and consternation, that some threw down their arms, and made the best shift they could to save themselves by flight; others (being of several nations) fell foul upon one another, not knowing friends and foes asunder. Some were forced into Rivers, and down precipices, and into the certainty of death, to avoid the very fear of it: Others, as it happens commonly in tumults, were trod to death in the crowd, tumbling one over another.

The Philistines surprized in their sleep: And in that fright and confusion, they ran several ways, and destroy one another, V. 16.

By this time the king had intelligence brought him by his scouts, that the army of the Philistines was all in confusion and disorder. And the first thing he did was to enquire if any of his own people were missing, and word was soon after brought him, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer were not to be found. Upon this information, he appointed the high-priest to put on his sacerdotal vestments with his ephod, and to consult God about the event of this action. He did so, and brought him for answer, that God would make him victorious, to the utter confusion of his enemies: Whereupon Saul drew out immediately, and press'd in upon the Philistines, while they were in disorder, and destroying one another. The rumour of this fatal distraction was made publick every where, and came at last to the ears of the fugitive Hebrews in their very dens and caverns. Upon this intelligence they fall'd out from their several retreats, to the number of about ten thousand men in the whole, and press'd so hard upon the Philistines, that they had the chace, and the execution of them at pleasure. But the king, after all this, was so unhappy yet as to commit a great oversight in the very course of his successes, whether out of an impotency of mind under so surprizing a joy, (as that's a common case) or out of inadvertency, is not the question. But so it was, that Saul, in the vindictive resolution of making but one work of a total extirpation of the Philistines, pronounc'd a heavy curse upon that Hebrew, whoever he were, that should presume, barely to intermit the slaughter and pursuit of the enemy, though but by eating or drinking any thing, before the night parted them. Soon after the denouncing of this malediction, Jonathan had the hap, passing through a wood of the Ephramites where there were Bees, to find the droppings of some honey. He took a comb, and suck'd it, knowing nothing as yet of his father's vow, and the solemnity of the people's consent to it; but when they came afterward to admonish, and inform him of the malediction, with all the circumstances, Jonathan gave over eating, and not without some reflection upon the temerity of the vow: "For, says he, when men are spent and weary, a little refreshment would have enabled them to go through with their work, with more alacrity and vigour."

Saul hears of the disorder, and that Jonathan and his armour-bearer are missing, Ver. 17.

Saul consults the high-priest, who gives him an assurance of victory.

Saul upon this, presses in upon the Philistines, and cuts them to pieces, Ver. 20.

Saul commits a great oversight, Ver. 24.

A rash and a heavy curse, ibid.

Which falls upon Jonathan, Ver. 28.

AFTER the slaughter of a great many thousands of the Philistines, upon the place, the Hebrews returned at night to the rising of the camp;

The Israelites get the spoil of the Philistines camp, 1 Sam. xiv. 32. They eat the flesh with the blood in it, contrary to the law, Ver. 33.

Saul erects an altar, and sacrifices, Ver. 35.

The high-priest consults God upon the prosecuting of the war, and the oracle is silent, Ver. 37. Saul suspects some secret iniquity, and puts it to the lot to discover where it lies, with an oath, that the guilty person shall die, Ver. 38.

The lot falls upon Jonathan, Ver. 42.

Saul swears again that it shall cost him his life, Ver. 44.

Jonathan's modest and generous resignation.

camp; where, beside other booty, they took a prodigious quantity of cattle, which they kill'd as they had occasion; dressing and eating them with the blood in them. This being an offence against their law, the scribes immediately complained of it to the king, who presently commanded a huge stone to be set up in the middle of the field; ordering the beasts to be killed upon that stone, and the flesh not to be eaten till it should be first drained and purged of the blood; for that it was an abomination in the sight of God. This decree was readily obey'd, and so Saul erected an altar (the first of his setting up) and offer'd burnt sacrifices upon it.

Now Saul's heart being mightily set upon a full and final destruction of the Philistines, he thought it highly advisable, without giving the enemy any time for the recovery of their broken strength and courage, to follow his blow against the miserable remainder of those that escap'd, that very night; to the executing of which design the soldiers shew'd all the forwardness imaginable. But however, before he would attempt any thing farther upon the ruins of the scatter'd troops, he appointed the high-priest to consult the will of God upon the issue of this enterprize; who returned answer to the king upon this application, that the oracle was silent. "Well! (says Saul) it is not for nothing that God keeps himself thus upon the reserve on this occasion, who has been formerly so gracious as to prevent our very requests by granting them beforehand, and therefore there must be some secret mystery of iniquity in this matter, to draw his displeasure upon us: So that I am resolved to sift it out; and by that holy God, I swear, if I should find even my son Jonathan himself to be the guilty person, his life should answer for't, with no more concern to me than if he were a stranger."

The multitude unanimously agreed to put it to the test, and immediately thereupon, Saul order'd the people to keep together as they were, himself and his son standing apart, and so to try the issue by lots. The lot falling upon Jonathan, his father bad him bethink himself, what ill thing he had done that he could charge upon his conscience. Truly, says he, I know nothing more than this: That yesterday, upon the pursuit of the enemy, I tasted a little honey, knowing nothing at all of any decree of yours to the contrary. Why then, says Saul, with another oath, "you shall die for't; for the reverence I have for my vow, is more to me than all the kindred and tenderness in nature." The young man was not at all daunted with the apprehension of death; but with a brave and generous resolution, he told his father, that he did not desire to be forgiven; for "that death, says he, shall be welcome to me, that acquits my father of the obligation of a religious vow, and only befalls me in consequence of so glorious a victory. I have liv'd long enough, since I have liv'd to see the pride and insolence of the Philistines brought down by the He-

brews, which will serve me for a consolation in all my other sufferings." The whole multitude was so charm'd with the piety and bravery of the young man, that in a transport of tenderness and compassion, they rescued him out of the hands of his incensed father, with an oath, that "they would not suffer a hair of that person's head to be touch'd, who had been so instrumental in that victory, to the preservation of them all; only they besought God to forgive him for what he had done amiss."

AFTER the slaughter of a matter of sixty thousand of the enemy*, Saul returned to his own home, and reigned very happily, acquitting himself with great reputation in all his military adventures, against the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Philistines, the Edomites, and the king of Obab. He had three sons, Jonathan, Joshua, and Melchishui, and two daughters, Merab the elder, and the name of the other was Michael. Abner, the son of Saul's uncle Ner, was the general of his army. Ner and Kis, the father of Saul, were brethren, and the sons of Abiel. He had a mighty strength in chariots and horsemen, and still came off victorious, what enemy soever he had to do withal. He advanced the Hebrews, in fine, to the highest degree of glory, for their martial exploits, and made them formidable to all their neighbours, taking particular care in the choice of his guards, not to have any about him, but the goodliest persons for make, stature, and vigour of body, that he could pick up out of his dominions.

The multitude rescues Jonathan out of the hands of his father, Ver. 45.

After the slaughter of sixty thousand Philistines, Saul returns to his own home. Saul's exploits, children, and conduct, Ver. 49, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

God commands Saul to extirpate the Amalekites; but taking king Agag prisoner, and keeping him alive, he is cast off for his disobedience.

ABOUT this time Samuel came to Saul, by the special direction and appointment of God, with a certain message to him, which was, "to put him in mind, who it was that advanced him above his fellows to be a king, and of his duty to the king of kings who made him so; for though he was a ruler over the people, it was yet but in subordination to the sovereign ruler of the universe." And he had in charge, he said, to tell him farther, that "whereas the Amalekites had been great persecutors of the Hebrews in the wilderness, upon their coming out of Egypt into the land which they then possess'd, it was therefore the will of God that he should declare a war against them; and that upon subduing them by arms, he should not spare so much as one living soul, man, woman, or child; nay, that he should destroy the very sheep and oxen, and every thing else that belonged to them, as well as the people, without making profit of the spoil, or seizing any part of the booty to himself; for all their goods and possessions were to be dedicated to God in one common sacrifice."

Samuel brings Saul a message from God, minding him of his duty to his maker, 1 Sam. xv. 1-3.

* The Scripture does not here express any determinate number of enemies slain by Saul; only 1 Sam. xiv. 47. 'tis said, "Saul fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines; and whithersoever he turned himself, he vexed them."

† Scrip. Zobah.

"The very name of Amalek, according to what Moses had order'd, to be expunged from among mankind; and all this as a just vengeance for former injuries and oppressions, as above."

Saul musters four hundred thousand men, beside thirty thousand of the tribe of Judah.

Saul gives the Amalekites a total overthrow, 1 Sam. xv. 7.

Saul beats them after this out of their walled towns and strong holds.

Agag taken prisoner, and kept alive, Ver. 8.

The soldiers make advantage of the spoil, contrary to God's order, Ver. 9.

SAMUEL's instructions were peremptory and strict; and Saul, on the other hand, was as forward of his promises to observe them all to a tittle, and to shew his readiness, not only to do as he was bid, but to put his orders also in execution without delay. The next thing Saul had to do, after this, was the drawing of his men together, which upon a review at Gilgal, he found amounted to about four hundred thousand *, beside the tribe of Judah, which muster'd thirty thousand men of war itself. With this army Saul broke in upon the Amalekites, disposing of his ambushes upon the passes of the woods and rivers, in such manner, that the enemy could make no motion, without the danger of a surprize. But from the insidiary way of skirmishing, it came, in a short time, to a capital battle; wherein the Amalekites were routed, and betwixt those that fell in the combat, and those who were cut off upon the pursuit, the whole body was so totally destroy'd, that there were scarce any left to carry the news of the defeat.

AFTER this overthrow of their army, according to what God had foretold, Saul's next work was to attack them in their walled towns and strong holds; some they took by siege and approach, others by engines, stratagem, mines, starving, &c. till in the end, carrying all before them, their rage terminated in an universal slaughter of men, women, and children; for they look'd upon nothing to be cruel or inhuman that was done either in a just war, or in obedience to a divine command, which would have been dangerous to dispute.

IN this dismal calamity, Agag, the king himself, was taken prisoner, who was a man of so goodly a mien and aspect, that Saul, even for the sake of his person, resolv'd to save him; in which unwarrantable dispensation, he did but indulge a natural infirmity at his own peril, and in opposition to the express command of God; for the Amalekites had made themselves so abominable in the sight of Heaven, that God's wrath descended to their very children, in which case nature itself would have excus'd a tenderness, if there had been any room left for mercy. But so it was, that Saul kept Agag alive to gratify his fancy, in contradiction to his duty; and in so doing, he laid the foundation of all the miseries that afterwards ensued to the Hebrews. The people fell into the same iniquity also with their king, in driving away the Amalekites flocks and herds, and converting to their own use the pillage of money and goods, and the best of every thing; which was all contrary to God's positive order; and in fine, only destroying what was not worth the saving. In this expedition Saul over-run the whole country, from Pelusium, on the borders of Egypt, to the Red Sea, and laid it all waste, leaving only the Schemites in the land of Midian untouch'd; Saul having precaution'd them before the war, not to join interests with the Amalekites, but rather to get somewhere out of the way, with-

out involving themselves in the fatality of a judicial ruin that attended them. Now the Hebrews had a particular kindness for these people, upon the account of ancient affinity; for out of them came Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses.

UPON the credit of this glorious exploit, Saul returned to his own home again, mightily satisfied, in appearance, to all manner of purposes; both in his honour, and in his conscience, as if he had not only done the great work of subduing the enemy, but kept himself to his commission too, in a punctual obedience of his instructions. But the king's sparing of Agag, and the people's making profit of the spoil, being two articles so expressly forbidden in Saul's commission, gave great offence; and it would have been look'd upon as an unpardonable contempt, even toward a temporal prince, not to allow him who gives the victory, a right and title to order and dispose the issue of it as he pleases. Upon this way of proceeding in Saul, according to his own humour, without any regard to the tie of a known duty obliging him to the contrary, God was pleas'd to declare himself to the prophet, that it now repented him of setting up Saul to be king; for his business was, he saw, to do what he had a mind to do, not what he was commanded to do. This revelation put Samuel in the greatest confusion and anxiety of thought imaginable; insomuch, that he spent the whole night following in fervent prayers and intercessions to God for Saul's pardon; to all which importunities he receiv'd this short and final answer, "That it was no longer lenity, but facility, and a mistaken mercy, upon any mediation whatsoever, to pass over faults of such a quality, as to make the pardoning of one offence a manifest encouragement to the committing of another."

God repents that he made Saul king, Ver. 11.

WHEN Samuel found that God was not to be prevail'd withal, on Saul's behalf, he took a journey to him next morning to Gilgal: where the king no sooner saw him approach, but he ran presently to him, with open arms, embracing and saluting him, with a gratulatory thanksgiving in his mouth, for the late victory which God had given them, telling him withal, that for the order of the affair, every thing was done according to his direction. "If it be so, says Samuel, what meanesth this bleating of the sheep in my ears, and the lowing of the oxen, which I hear in the camp? the king told him, those were only some beasts the people had reserv'd for sacrifices: and then for the Amalekites, he had destroy'd them all but one man, whom he kept a prisoner, till he might have advice what should be done with him. Samuel's answer was, that God took no delight in sacrifices, but in the righteousness of good and just men: that is to say, of such as observe his holy will, and keep his commandments; accounting nothing to be well done, but what is done in conformity to his sacred pleasure. God doth not consider the sacrifice, but the obedience; and without that true and only sacrifice, the fat of beasts, and the oblations of gold and silver, are but such ostentations of a false piety, as he nei-

Samuel intercedes to God for Saul, but cannot prevail.

Ver. 14-23.

* This transcends the account in Scripture, 1 Sam. xv. 4. which says, "And Saul gathered the people together, and number'd them in Telaim; two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand men of Judah."

"ther requires, nor will accept of: but as to them, on the other side, who take delight in his commandments, and keep his precepts in mind, and will rather die than depart from them, God exacts no sacrifices at their hands: but whatever they offer, let it be never so mean and poor, the integrity of the heart gives it a recommendation more acceptable than all the pomp and ostentation of the most expensive sacrifice.

"I am to tell you now, says Samuel, that you are fall'n under God's displeasure for the neglect and contempt of his commandments. What will you be able to say for yourself, when he shall call you to an account for reserving that for a sacrifice, which God had expressly commanded should be wholly destroy'd? unless you look upon destroying and sacrificing to be one and the same thing. For this disobedience you are now condemn'd to the loss of your kingdom, and of that power which you have most dangerously abused, to the dishonour of the sovereign author of your promotion." Saul could not in his conscience but confess himself guilty, and own that he had done grievously amiss, in transgressing the prophet's orders, and going beyond his commission. All he had to say for himself was, that he lay under a sort of compulsion, and that the common soldiers were so intent upon the booty, that he durst not venture either to oppose or restrain them; but, says Saul, "obtain my pardon only this one time, and it shall be a warning to me to my life's end, never to do the same thing over again." After this profession of his repentance, he would fain have had Samuel stay a little longer, and sacrifice to God on his behalf: but the prophet foreseeing that it would be to no manner of purpose, left him, and departed.

CHAP. IX.

The translation of the kingdom from Saul to another family; and David proclaim'd king.

AS Samuel was pressing to get away, Saul caught hold of his garment to stop him a while, and upon that accident the mantle was rent, betwixt them; which the prophet apply'd by an allusion to Saul, telling him that his kingdom would be torn from him, and given to a man of piety and justice. "The sentence is pass'd, says he, and it is not with God as it is with men; for his decrees are unchangeable." Saul confess'd his own iniquity, and the justice of God's displeasure: but, says he, what is done, cannot be undone: Honour me only before the people, and turn again, that I may worship the Lord. So Samuel turned back, and they went and worshipped together. After this, they brought forth Agag, the king of the Amalekites, who being over-heard to say something about the bitterness of death, had this reflection turn'd upon

him by the prophet: "As thy sword, says he, hath made many an Hebrew mother miserable and comfortless in the destruction of their children, so it is but reasonable, that thy mother should be left childless too." So Agag is put to death in Gilgal, and he went back himself to Ramah.

SAUL was come now to be sensible of the calamities he had brought upon himself by his disobedience, and so went away to his palace at Gibeah, (or the little hill;) nor had he ever afterwards any personal conference with the prophet. Samuel was extremely afflicted at the dismal circumstances of this separation; but God commanded him, without troubling himself any farther about that matter, to take a cruce of holy oil, and go to Bethlehem with it to Jesse, the son of Obed, and there to anoint such a son of Jesse king, in Saul's stead, as he should be directed to, and one that should be found worthy of the royal dignity. The prophet objecting, that if ever it should come to Saul's ear, he would certainly be the death of him, one way or other. God told him he had nothing to fear from that quarter; so he set forward to Bethlehem, and got safe to his journey's end; where there was great numbers of people met to receive him: every body enquiring the reason of his coming thither, and one answer serv'd for all, That he came to sacrifice.

So soon as the sacrifice was over, Samuel invited Jesse and his sons to take a dinner with him. The eldest son was so tall, so well made, and so graceful a person, that Samuel said within himself, "This is to be our king." But providence, it seems, look'd another way; for upon the prophet's breaking out into admiration at the graces of his person, and how worthy he was to be plac'd upon the throne, and putting it to the question also, whether this was the man or not that was to be anointed, answer was made him, that God does not see with the eyes of men; as if the excellency of an external frame of body were enough to entitle a man to the prerogatives of government: but the qualifications that he requires are piety, justice, fortitude, nay, and obedience too; all which together make up, in harmony, the beauty of the mind. The prophet, upon this answer, appointed Jesse to send for the rest of his sons, and there were five more produced, as goodly and as well-favour'd men as their eldest brother, six in all.† Their names according to their seniority were Eliab, Aminadab, Samma, Nathanael, Rael, and Asa. Samuel consulted God now upon this appearance, which of these brethren was to be chosen, and the answer was, [none:] which put Samuel upon a farther enquiry to the father, what other sons he had? only one more, (he told him,) who look'd to his sheep, and his name was David: whereupon the prophet order'd Jesse to send immediately for him; for that it was not meet to sit down to an holy banquet without him. The father sent for him the same instant, and the son came upon the first call: he was a

So Agag is put to death in Gilgal, V. 33.

Samuel sent to Bethlehem to anoint such a son of Jesse king, as he shall be directed to, 1 Sam. xvi. 1.

Samuel invites Jesse and his sons after prayers to dinner with him, Ver. 6.

The compositions of an excellent prince, V. 7.

Six sons of Jesse produced.

The seventh son, David, is sent for from his sheep.

† There is a small variation here from the scripture account, 1 Sam. xvi. where 'tis said, Ver. 10, 11. "And Jesse made seven of his sons to pass before Samuel; and Samuel said unto Jesse, the lord hath not chosen these. And Samuel said unto Jesse, are here all thy children? and he said there remaineth yet the youngest, &c." Josephus recounts but six, besides David; all which he mentions by name; but the scripture here cited, says, there were seven; four of which are only named by name, viz. Eliab, Abinadab, Shammah, and David.

David being
come, they
all sit down,
and Samuel
anoints Da-
vid king,
1 Sam. xvi.
12, 13.

The spirit
passes from
Saul to Da-
vid, and he
begins to pro-
phesy, *ibid.*
Saul falls into
fits, and his
physicians
prescribe
musick for
his remedy,
V. 14, 15, 16.

David is sent
for to court,
Ver. 19.

youth of a fresh ruddy complexion, a lively martial mien, and with all this, a great deal of modesty and good nature in his countenance. Upon the first sight of him, Samuel whisper'd the father, that this was the person God had design'd for their king: so the prophet seated himself, with the young man next him; and after them, the father, with the rest of his sons. When they were thus dispos'd of in their places, Samuel, in the sight of David, took out the holy oil, and anointed him; telling him in his ear, "That it was God's will, he should take the kingdom upon him; strictly admonishing him to do justice to his people, and to keep God's commandments; for in so doing," says the prophet, you shall stand firm in your government: the name and honour of your family shall be glorious to after-ages: you shall triumph over the Philistines, and be victorious over your enemies in all encounters: you shall live great, and be yet greater in the fame of your memory."

WHEN Samuel had made an end of his charge, he departed, and the spirit of God passed from Saul to David; by the power and virtue of which spirit, David at that time began to prophesy: when all on a sudden, Saul was taken with fits and fancies of suffocation, and difficulty of breathing, like a Demoniac. The physicians could not give any natural or philosophical account of the distemper, but only advis'd the having some body about him who could sing, and play upon the harp well, that might be ready at hand to give him the diversion of an hymn, or spiritual song, whenever the fit seized him. Saul was so well satisfied with the prescription, that he presently order'd such a man, with all care and diligence, to be presently found out and brought him. One of his domesticks, upon this hint, told him, that there was one Jesse of Bethlehem had a very lovely handsome youth to his son, who sung, and touch'd the harp to admiration. He said he was as brave too as he was beautiful, and every way endowed with suitable accomplishments. Upon this recommendation, Saul sent a compliment to Jesse, giving him to understand that he had heard so many good things of such a son of his, for his courage, loveliness, skill in musick, war, and the like, that he had a great mind to see him. Jesse call'd him out from his flocks, and sent him to Saul with presents suitable to the occasion, and the person. David, upon his coming to court, was received with great joy; made one of Saul's life-guard, and treated by him, with remarkable instances of esteem. He was highly acceptable to the king at all times, and upon all accounts; but never more than when he was in his fits; for David was the only physician, and his voice and harp the only remedy, that in these fits ever had the power to bring him to himself again. Saul, in fine, was so delighted with him in all respects, that with his father's leave and consent, he took him into his own palace to live with him.

C H A P. X.

The Philistines advance with an army against the Hebrews. Goliath defies the Israelites to a single combat; and David accepts the challenge.

IT was not long after this, that the Philistines marched against the Israelites with a prodigious army, and encamped betwixt Shechoth and Azekah; while Saul on the other hand, was at the head of another army, ready to encounter them. He drew out his men upon a mountain, and forced the Philistines to quit their camp, and post themselves upon a stronger mountain just over against the Israelites, with a valley betwixt the two armies. While they were in this order, there came down from the Philistines, one Goliath, a citizen of Gath, a man of a prodigious stature, and a strength answerable to his height; which was four * cubits and a span; and his armour proportion'd to the size and force of his vast limbs. His coat of mail weigh'd five thousand shekels; his helmet and greaves of brass, answerable: the head of his spear was iron, and weigh'd six hundred shekels; it was not a spear to be carried like a lance, but born upon his shoulder. With these accoutrements did this mighty man march down the hill, and a troop of armed men at a small distance after him, into the middle of the valley, betwixt the two bodies, and there he stopp'd, calling out to the Israelites with a horrid outcry, after this manner. "I am come hither, says he, you men of Israel, to do an office of humanity, and to save blood. Why should we hazard so many thousand lives upon the uncertain issue of a battle, when the cause may be more reasonably decided by two single persons? My business here is only to do the part of a champion for the Philistines. Do but you send out another man with the same commission from the Hebrews, and leave it to us two to put an end to the matter in dispute, for the prevention of a bloody war. If he kill me, then will we be your servants; but if I kill him, then shall you be our servants, and subject to us. It is better, in fine, to expose one than all." When he had pronounced these words, he went back again to his party. He made the same challenge again the very next day, and so day after day for forty days together, to the great trouble and amazement both of Saul and of his people, who drew themselves up every day in order of battle, but were hereby hinder'd from coming to an engagement.

SAUL had three of Jesse's sons along with him in this expedition; but David was sent back again to his father and to his flocks. In some short time after this, Jesse sent him to the army with necessaries for his brothers, and to learn what news. Upon his coming to the camp, Goliath was still bragging, and reproaching the Hebrews, that they had not a man in their army who durst engage him in single

The Philistine and Hebrew armies are drawn up, 1 Sam. xvii. 1, 2, 3.

Goliath, the Philistine, comes down the mountains with a challenge to the Hebrews, Ver. 4.

Goliath makes the same challenge for forty days successively, Ver. 8-16.

Three of Jesse's sons being with Saul, the father sends David to the camp to know what news, Ver. 17, 18.

* The Scripture says, six cubits and a span, which is more likely, considering the weight of his coat of mail was five thousand shekels; that is, two thousand two hundred and seventy six ounces, fifteen grains, and seventeen penny weights; or one hundred and eighty eight pounds, fifteen ounces, and seventeen penny weights; and the head of his spear six hundred shekels, that is, two hundred and seventy three ounces, and four grains; or twenty two pounds, eleven ounces, and four grains, reckoning, as we have before observed, a shekel to weigh nine penny weights, two grains, and four sevenths, English Troy.

combat.

combat. It was David's hap, one time, as he was talking with his brothers about his father's business, to hear Goliath in the height of his insolent and extravagant boastings against the Hebrews. This transported David to such a pitch of indignation, that he took up a resolution himself of accepting his challenge, and he told his brothers as much: but Eliab reproved him sharply for his rashness, telling him he was but a boy, and neither qualified with strength, skill, or experience suitable and sufficient to engage in such an undertaking.

David would needs encounter Goliath; but Eliab opposes it, 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

Saul sends for David, and discourages the matter with him, Ver. 31, 32, 33.

David's generosity and piety, Ver. 34-37.

He tells of an encounter with a lion and a bear, ibid.

David's bravery had more of a divine impulse in it, than of any thing of hot blood.

"No, no, says he, e'en go to your father, and to your sheep again, that is the fitter employment for you of the two." David had a reverence for his brother, but yet could not forbear saying the same things over again in the hearing of the foldiers, who presently carried the report of it to the king; upon which David was order'd immediately to be sent for, where when he came before the king, Saul ask'd him what he had to offer upon that point? "Great prince, says he, hope the best, and fear nothing, for I myself will take down the pride of this boasting man; and as tall as he is, tread him under my feet. Your army shall appear glorious, and your terrible enemy become the more ridiculous, when they shall see him fall by the hand of a raw and unexperienced stripling." The king stood in admiration at the firmness and magnanimity of the youth; but he could not yet think it safe or prudential, to put the main cause to an issue upon so unequal a match. David perceiving that Saul took his measures from the common reason of other encounters, gave the king to understand, "That this was not so much a challenge to the army, as a defiance to Heaven itself; neither was the combat to be taken, in truth, for a trial of skill betwixt Goliath and David, but betwixt Goliath and the Lord of Hosts; for it is not my arm, says David, that fights the battle, but the power of a gracious and an invincible God, that many times brings to pass, even by the weakest of instruments, the noblest of his divine purposes, for his greater glory. In that God is my trust; and I doubt not but he will still continue to protect, and deliver me in all difficulties, as he hath done formerly. As I was tending my father's sheep once, there came a lion, and took away a lamb out of the flock; I pursued him, till turning upon me, I took him by the tail, and threw him against the ground, and kill'd him. It was my hap to have another encounter with a bear, upon the same occasion, and with the like success. Now this blaspheming foul-mouth'd beast, from their army, is no more to me than a lion and a bear out of the forest. But divine justice will call this audacious wretch to an account, and make me the instrument of his vengeance. I do not speak this upon the impulse of a rash and ungrounded confidence, but in a full assurance of persuasion, that God will avenge himself upon this audacious wretch; and that even I myself shall have the honour of having a hand in the execution of that justice."

THESE words were deliver'd with another sort of spirit, than the daring heat of youth and hot blood; so that Saul looked upon them rather as an inspiration, than a proposal of his

own proper motion; and being so convinc'd, David easily obtained his leave, and his benediction both in one; and then accordingly prepared himself for the action. To which end Saul accoutred him in his own armour, coat of mail, sword, and helmet, and so bad God speed him. But David not being accustomed to arms, found them rather a burden than a defence; excusing himself to Saul with modesty and respect, that they were much fitter for a prince than for a shepherd; wherefore he put them off again, desiring only that he might be allow'd to fight after his own way. Upon this he took his shepherd's staff, a sling in his right hand, five smooth stones out of the brook in his scrip, and so advanced toward the enemy. When they were come within sight one of another, and that Goliath saw what a diminutive adversary he had to encounter, with the uncouth appearance of his equipage, he called out to him in derision; "Whether he was come into the field now to beat a dog, or to fight a soldier?" "To beat worse than a dog, says David." This reproach transported the Barbarian into so blasphemous a rage, that he curst David by his Gods; threatening to give his flesh for food to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field. "You come to me, says David, with a sword, a spear, and a coat of mail; but I come to you with a commission from the living God, who by my hands will this day destroy both yourself and your army; divide your head from your body, and carry it away with me, and cast your carcass upon the dung-hill for dog's meat, dog as you are yourself. By this providence it will be made evident to the whole world, that the God of the Hebrews takes care of his people, and that his protection is both their strength and their armour. As likewise on the contrary, that there can be no security either in arms or in numbers, to those that fall under his displeasure." The Philistine, in the mean time, advanced toward David, as fast as he was able to march, under the weight of his armour; and with all the contempt imaginable, to think of having to do with so raw and undisciplin'd an adversary.

David prepares for the encounter, Ver. 38, 39, 40.

A shepherd's staff, with a sling, and five small stones, are David's arms, ibid.

CHAP. XI.

David kills Goliath. The Philistines routed; and Saul conceives a mortal jealousy against David.

DAVID, on the other hand, pressing forward to the combat, under the conduct and protection of his almighty and invincible second, took out of his scrip one of the stones of the brook that he had provided for this occasion, couch'd it in his sling, and hurl'd it with such a force at the head of his enemy, that it fractur'd his skull, and penetrated his very brain, laying the monster grovelling, with his face upon the ground, in his last sleep. David immediately runs up to him, and bestrides him, takes his sword from his side, (having none himself,) and cuts off the Philistine's head with his own weapon. This exploit had such an effect upon their army, that they fled, and scatter'd immediately upon the sight of it. The loss of their champion put them into such an astonishment and desperation,

David strikes Goliath dead with a stone out of a sling, Ver. 49.

He cuts off his head with his own sword, V. 51.

The loss of their champion puts the Philistines in a consternation, ibid.

Saul frights
and pursues
them to Gath
and Ascalon,
1 Sam. xvii.
52.

David carries
the giant's
head to his
own tent, and
dedicates the
sword to the
Lord, Ver. 54.
This action
drew a dan-
gerous envy
upon David,
1 Sam. xviii. 8.

A virgin
daughter of
Saul's hath a
great esteem
for David,
Ver. 20.

Saul offers
David his
daughter in
marriage, for
the heads of
six hundred
Philistines.

tion, that all they had to do in the world was by a shameful flight, every man of them, to make the best shift he could for the saving of himself. Saul and the whole army of the Hebrews, made their advantage of this disorder, and falling on in the hurry of this terror, with military shouts and clamours, had the chase of them to the skirts of Gath, and the very gates of Ascalon. They reckon'd thirty thousand kill'd outright upon the pursuit, and twice as many wounded. Saul and his army, at their return, took the pillage of the camp, and set fire to it. As for the head of Goliath, David carried that to his own tent, and dedicated the sword to the Lord.

THIS brave and generous achievement of David's rais'd soon after a mortal jealousy and hatred in Saul, which happen'd particularly on this occasion.

UPON Saul's returning from the victory, the women and virgins went in throngs out of all the cities, singing and dancing, with their cymbals and taborets, to meet him upon the way, and with him joy of his successes; the women leading the song with [Saul hath slain his thousands;] the virgins following it, [and David his ten thousands.] This preference of David to Saul, in a ten-fold proportion, rais'd such a jealousy in his head, that he could not think himself safe after it, so long as David had any command near his person; wherefore he advanced him to the charge of a colonel; and in truth, his promoting the young man, and putting him upon so many hazardous and glorious enterprizes, was not so much to do David honour, as to provide for his own security, in hopes he might fall by the chance of war in a battle; for after such an instance of the people's affections to David, as to ascribe to him the credit of the victory, their next business would be to transfer the authority of the government, and for him to take it too. But David had the providence of God along with him, wherever he went, and in whatsoever he did; and he had not only won the hearts of the people by the charms of his courage and behaviour, but so far gain'd upon the affections of a virgin daughter of Saul's, that her father himself took notice of the passion she had for him; and in his ordinary discourses upon that subject, he seem'd well enough content that it should be a match; not out of any true tenderness and esteem that he had for David, but as the most plausible cover for a snare, that in a short time might probably cost him his life; which was the very bottom of his design.

WHILE this treaty was in speculation, Saul cast out a word by the by. "Let him, says he, bring me the heads of six hundred * Philistines, as an acknowledgment; and I consent he marries my daughter." He computed within himself, that David was not of a temper to decline any generous enterprize, that carried honour and danger along with it; and that his acceptance of this offer would certainly engage him in some desperate action upon the Philistines, that might probably cost him his life in the attempt. This, says Saul to himself, will be the more decent way of

gratifying my jealousy and revenge; for it will look better to have him taken off by the hands of the Philistines, as my instruments, than expressly by my own order.

SAUL, upon this deliberation, set some of his domesticks at work to learn how David stood affected to the marriage of his daughter; who gave him to understand by insinuations, that he was in so great favour both with king and people, that it was reported Saul intended to make him his son-in-law. "You may, perhaps, reckon it no great matter, says David, to be son-in-law to a mighty prince; but under the circumstances of my quality and extraction, I am not vain enough so much as to think on't."

UPON the return of the commissioners with an account of their negotiation, Saul sent them once more back again with further instructions. "Tell the young man, says he, that my business is not either fortune or presents; and that whenever I part with my daughter, she shall be bestow'd, not sold. The son-in-law that I propose to myself, must be a man just so qualified with courage and other laudable graces, as I find him to be. Tell him that I expect neither silver nor gold from his father; for I do not want either money or honour; let him only bring me six hundred Philistines heads, which will be far more welcome to me than any thing, and the most honourable of presents to my daughter, in justification of her to the whole world, that she has taken a brave man to her husband." David apprehended all Saul said, in his proposal of this affinity, to be spoken with sincerity of heart, without any dilatory consideration, as to the difficulty of the enterprize he was put upon; and so with his companions he immediately set about the execution of the conditions, and found God's providence as propitious to him in this, as it had been in former encounters; for his adventure succeeded to his wish; that is to say, he fought the enemy, and, after a great slaughter, made a present to the king of six hundred of their heads, and minded Saul of his promise.

David brings
the six hun-
dred heads,
and minds
Saul of his
promise.

C H A P. XII.

Saul gives his daughter Melcha in marriage to David, but designs upon his life; and Jonathan from time to time gives him notice of his danger.

SAUL found himself so engaged that there was no receding from his promise without making himself a liar, or discovering the treachery of his heart, in so base a design upon the life of a generous young man, under the pretext of an honourable affinity: so that to avoid incurring publick censure and scandal, he gave his daughter Melcha † in marriage to David. But this nearness of relation wrought no change at all upon the king: for Saul observing that David grew every day more and more in favour both with God and man, he fancy'd to himself, that so long as he liv'd, neither his crown nor

Saul, out of
pure shame,
takes David
for his son-
in-law, V. 27.

* 1 Sam. xviii. 25. 'tis said, "Saul demanded but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines." And Ver. 27. 'tis said, "David arose, he and his men, and slew of the Philistines, two hundred men, and David brought their foreskins, and they gave them in full tale to the king, that he might be the king's son-in-law, &c."

† Scrip. Michal.

But at the same time designs upon his life, and tries to bring Jonathan into the plot, 1 Sam. xix. 1.

Jonathan presses David to go out of the way, V. 2.

Jonathan assures David of all good offices in his absence, V. 3.

his life were in safety: so that he took up a resolution, for the security of both, to have David dispatch'd; designing his son Jonathan, with some of the trustiest of his servants, for his executioners. This strange inconstancy of Saul, not only in withdrawing his affection from so deserving a youth, but entering also into an impious and perfidious design upon his life, struck the son with such an amazement and horror, that what with the natural inclination he had for the person of David, and likewise a profound veneration for his virtue, he went and gave David private notice of Saul's intention; advising him, as he lov'd his life, to keep out of the way: and in the mean time, says he, I will go to my father, and take my time to mention your name to him; for I have a mind to try if I can learn what it is that has given him such an aversion to you, and bring him to better reason; for, says Jonathan, I cannot imagine so much as any colourable pretence for such an indignation and displeasure, against a person who has deserved so eminently well, both from his prince and from his country. Or supposing things at the worst, and that in truth he might have made a false step or two, why are not his services set in balance against it? for the publick owes him a pardon. Jonathan then told David, that he should be sure to have intelligence from time to time how his father stood affected towards him. So David follow'd Jonathan's counsel, and immediately withdrew out of the way.

CHAP. XIII.

Jonathan reconciles Saul to David; and Saul restores him to his former post.

Jonathan follows Saul on David's behalf, Ver. 4, 5.

brings k hun- heads, binds of his life.

out of shame, David's son- V. 27.

JONATHAN accordingly went the next day to his father, and finding him in a pleasant easy humour, lays hold of the critical minute to say somewhat to him about David. "Father, says he, you have taken up a terrible displeasure against this young man, and given orders for his death; but upon what provocation, or for what fault, great or little, I cannot comprehend. He is a person to whom we stand indebted for our safety, and the destruction of the Philistines, for vindicating the honour of our nation from the scandal of a forty days affront, in the challenge of the giant; and not a creature, but this innocent youth, that had the heart to encounter him: a person that purchas'd my sister for his wife at your own price; to wit, the heads of six hundred philistines, which were punctually counted according to his agreement: A person, in fine, entitled to your esteem and tenderness, both as a brave man, and as a member of your family, which will make up two sensible aggravations of the loss. Be pleas'd to consider too, the injury you do your own daughter in making her feel the mortification of a widow, before she enjoys the blessing of being a mother. Pray be pleas'd to lay these things together, and betake yourself to moderate counsels. Remember who it was that cur'd you of your splenetick fits, and drove the evil spirit from you; and consider the obligation he has laid upon the whole family by that relief; and who it was, next under God,

that deliver'd us from our implacable enemies. These are the benefits never to be forgotten, without the infamy of the blackest ingratitude." The strength and equity of this way of reasoning, wrought so effectually upon Saul's rage and jealousy, that he bound himself with an oath, never to do any manner of harm or wrong to David, for the time to come. Jonathan carry'd the news of this reconciliation to David, with an assurance that Saul was pacify'd, and ready to do him all sorts of good offices: in which confidence he carry'd him back again to court, reconciled him to his father, and re-instated him in the same post of service and attendance that he was in before.

Saul relents, and promises upon his oath that he will never hurt David, V. 6.

David upon this returns, Ver. 7.

CHAP. XIV.

David overthrows the Philistines. Saul seeks his life, and Melcha saves it. A league betwixt David and Jonathan. David flies to Gath. Achimelech relieves him, and Saul puts Achimelech and the whole sacerdotal race to the sword; only Abiathar escapes. David's miraculous deliverances. The death of Samuel. David marries Abigail. Achish entertains him; gives him Zicklag, and engages him in his war against the Israelites.

ABOUT this time the Philistines made war afresh upon the Hebrews, and David was sent by Saul at the head of an army to encounter them. They fought a battle, and the Philistines were totally broken and cut to pieces, with a terrible execution. So soon as the action was over, David returned forthwith to the king with an account of the victory. But his reception was not answerable, either to his expectation, or to the merit of his services; for Saul was rather sad, and cast down at the story of the success, than elevated with it, for fear of the consequences of David's growing reputation among the people; for Saul turned every thing that contributed to David's honour and advantage, to his own loss and reproach.

David gives the Philistines a total overthrow, with a terrible execution, Ver. 8. which the ill-natur'd envy of Saul could hardly thank him for.

It happen'd one day, that Saul, being fallen into one of his fits again, sent for David into his bed-chamber, to sing, and play upon the harp to him, as he lay there upon the couch with a javelin in his hand. David was in the very act of his obedience, singing and playing, as the king had commanded him; when Saul starting up all on a sudden, darted his javelin at him; but David avoided it by a nimble turn of his body, and fled, as fast as he could run, to his own house; where he continued for the remainder of that day. At night there was a guard set upon the house by the king's order, to prevent David's escape, and to bring him in custody next morning as a criminal, to suffer death by a publick sentence; but Melcha, David's wife, and the king's daughter, having very good intelligence of her father's design, ran presently to her husband, and informed him of the danger he was in, charging him, as he lov'd his life, to be gone before the next morning; "For if you should be taken," says she, my father will certainly put you to death; wherefore shift for yourself now in the dark of the night; and may God lengthen it beyond the ordinary course, rather than you want time for your escape."

As David was singing and playing to Saul in one of his fits, Saul casts his javelin at him, V. 10. David slips away and gets home. The king orders David to be seiz'd, Ver. 11. Melcha gets an inkling of it and acquaints her husband, and begs him to be gone, ibid.

So

Melcha lets her husband down at the window, 1 Sam. xix. 12. Saul sends early the next morning to seize him, Ver. 14. Melcha pretends he is sick in bed, ibid.

The officers come again next morning for him, dead or alive, Ver. 15. But Melcha had put a trick upon them, Ver. 16.

Saul rails at Melcha for joining with an enemy against her father, V. 17. Melcha excuses herself to Saul, ibid.

David with Samuel at Ramah, V. 18.

The more God favours David, the more Saul envies him. Samuel takes David with him from Ramah to Galbaah, Ver. 19-22.

The more God favours David, the more Saul envies him. Samuel takes David with him from Ramah to Galbaah, Ver. 19-22.

So after a decent interchange of all those tenderesses that naturally occur in such cases, the royal couple were now upon the very point of parting, with mutual protestations, that neither of them either would, or could live without the other. This was the farewell; and so Melcha let her husband down from the window by a rope, committing him to providence.

By break of day came Saul's messengers to the house, to apprehend David; but Melcha told them he was sick in bed, and after a very bad night on't, was now fallen asleep; so she shew'd them the bed, which she had dress'd up on purpose for the fallacy, and somewhat panting under the coverlet, which they took for the sick man. All pass'd for current with the messengers, and so they returned to the king, with an account of every thing; but Saul sent them back again the next morning, with a peremptory command to bring David away as they found him; for die he must. Upon the second search, they turn'd up the bed-cloaths, and perceiv'd that Melcha had put a trick upon them; for there was no David to be found. Now the panting under the blankets was only a device of Melcha, who had convey'd into the bed the warm liver of a kid newly kill'd, to represent the palpitation. The officers told the king the whole business, and how his daughter had impos'd upon them. Saul reprimanded her severely for being so base as to take part with an enemy against her father; but she invented this plausible excuse to save herself by, viz. That her husband swore he would kill her if she would not undertake to conceal him, and help him away; and therefore she hoped he would pass over what she had done under such a force; for she must have sacrificed the life of his daughter, if she had not saved the life of his supposed enemy.

MELCHA had now obtained her pardon, and David was escaped safe to Samuel at Ramah, where he gave the prophet the history at large of the snares which had been laid for him; the adventure of the javelin, &c. without any pretence all this while of the least failing in matter of duty and respect, or of any miscarriage in his commissions; for God had still prosper'd him in whatsoever he undertook; and it must be added now for a farther aggravation, that God's peculiar favour toward him, was the very ground of all the hatred and envy that was stirr'd up against him.

WHEN Samuel came to understand the extravagance and iniquity of Saul's way of proceeding, he took David along with him from Ramah to Galbaah*, and there they continued a while together; but so soon as Saul had gotten intelligence of David's being with the prophet, he sent a party of soldiers to take him up, and bring him away a prisoner; but the messengers, upon their arrival, found Samuel in the congregation of the prophets; and after a while, by the same spirit, they began to prophesy themselves too. Saul having notice of this, sent others, and then others, again and again still, upon the same errand, and it fared with them as with the former. Upon the third disappointment, all in a rage, Saul went himself, and when he was come almost to the place where Samuel was, the spi-

rit of prophecy seized him also; and going a little farther, the impulse was so strong upon him, that he stripp'd himself stark naked, and prophesied a whole day and night so, in the sight of David and Samuel.

DAVID all this while thought himself very ill us'd by the king, considering how dutiful and useful he had been to him; but upon making his complaint to Jonathan, of the hard measure he had receiv'd, he advis'd him not to judge, or to suspect rashly, nor to be led away with private tales and suggestions, but rather to depend upon himself, that there was no mischief intended him by his father, who seldom did any thing of consequence without making him privy to it; or if any such thing had been, he himself would certainly have disclosed it to him. David on the other hand, affirmed with an oath the truth of the whole matter as he had set it forth, and besought Jonathan to venture rather to be a little credulous, where the life of his friend was at stake, than to suspend his belief, upon the hazard of coming to be convinc'd of his error by the loss of his friend. Neither is it to be imagined, says he, that the king, who knows you and me to be so particular friends, should ever communicate to either of us, a design he has upon the life of the other. David's discourse had more weight in it than Jonathan could have wish'd; so that being half convinc'd, and in some trouble at it, he only desir'd David to make use of his service, if there was any thing in the world wherein he might be useful to him. "I am sensible," says David, of your good-will and readiness to oblige me, and in that confidence I am to mind you, that we are to have a new moon to-morrow, and a festival in course. The king will be there; and while I was in waiting, I had the honour to be one of the number myself. Now, if you please, I can go out of the city, and privately wait your leisure somewhere about the fields, where you may find me out. If the king should ask for me, you may tell him, that I am gone to Bethlehem, to celebrate the day with my own tribe, and that I had your leave to go. If he shall speak any thing kindly upon it, as a good journey to him, or a God speed him, take that for a certain token that he has no malice in his heart against me; but if otherwise, you are to take it for granted that he bears me a grudge. Pray let me hear how you find him, as you will be just to that sacred and mutual league of friendship that is struck betwixt us, and as you desire to make me easy under my present calamity. If you can think me unworthy of your affection, or any way guilty toward your father, e'en sheath your sword in the heart of me, without waiting for further orders." Jonathan took these last words a little unkindly, but yet promis'd to do every thing as he was desir'd; and that if ever he should find his father in any plot or practice against David, he would be sure to give him timely notice of it; sealing this promissory declaration of his with the solemnity of an oath, that he would leave nothing unattempted that might conduce to his preservation. "That God,

Jonathan and David reason the matter together, 1 Sam. xx. 1-10.

Jonathan and David reason the matter together, 1 Sam. xx. 1-10.

Jonathan and David reason the matter together, 1 Sam. xx. 1-10.

Jonathan and David reason the matter together, 1 Sam. xx. 1-10.

* 1 Sam. xix. 19. 'tis said, "At Naborh in Ramah."

A solemn league betwixt Jonathan and David, 1 Sam. xx. 12--17.

" says he, who fills and governs the universe, and who knows the thoughts of my heart in the very conception of them; let that God, says he, be a witness to the faith that is vow'd and promis'd betwixt us; and that I will never give over searching into, and sifting the private deliberations and purposes of my father, till I shall have discovered the bottom of his heart, and whether there be any secret rancour in his thoughts or not, that may work to your prejudice; and if I shall be able to make any thing out at last, whether it be for you, or against you, it shall be the first thing I do to inform you of it. The searcher of hearts will bear me witness that this is true, and that I have ever made it my earnest prayer to Almighty God to bless and prosper you in your person and designs; and you may assure yourself, that he will be as gracious to you for the future, as he hath been hitherto, and lay all your enemies at your feet; which he will most certainly do, even though my father and myself should be found in the party against you. In the mean while, pray be sure to keep these things in memory; and if it should be my fate to die before you, remember to take care of my children."

Jonathan and David agree upon a private way of intelligence, Ver. 18--23.

JONATHAN having now pass'd his oath, appointed David to withdraw into a certain part or corner of the field, which they two had agreed upon. " For, says Jonathan, I will first go to my father, and when I have sounded him as far as I can, I will come back again to your hiding-place, as if I were a shooting, and bring a boy along with me. I shall then shoot three arrows, and if I bid the lad take them up and bring them to me, set your heart at rest, that all is well with my father; but if I say any thing else, take it for granted that you are in danger; but assure yourself, however, happen what will, it shall be my particular care that you come to no harm. Only once again I say, let not this friendship be forgot in the days of your prosperity, but let it extend to my children." David having received these assurances from Jonathan, went to the place according to appointment.

THE day following was the feast of the New Moon, where the king, according to custom, having duly prepar'd himself, sat down to supper, with Jonathan on his right hand, and his general Abner on the left, David's place being empty all this while. But Saul took no publick notice of it the first day, supposing that his absence might possibly be matter of scruple, for want of a regular and customary purification, after the company of his wife. But Saul missing him again the next day, enquired of Jonathan, how it came to pass, that the son of Jesse should now absent himself from the festival two days together? Jonathan told his father, that he had given him leave to go into the country, and feast with his own tribe, upon the same occasion. " He would fain have had me along with him," says Jonathan, and truly I have so great a friendship for him, that, if you please, I should be well enough content yet to go to him." This expression of Jonathan's provok'd Saul not a little, so that he was no

longer able to conceal the mortal hatred he had for David, but broke out into an extravagant passion against his son upon it, calling him a traitor, and an enemy to his father; an abettor of, and a confederate with David, and a shameless conspirator with the common adversary of the family; for he must be wilfully blind, says he, that cannot see the absolute impossibility of Saul's ever being safe, so long as David is living; commanding him also at the same time to send for him, and deliver him up to justice. Jonathan, upon this, desir'd of his father very respectfully, to know what capital crime was objected against David. This question transported Saul into such a rage, that he snatch'd up a javelin there within reach, and had certainly kill'd his son with it, if some of his friends then present had not interposed, and prevented it. There needed no other evidence of Saul's deadly malice to David, when the father had like to have murder'd his own son for his son-in-law's sake.

THIS furious outrage made Jonathan quit both the company and the feast; and what with the trouble he had upon him for his friend's danger, and what for his own, he pass'd that night without any rest either of body or mind; so that early the next morning, he took his bow and arrows, and a boy along with him, into the fields, under the pretext of going a shooting, but in truth, to give David the necessary information of what had pass'd. The first thing he did was to convey his intelligence by his arrows, as he said he would; after which he sent the boy away to the city upon an errand, for the better opportunity of a private conference with his friend. They were no sooner within sight one of another, but David cast himself down at the feet of his preserver, and in that posture saluted him; the other immediately taking him up, and both joining in one another's arms, to curse the malignity of the age, and their own hard fortune, that was now forcing them upon a separation, worse than the worst of deaths. When they had condoled their time out, and indulged all the softnesses of dear and parting friends, they took their final leave, with fresh vows and assurances never to depart from the conditions of their league, and so submitted at last to the necessity of going their several ways.

DAVID being now in great distress by the persecution of a watchful and an implacable enemy, and under the consideration of a certain death if he should be taken, went in his wanderings to Ahimelech the high-priest, in the city of Nob. He had no company with him, either friends or servants, which Ahimelech took notice of; and, not without some admiration, ask'd him the reason of it. He came by special order, he said, upon a piece of secret service from the king; and that for privacy sake, he had for the present discharg'd his train, and appointed them a set time and place, when and where they should attend him. He told Ahimelech likewise, that it would be a very friendly office, and a great furtherance to his business, if he would but supply him with necessaries for his journey. This being granted, he told him once again, that if he could but furnish him with a sword,

Saul calls Jonathan a traitor to his father, Ver. 30.

And strikes at him with his javelin, Ver. 33.

Jonathan informs David of the whole matter, Ver. 35, &c.

David goes to Ahimelech in the city of Nob, 1 Sam. xxi. 1.

Ahimelech gives David a viaticum, Ver. 6.

Doeg overhears them, 1 Sam. xxi. 7. Ahimelech gives him all to the sword of Goliath the Philistine, Ver. 9.

David goes thence to Gath among the Philistines, Ver. 10. * Scrip. Achish, where he is known by the servants of Anchus, Ver. 11. David acts the part of an Idiot, and so they let him go, Ver. 13, &c.

He goes from Gath to the cave of Adullam, in the tribe of Judah, 1 Sam. xxii. 1.

People come flocking to him, to the number of four hundred, V. 2. David marches with his little party to the king of Moab, V. 4.

The king gives him entertainment and protection, ibid.

† Hareth.

Saul hears of David's march, V. 6.

or a spear, or any sort of arms, it would lay yet another obligation upon him. It so happened that a certain servant belonging to Saul, and a Syrian by nation, was all this while within hearing. His office was that of a groom, and his name Doeg. The high-priest, said he, had no arms, but the sword that kill'd Goliath the Philistine, which was hung up and dedicated to God; and that sword he might have if he pleas'd. David accepted of it; and with this sword, making what haste he could out of the jurisdiction of the Hebrews, he fled to the city of Gath in the land of the Philistines. This was in the reign of king Anchus.* David had no sooner made his appearance there, but several of the king's servants call'd him to mind, and immediately acquainted the king, their master, that this was the man who had destroy'd so many thousands of the Philistines. David therefore finding himself in as much danger of Anchus now, as he had been of Saul before, fell immediately to foaming at the mouth, and driveling like a mad-man, in order to induce the people of Gath to think him really mad: in so much that Anchus severely reprimanded his servants, for troubling him with a person, who was not in his right senses; and accordingly order'd him instantly to be turn'd out of his presence and house.

By this artifice he got clear of Gath, and from thence escaped into the tribe of Judah, where he took up his resting-place for some time in a cave in the field of Adullam, from whence he sent to his brethren, to let them know where he was. His friends and relations, (and in truth other people promiscuously) being advertis'd of the place of his present abode, came flocking in to him: some for the love and respect they bore to himself; others out of fear or hatred of Saul: some in fine, who were uneasy in their fortunes, others in their minds, being unsatisfy'd with the present state of things; so that upon the whole there were a matter of four hundred of them gotten together, and every man devoted to the service of David with life and fortune.

In the strength and confidence of this little body, David remov'd and march'd directly away to the king of Moab, with an address to him for leave to himself, with his friends and relations there, being under some difficulties, to take sanctuary in some part of his dominions, only till the storm might blow over, and their affairs be put into some sort of settlement at home. The Moabite king received David and his company very generously, and treated them with great honour and hospitality for the time they were there: that is to say, till by the order and direction of the prophet Samuel, David march'd away with his people out of the desert into the land of Judah, and so to Saris†.

When Saul came to understand (and it was not long first) that David had been seen upon his march in the head of a body of armed men, he was not a little terrify'd and troubled at the intelligence; for he had seen so many experimental proofs of the greatness of David's soul and courage, that he could not but reasonably expect some mighty matter from him; which he apprehended would tend at least to the perplexing and disordering of his counsels, if not to the endangering of the very government it-

self. Upon this occasion, he convened all his friends and captains, the people of his own tribe, and all his officers, civil and military, at his royal city of Gibeah; and there enthroning himself, at a place they called the Field, with his men of war, honour and business, about him, he spake to them from his post of state, after this manner:

"TAKING for granted, my friends and fellow-tribesmen, that the good offices I have done you, the possessions I have bestow'd upon you, the honourable and profitable commissions that I have given you, are not as yet so absolutely sunk and bury'd, as to be quite out of your memory; I shall now put this short question to you; whether or no do you expect greater benefits and advantages from the son of Jesse, than you have received from me? for I find it manifestly, that all your inclinations bias that way; and that my son Jonathan ministers both an example and an authority for your so doing: for I am no stranger to the solemnity of a strict league and confederacy betwixt him and David; nor of his abetting the cause of my adversaries with his power, interest, and counsels. Now this is a matter that you never trouble your heads about; but sit looking on as idle spectators, in a careless indifference for the event."

THESE words of the king were follow'd with a general silence, till Doeg the groom, a Syrian, deliver'd what he had to say upon the point then in question. The account he gave was this: "When I came, says he, to the city of Nob, to the high-priest Ahimelech, I saw David there to consult the oracle. Ahimelech gave him conveniencies for his journey, and the sword of Goliath, and so helped him forward to go whither he pleas'd." After this declaration of Doeg, Saul order'd the high-priest to be sent for with all his relations; to whom the king said as follows:

"WHAT have I done to make you give this encouragement to a traitor to his prince? for the son of Jesse is no better. And yet who but you to entertain him; furnish him with provisions and arms, and give him answers from the oracle, of the success of his designs! you cannot be ignorant that he is now run away, in the conscience of the malice he has for my family, and in the fear of being seized and punish'd for't."

THE high priest made no opposition to the truth of the charge; but frankly confess'd that the respect he had shewn David, was not done so much out of regard to him, as to the king himself; for, says he, "I did not receive him as your enemy, but as the faithfullest of your friends and officers; and, which is more, in the quality of your son too, and a relation in so tender a degree of affinity and alliance: For how should any body imagine that man to be your enemy, upon whom you have conferr'd so many honours? or why should not I rather presume such a person, without any farther enquiry, to be your singular friend? If he consulted me about the will of God, it is not the first time that he has done it, nor the first time that I have given him an answer: neither has it been always alike. He told me that he was sent in haste by yourself, about earnest business, and if I

He calls a great council, Ver. 7.

A bitter speech of Saul's, V. 7, 8.

Doeg's information of what pass'd at Nob, Ver. 9, 10.

Saul sends for Ahimelech and his relations, Ver. 11. Saul charges them for being in a conspiracy against him, with David, Ver. 13.

Ahimelech's defence, Ver. 14, 15.

“ had not supplied him with what he wanted,
“ it would have reflected an indignity upon
“ yourself, rather than upon him; wherefore
“ I hope the blame shall not be laid at my
“ door, even if you should find David to
“ be as guilty at last as you suspect him
“ to be, unless an act purely of compas-
“ sion and humanity, abstracted from the least
“ thought, knowledge, or imagination of any
“ evil intention, shall be understood to make
“ me a party to a conspiracy; for the service
“ I render’d him was matter of respect to the
“ king’s son-in-law, and the king’s military
“ officer, not to the person or interest of Da-
“ vid.” This was all plausible and fair; but
the fear of the danger wrought more upon
Saul than the apology, though never so just;
so that without giving any credit to the excuse,
he commanded the guards about him to seize
Ahimelech and his family, and put them all
to the sword. The Hebrews flatly refus’d to
execute so sacrilegious a commission; for it was
no less, in the construction of their religion, than
to put any man to death who serv’d at the al-
tar. Upon this scruple and denial, the charge
was committed to Doeg the Syrian, who with
an impious band of ruffians and assassins, like
himself, began with the high-priest, and went
through his whole family, to the number of
three hundred and eighty five persons*. This
barbarous massacre was no sooner over, but
the same hellish crew was dispatch’d away to
Nob, the seat and residence of the priesthood,
on the same errand; where they kill’d all the
inhabitants they could find, to a single person,
sparing neither age nor sex; and, in conclusion,
they laid the whole town in ashes. Abiathar,
the son of Ahimelech, was the only person
that escap’d in this butchery, to verify an an-
cient revelation from God to the high-priest
Eli, foretelling him, that the iniquity of his
two sons would in time to come be punish’d
with the rooting out of the family. This ex-
ecrable cruelty of Saul, in the extirpation of
the sacerdotal race, the putting of old men,
women, and children to the sword, without
either pity for the one, or reverence for the
other; the destroying of a city which God
himself had honour’d with a peculiar privi-
lege, by setting it apart as a nursery for priests
and prophets: this barbarous course, I say, of
inhuman violences, shews us the licentious cor-
ruptions of flesh and blood, when unbridled
nature is left to itself, without any external
check upon it. While men are low, poor,
and impotent, in fear of laws and penalties;
and in truth, under some sort of necessity to
appear honest, for want of power to be wick-
ed, how temperate, just, and gentle; nay,
how religious do they pretend to be? They
live as if they own’d a providence, and be-
liev’d the omnipresence of an Almighty and an
All-seeing God. But so soon as ever they
come to be deliver’d from the clogs and im-
pediments of these inabilities, and advanced
to the authority of prerogative and govern-
ment, they are no longer the same men, but
shift like stage-players, and lay by their old

manners with their dress, changing both the
scene and the person. They grow bold, proud,
and insolent, quitting all reverence, either for
God or man; and instead of exercising that
piety and justice which can only secure men
in that eminent station from the stroke of de-
traction and envy, (for their very thoughts,
as well as actions, in that height of elevation
are expos’d to common censure:) they live and
act, as if either God knew not what they did,
or as if their greatness had transported them
out of the reach of divine justice. When
this arrogant vanity is once upon the wing,
what havock does it make of men, and of
things! what hurly-burles and confusions in
the world! they govern by their passion, not
their reason. Vain fears and groundless aver-
sions toward some, and partial prepossessions of
favour toward others, are the only counsellors
they advise with. Now the result of these
dictates is that which they impose upon the
world for no less than a decree ratified in
Heaven; and all this while, not one word or
thought of the future. As for those, in fine,
who have done them signal services, they com-
monly make them early acknowledgments, by
honours and rewards; but then it is in every
informer’s power, by subornation or calumny,
to strip them for a word speaking, not only
of their dignities, but of their lives too; and
all this without proof, probability, trial, nay,
or so much as examination. And this tyranny
exercises itself not so much upon the guilty,
who deserve to be punish’d, as upon the inno-
cent, who may be oppress’d without danger.

We find all this to be punctually made good
in the present instance of Saul, the son of Kis,
who was the first king of the Hebrews after the
dissolution of the Aristocracy, and the taking
of the administration out of the hands of the
judges. He put to death three hundred priests
and prophets, upon the caprice of a bare jea-
lously of Ahimelech. He laid their city in
rubbish, kill’d all that were in it, and buried
the dead under the ruins of it; doing all that
in him lay toward the utter extinction of the
sacerdotal order and race, without leaving so
much as one priest alive to serve at the altar,
or any habitation to receive them. Abiathar,
the son of Ahimelech, was the only man that
escaped; and he carried the dismal tidings of
the destruction of his father and his family to
David; which was no more, he said, than he
expected, when he saw Doeg there; who, he
was sure, would put the worst comment of
his having been with his father, to the king;
and, in fine, he told Abiathar, that it was a
very bitter affliction to him, to find himself
any way the occasion of so dreadful a calami-
ty. But, says he, since it is so, keep you
where you are, and stay with me, for you can
be no where safer.

ABOUT this time there was word brought
to David, that the Philistines were enter’d
with an army into the province of Keilah,
burning and destroying all before them, where-
ever they came. David had a mind to attack
them, but not without consulting the prophet

Three hun-
dred priests
and prophets
put to death,
ibid.

The Philis-
tines enter
the country
of Keilah,
1 Sam. xxiii. 1.

* The Scripture reckons a much less number; for 1 Sam. xxii. 18. ’tis said, “ And Doeg the Edomite turned,
“ and fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linnen Ephod.” But
as it is added in the next verse, “ And Nob, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both
“ men and women, children and sucklings, &c.” The determinate number not being express’d, ’tis probable Jose-
phus includes those priests that were also slain in the city of Nob, in the three hundred and eighty five; other-
wise, the disparity is so great, we cannot reconcile him with the Scripture.

David consults the prophet, draws out, fights, and overcomes them, 1 Sam. xxiii. 2-5.

David in Keilah, and Saul orders him to be besieged there, Ver. 7, 8. David is precaution'd by a revelation, Ver. 11.

And removes his camp to Engelaïs.

Jonathan comes to David at Cæna, Ver. 16.

They renew their league, Ver. 18.

The Ziphites give Saul intelligence where to find David, V. 19.

The Ziphites officiously to find out David, V. 24.

first, for encouragement and direction. The prophet bad him go on and prosper; whereupon he presently drew out, fought the enemy, and routed them with a very great slaughter, and carried off a considerable booty. After this, he staid a while in Keilah, for a guard to secure them whilst they got in their harvest. Saul soon received a particular account of David's abode, and likewise of the action, as it was too considerable to lie long conceal'd. It was also observable, that the relation was deliver'd much to David's honour. Upon the intelligence of David's shutting himself up in a walled town, Saul look'd upon his business to be as good as done, and as the favour of a singular providence that had put his enemy into his hands; so that he gave out orders immediately for the besieging of Keilah, and not to quit the place till David should be brought to justice. But David being premonish'd by a revelation, that if he did not seasonably provide for himself, the people of Keilah would deliver him up to the king to save themselves, he quitted the city, and betook himself with his four hundred men into the desert, where he encamped upon a hill that was well fortified, by the name of Engelaïs*; but Saul understanding that David had left Keilah, countermanded his orders for the siege too; while David, with his people, removed out of the wilderness to Cæna, a place belonging to Ziphe, where Jonathan, the king's son, came to him, and saluted him with an intent to have some conference with him about things to come. He bad him despond of nothing; for all those present difficulties would vanish; for the time, he said, was at hand, when the whole nation of the Hebrews should be his subjects; advising him to consider, that blessings of that quality were not to be compass'd without toil and hazard. So they renewed their league of friendship over again, confirming it with a sanction of most dreadful imprecations upon him who should first act contrary to covenants; the obligation to be for life, and God to be a witness to it. This solemnity being performed, Jonathan left David there, much easier, and better satisfied than he found him, and so returned to his own home.

WHILE this was a doing, the men of Ziphe, to curry favour with the king, gave him to understand that David lay skulking about their grounds, and undertook, if Saul would be pleas'd to come to their assistance, to deliver him up; for it was but the securing of some narrow passes, and it would be impossible for him to escape. Saul highly extoll'd the zeal and good-will of the Ziphites, with very gracious acknowledgments of the obligation they had laid upon him, in telling him where he might find his enemy, and promis'd them large requitals also for the service they had done him; so he presently sent away his agents, if possible, to find out David, and to search all the hiding-places in the desert for him, promising to follow them himself in a very short time with his army. The people of Ziphe were wonderfully forward and officious, not

only to serve as guides toward the discovery of David in his haunts, but for the very seizure of his person, and the delivering of him up into the king's power. But after all the villainy of this pragmatical zeal, their malicious purpose was at last disappointed. Now they might have held their tongues in the case, with all the security imaginable; so that the baseness of their thrusting themselves into the treachery of betraying a pious and an innocent person to ruin and destruction, contrary to law and justice, was only a scandalous wicked office, undertaken for the very wickedness sake; but mercenaries and parasites will stick at nothing.

DAVID being seasonably advertis'd of the malicious conspiracy of the Ziphites, and of the king's being upon his march in prosecution and in favour of it, he quitted the place where he was before, and made away, as fast as he could, to a great rock in the wilderness of Maon. Saul having gotten intelligence upon the way, of David's removal, and what course he took, closely pursued him, and was come so near him, that Saul was on one side of the rock, and David on the other, and just ready to be hemm'd in, beyond all possibility of escaping; but by great providence, just in this precise instant, came the sad news to Saul, that the Philistines had broken in upon the Hebrews, and were ravaging their country. This intelligence diverted Saul from his pursuit of David, chusing rather to turn his arms upon the sworn enemies of the nation, and to redeem his country, than run the risque of losing all to gratify a particular pique against one single person. By this blessed providence was David deliver'd beyond all expectation; and his next retreat was to the streights of Engelaïs.

WHEN Saul had encounter'd and beaten back the Philistines, word was brought to him once again in his return, where he might find David; for that he had been seen somewhere about Engelaïs. Upon this advice, Saul drew out three thousand choice men to march immediately after him. As they were upon the way, and within a little of the place, there was a deep, dark, spacious cave, and Saul stepp'd aside into it alone, as a place of privacy, upon a necessary occasion to ease himself. Now this cave happen'd to be the very place where David and his four hundred followers had hid themselves. One of David's people, who knew Saul very well, had the fortune to discover him, and presently went up to David with the good news, that now was his time to put an end to all his troubles, by taking the opportunity of a glorious revenge, in cutting off the head of his mortal enemy; for God had now deliver'd Saul up into his hands. But it neither suited with David's greatness of mind, nor with the sense and conscience of his duty and allegiance, to lay violent hands upon his anointed lord and master, whom God himself had set over him, and to return evil for evil; so that David only cut off a piece of the skirt of his garment, and so let him go, but repented in the very instant even of that too.

David withdraws to a rock in the wilderness of Maon, ibid. Saul follows him, Ver. 25.

The Philistines breaking in upon the Hebrews diverts him, Ver. 28.

His next retreat is to Engelaïs, Ver. 29.

Saul marches after him, and happen'd into the same cave where David and his people were, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

David cuts off the skirt of Saul's garment, Ver. 4.

* Scrip. Engedi; but 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. from whence this is taken, 'tis only said, "Then David and his men, which were about six hundred, arose and departed out of Keilah, and went whithersoever they could go," not making any mention of Engedi, or, as Josephus calls it in the Greek, Engelaïs; the name of that place not occurring till the last verse of the same chapter, "Whither, 'tis said, he retreated, after Saul had given over pursuing him;" as Josephus also observes a little lower.

UPON Saul's departing out of the cave, David follow'd into the open air, calling out after him. The king, upon the hearing of a voice he was so well acquainted with, turned presently about; and David, with all decency of reverence and respect both to the person and the occasion, address'd himself to him in words to this effect:

David reasons the case to Saul, in a most excellent speech, 1 Sam. xxiv. 9-15.

It is a very unhappy thing, sir, with your majesty's gracious leave for this freedom, when a great prince has his ears so open to calumniators and detractors, as to suspect the integrity of his try'd and most faithful friends, upon the credit of the vainest and falsest of men; that is to say, of pick-thank flatterers and under-hand informers. Were it not, under favour, a much more laudable way to put every man to the trial of his honesty by his works? for words may be false as well as true; but demonstration by fact is infallible. You may be pleas'd now, upon the force of this single instance at present before you, to consult your reason, upon second thoughts; whether or no I have not had hard measure, in being taken for a criminal, upon the suggestion of an evil intention that never so much as enter'd into my thought; and yet it has (most unhappily to me) so far gain'd belief with your majesty, that I go in danger of my life every hour of the day and night, upon a bare and ungrounded jealousy of my guilt. Can any thing, with pardon, be clearer than the evidence of your majesty's mistake, when you suspect me for malicious practices upon your life, as well as on your family? How will your majesty look God in the face with this guilt upon your conscience, that you are still practising upon the life of a person who had you wholly at mercy, and the opportunity of gratifying his revenge, which, had you had the like against me, you would not have let slip out of your hands; and yet spar'd you out of good-nature, justice, and respect. Look you sir, says he, I could as easily have taken your head from your shoulders, as this piece of stuff from your mantle, [shewing the skirt that he had cut off, to confirm the truth of what he said;] and yet I had not the heart to indulge a revenge, though never so just; while you at the same time, without any difficulty or scruple, pursue me with a most injurious persecution. But let God judge betwixt us, who will determine, in the conclusion, which of the two was in the right."

SAUL was so confounded at the modesty of the young man, and in such admiration at the good-nature and humanity of David, in sparing his life after so many bitter provocations, that he could not forbear groaning upon the thought of it; and upon David's answering his sigh with another, "No, no, says Saul, these lamentations will better become me; for as you, on the one hand, have been the cause and the author to me of a great deal of good; so have I, on the other side, made you a return only of cruelty and misery for all your obligations and benefits. You have in this, says he, given visible demonstration that you are not degenerated from the generosity and goodness of the

antients; who, when they had their enemies at mercy, chose rather to dismiss them safe and free, than to make an ill use of the advantage they had over them. Now do I manifestly perceive by the passages of this day, that God has set you apart for this kingdom, and that the whole nation of the Hebrews is to be subjected to your government; wherefore I have this request to make of you, that you give me your promise, upon oath, to forgive all the injuries I have done you; and that when you come to be possess'd of your government, you will be merciful to my family." David pass'd his promise upon oath to do as he was desir'd, and so dismiss'd the king, and departed himself with his train to the streights of Mizpeh.

And asks David forgiveness, Ver. 21, 22.

AT or about this time died the prophet Samuel, a person in great reputation among the Hebrews, for his probity and virtue; and the people gave an eminent proof of the esteem they had for him, in the magnificence and expence of his funeral. They buried him at Ramah, in his own country, and mourned for him afterward a long time, not with the ceremony of a formal publick sorrow, but every individual had a distinct and a particular share in the loss; for he was a man of a natural benignity and justice, and most remarkably in God's favour for his virtues. After the death of Eli, he govern'd twelve years alone; and then in the reign of Saul, eighteen years more, ending his days according to the relation that is here set forth.

The death of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

Samuel's character.

THERE lived at that time near the place where David frequented, a certain man of Ziphe, of the city of Emma*, who was very wealthy in herds and possessions; for he had in his grounds three thousand sheep, and a thousand goats. David was so much his friend, that he set his own people to assist in looking after his flocks; forbidding them upon their uttermost peril, either for avarice, or for hunger, or upon any other pretence whatever, to touch so much as one hair of them; no, though they were absolutely sure of not being detected; continually inculcating to them the duty and obligation they lay under of living according to the rules of justice, and in conformity to the will of God, who was never pleas'd with any man that coveted, or laid violent hands on the goods of his neighbour. By this good discipline, David restrain'd those about him from violences, and kept them within bounds; imagining all this while, that the kindness he had shewn, and the good and generous offices he had done, were conferr'd on a person of worth and honesty, who would be sure to make him grateful acknowledgments, and a suitable return.

The history of Nabal, Ver. 2.

BUT Nabal (for that was the man's name) was a brutal ill-natur'd wretch; yet the husband of a notable, discreet, prudent and agreeable woman. One day as he was shearing his sheep, David sent ten of his people to Nabal with the compliment of a thousand good wishes to him, and desiring only some moderate supply of provisions out of his abundance; for his shepherds could inform him, that all the while they had been together in the desert, they had been so far from doing him any injury, that they had rather kept and preserv'd his

The character of Nabal, Ver. 3.

Saul acknowledges David's generosity, and his own injustice, Ver. 17-20.

* Epiphanius Scholasticus has Maon for Emma, which is also the Scripture name.

Nabal's churlishness and ribaldry against David, 1 Sam. xxv. 10, 11.

David vows a revenge upon Nabal, V. 12.

Nabal's wife, Abigail, meets David and pacifies him, V. 23--32.

sheep for him; closing the discourse with an assurance, that what friendship soever he should do for David upon this occasion, should be abundantly acknowledg'd. The answer that Nabal returned them was rude and churlish, like himself. "David! says Nabal, why who's that same David, I wonder?" They told him he was one of the sons of Jesse. "Yes, yes," says Nabal, your runaway-servants look upon themselves to be brave fellows, I warrant ye." This contemptuous affront enraged David to that degree, that he immediately put himself at the head of four hundred men, leaving two hundred more behind with the baggage, (his number being now encreased to six hundred) with a vow and determination that very night to cut off Nabal, with his house and family. Now David's indignation against him, was not so much for his barbarity and ingratitude, where he had been so frankly obliged, but for the virulence of so insolent an outrage against a man that never did him an injury.

WHILE matters were in this posture, one of Nabal's shepherds and servants carry'd the story of this encounter to the mistress; telling her, how David being distress'd for provisions, and having sent to her husband to desire some small relief of him, was not only refused by him, but answered with unsufferable and opprobrious revilings; though David had ever dealt honourably and respectfully by him in guarding and securing his flocks from injuries and violence; telling her further, what apprehensions they had of the mischief that the sense of this indignity might bring upon herself and her husband. So soon as Abigail, (for so she was called) the wife of Nabal, had heard their story, she presently call'd for the asses out; caused them to be laden with presents, and, unknown to her husband, (who was at that time fuddled, and senseless) she put herself upon the way to find out David; whom she met coming down the straits of the mountain, and four hundred men following him, with an intent to take vengeance upon Nabal. Abigail no sooner saw him approach, but leaping from her ass, she threw herself prostrate upon the ground, and "humbly besought David to pass over the words of her husband, as one whose name was suited to his nature; Nabal in Hebrew signifying a fool and a madman. She pleaded for herself, that she saw none of the messengers that were sent to her husband; begged pardon, and desir'd David to give God thanks for sending her as the instrument to keep his hands from blood: and, sir, says she, may you still preserve yourself clear of that pollution, that God may turn the vengeance that threatens Nabal upon the heads of your enemies. Be pleased, I beseech you, to accept of the good-will of your poor servant, with these small presents; and upon my humble request, to pass over the offence of my husband, who had so justly incur'd your displeasure; for there is nothing so well becoming the character of the person, that Providence designs for a crown, as clemency and compassion. David was pleased to receive the presents, telling her that she had reason to bless God that put it into her heart to come hither this day; otherwise says he, you should never have liv'd to have seen another; for I had sworn to

myself to lay your house in ruins this very night, and not to leave one soul alive in the family of that ungrateful man, who had cast so many indignities upon me, and those that belong to me. You are now come in a blessed hour to allay my rage, and put a stop to my resolution; but yet after all, though I am content for your sake, to forgive Nabal's fault against me, there is a judgment still behind that attends him; and his ill-manners will be his ruin some other way."

With these words, David discharged Abigail, who went directly home, and found her husband carousing among his companions, and so foolishly drunk with wine, that there was no speaking to him that night; but the next morning, when he was become sober, he told him the whole story from beginning to end; which struck him with such an astonishment, that he was seized with a dead palsy upon it, and died in ten days. David, upon the news of his death, was heard to say, that the judgment was righteous, and that God had avenged his cause, while he that receiv'd the injury came off with clean hands. The world may gather from this example, that there's no avoiding the stroke of divine justice; and that it is Providence that governs the world, not passion or chance; but that both good and wicked men are either rewarded or punished in their own kind.

AFTER the decease of the husband, David sent a message, and an invitation to the widow; desiring her to come over to him; for he would take her to his bed as his lawful wife. Her answer was, that she was not worthy so much as to wash the feet of David; but she went to him, however, with all her equipage, and became his wife; an honour that she was indebted to for the graces both of her mind and person; for it was her prudence, modesty, and beauty, that recommended her to this preference. David had also a former wife, [Ahinoam] a native of Abesar; but as for his late wife Melcha, the daughter of Saul, her father gave her away to Phalti, the son of Lissus of Gethla. It was not long after this, when the men of Ziphe brought a fresh account to Saul, that David was come into their quarters again, and that with a little help he might be easily taken. Upon this intelligence, Saul immediately marched thither with three thousand men; and the night coming on, he pitched his tents at a place called Sicella. When David came to understand that Saul was moving that way, he sent out his scouts for a particular information where the enemy lay; and word being brought that they had posted themselves near a place call'd Sicella, David got up in the night, and with only Abishai, the son of his sister Zeruah, and Ahimelech the Hittite, went directly, without the privacy of any other person, into the camp of the enemy; where they found the king in his tent, with his general Abner, and his guards about him, all fast asleep.

ABISHAI, seeing the king in his bed, and his lance by him, would needs have nailed him immediately to the ground; but David held his hands, and told him, "Abishai, says he, Saul is God's king, and his person sacred, let the man be never so wicked; and he is only accountable for the ill management of his power to him who gave him the power himself."

David pardons Nabal for Abigail's sake, V. 35. but foretells a judgment to attend him.

Nabal dies, as David had foretold, Ver. 38.

David marries Abigail, Nabal's widow, V. 42. David had a former wife Ahinoam, Ver. 43.

Saul having given away Melcha to Phalti, V. 44. 1 Sam. xxvi. 1.

* Scrip. Laish and Gallim.

† Scrip. Hachilah.

Saul being posted near Sicella, David goes with Abishai, and Ahimelech, into his camp, V. 34, 5. Saul, with his general and guards fast asleep in his tent, V. 7.

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David carries away Saul's lance and pitcher from his bed-side, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

He crosses the river, and chides Abner and the guards, for looking no better to their master, Ver. 15, 16.

"itself. But for a proof, however, that I had him at mercy, though I would not make a bad use of the advantage, I will now take away his lance and pitcher of water from his bed-side." David leaving the camp as silently and unperceiv'd as he came into it, and betwixt the darkness of the night, and the strength of his own resolution, he went his way, without any apprehension of danger upon the adventure. He pass'd the river, and then getting up to the top of a mountain near at hand, within hearing of the camp, he called out from thence to Abner and the guards, as loud as he could, to wake them: Abner started upon this clamour; and hearing himself call'd upon by name, cry'd out aloud to know, who it was that would speak with Abner? answer was made, it was David, the son of Jesse, one of your fugitives. "Are you a fit man, says David, to be a great prince's favourite; a general of his army, and to take upon you the guard of his royal person, and under all these honourable obligations, to lie dozing and stretching your self at ease, when your master's life is in danger? can you tell me what is become of the king's lance, and the pitcher of water that were this night taken by the enemy out of his tent, and from his very bed-side? and you, in the mean time, and your guards, all fast asleep about him, without knowing any thing of the matter? whether this were neglect, or treachery, 'tis equally the same; for whether it was the one, or the other, you do certainly deserve to lose your head for it."

Saul finding it to be David's voice, Ver. 17.

Gives him publick thanks for his life, and bids him return home in peace, V. 25.

David appeals, that he could have taken his life as well as his lance and pitcher, he could with as much ease have taken his life.

WHEN Saul came to find this to be David's voice, and himself now a second time betray'd, betwixt the frailty of his own drowsiness and the neglect of the guards, into the hands of the very person, whose life he himself was now about to take away; mistaking the best friend he had for the most mortal of his enemies: Saul, I say, was so sensible of David's goodness and respect, under the greatest of provocations, and not without some sort of right to be severe upon him, that "he gave him publick thanks for his life: bidding him set his heart at rest for the future, and fear nothing, but return in peace to his own habitation; for he found by experience, he said, that his life was not dearer to himself than it was to David; whom he look'd upon as his preserver, and a person of so try'd and unchangeable affection to him, that notwithstanding all banishments, hazards, and ill usages; loss of friends, and many violent attempts upon his life, he returned him nothing but benefits for injuries, and good for evil." David, at last, desired him to send some body to fetch back the lance, and the pitcher; appealing upon the whole matter to the righteous God of heaven and earth, to judge betwixt them, and to bear him witness, that when he took away Saul's lance and pitcher, he could with as much ease have taken his life.

AFTER this second deliverance, Saul returned safe to his palace. But David having no mind to venture himself any longer in a place where he was still in danger of being taken, remov'd with his six hundred men into the land of the Philistines, to live there, with the consent and liking of all his people. Being now come to Anchus*, the king of Gath, (one of the five principal cities belonging to the Philistines,) the king entertains David and his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail. Saul all this while had notice still of David's motions; but after two disappointments already, and falling into the very snare himself that he had set for David, he left his adversary to take his fortune, and, desisted from the pursuit.

DAVID found himself uneasy in the city of Gath, and so took the freedom to desire of the king this addition to his former bounties; that he would be pleased to assign him some place or portion of ground in his dominions, for himself and those that belonged to him, to live upon; for it gave him some uneasiness, he said, to continue still in a place where he must appear burdensome to the people. So the king gave him Sicella† to himself and his heirs for ever; and David retained so great kindness for the place, even after he came to be king, as to reserve it for a private possession for himself and posterity ever afterwards; but of this more at large in another place.

DAVID's stay in Sicella was four months and twenty days, whence he made several inroads upon their neighbours, the Sarites and Amalekites, carrying away vast booties of mules and camels; but taking no prisoners, for fear they should discover the whole mystery to Anchus. He made the king presents, however, out of the spoil, who would be asking him now and then, where he met with all that pillage. His answer was, that he had made incursions into the southerly parts of Judea, and there he found it. There was no great difficulty to make Anchus believe a story that his heart was so desirous to have true; for it was reasonably to be presumed, that after all this havoc and outrage committed by David upon his own countrymen, he would never dare to look homeward again; and by that means have nothing left to trust to, but the service of king Anchus. The Philistines were about this time preparing for a war against the Hebrews, and a general rendezvous appointed upon such a day, in Rengam, where Anchus was to draw them into a body, and thence to lead them out against the enemy. The king spoke to David also to join him, with his six hundred men over and above his own troops; who not only promised it with great readiness, but told Anchus further, that the time was now at hand, that would put it into his power to make him an honourable return for all his bounties. The king, on the other hand, passing his royal word to David, the more to oblige him, that if he succeeded in this battle, he would do him all the honour that in him lay, and in particular give him the command of his guards.

* Scrip. Achish,

† Scrip. Ziklag.

C H A P. XV.

Saul consults the ghost of Samuel. The spirit foretels him the loss of the battle, with the death of himself and his sons; and it proves so accordingly. The Amalekites pillage and burn Sicella. David pursues, and cuts them to pieces.

All diviners, soothsayers, and fortune-tellers banish'd the kingdom, 1 Sam. xxviii. 3.

IT is to be noted, that Saul had already banished all diviners, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, and all other people whatsoever of such vain pretensions, out of his dominions; but the prophets he still retained. News being now brought him that the Philistines were advanced as far as Sunem, and encamped upon the plain there, he went out to meet them, and drew up near the mountain of Gilboah, directly over-against the camp of the enemy. The armies being now in sight one of another, Saul found the Philistines so much superior to the Hebrews, both for order and number, that his heart misgave him, and sunk upon it; and this terror put him upon consulting the prophets about the event of the expected battle. The question being put, and no answer return'd, the silence of the oracle was worse to Saul than all the rest; for he look'd upon it to be so foreboding a presage of an evil fate at hand, that he fell into a downright desperation upon it; and yet such was the hardness of his heart, that though God had withdrawn his favour from him in such a signal manner, and he himself conscious of it, he had still a recourse, after all this, to conjurors and wizards, to learn the event of things, and set people at work to find him out some cunning woman who could foretel things to come; for there are a sort of people that take upon them to call up the ghosts of the dead, and thereby to resolve such questions about future contingencies as the querists shall please to ask them. While he was upon this enquiry, one of his family told him, that he had heard of such a sort of a woman at Endor. Upon this information, Saul without any more ado, disguises himself; and taking two confidants along with him, goes directly to the famous woman at Endor, without acquainting any body else. The first thing he said upon coming up to her, was to desire some trial of her skill, in calling up the ghost of such a certain person as he should name. The woman excused herself, out of a reverence to the king's edict, which had forbidden this way of divination, upon pain of banishment; wherefore she besought him not to betray her into a snare; for if she should pretend to give a resolution, and be detected, the practice would most infallibly be her ruin. But this refusal would not satisfy Saul; so that pressing her still more and more, with bitter imprecations upon himself, that no mortal should ever know of one syllable that pass'd betwixt them, either question or answer, she was prevail'd upon at last, betwixt oaths and importunities, to venture herself upon the credit of such assurances that she was in safe hands.

Saul bids her call up the ghost of Samuel, Ver. 11. It appears, Ver. 12.

IMEDIATELY upon her consenting, Saul bid her call up the ghost of Samuel. She knew nothing at all who this Samuel was; but however, upon her calling him up, the ghost appear'd. The woman was under an astonish-

ment at the sight of so divine a figure, and turning toward Saul, asked him, "If he were not Saul the king, (for Samuel had told her as much.)" Saul making answer, "That he was the man; and observing her to be trembling, and in disorder, desir'd to know what might be the cause of that confusion." She saw the resemblance, she said, of an antient man, with a radiant glory about him, ascending from the earth." Saul demanded of her what kind of figure, of what years, and in what habit he seem'd to be? "A man in years, she said, of a venerable aspect, and in a sacerdotal vest." By this description Saul concluded it to be the figure of Samuel, and fell down upon his face and worshipped. "The spectre demanded what he gave him this trouble for, to take him from his place of rest?" Saul replied, "That it was absolute necessity; for he was threaten'd, he said, with a mighty army, and wanted advice what to do; God had forsaken him, and he had neither prophets, dreams, nor visions to fly to for direction. For these reasons he had now recourse, he said, to Samuel, as his last refuge, and a person that he had ever found favourable to himself and his affairs." Samuel foreseeing that Saul had but one day more to live, told him, "How vain a thing it was for him who knew himself forsaken of God, to launch out into unseasonable curiosities, what should hereafter become of him. But, says the ghost, since nothing else will serve your turn, I am to tell you, that God Almighty has determin'd that David shall be put into possession of the government, and bring the present war to a happy conclusion, while you yourself are to lose your crown and your life together, for your disobedience to God in the business of the Amalekites, and for the contempt of his commands, which from my lips you received by his order while I was living. Know further, that you are to be with me to morrow; your army shall be overthrown, and yourself and your sons fall in the battle."

THESSE words struck Saul speechless, and in a manner dead; for he fainted, and fell to the ground upon them; whether out of the transport of so surprizing a sentence, or out of weakness of body with over-fasting, may be a question; for he had eat nothing for four and twenty hours before; but coming at last a little to himself again, the woman was very earnest with him to take somewhat of sustenance to support nature; desiring no other consideration for the dangerous office she had render'd him, than to have the putting of him into a condition of strength and ability to return to his army. She was sensible enough of the hazard she had run in the exercise of a forbidden profession; and especially in the violation of a decree at the desire (unwittingly) of him that made it. After a great many importunities and refusals, in the depth of his desperation, Saul was prevail'd upon, in the end, to admit of some refreshment. So the woman, though so poor that she got her living by her daily labour, kill'd her only calf, dress'd it, and set it before Saul and his servants, with her whole fortune in that treat; who, in fine, took his repast, and returned that night to his army.

The discourse betwixt Saul and the spectre, V. 15.

The spirit foretels David's coming to the government, and Saul's losing his crown and his life, and his sons in the battle, Ver. 19.

Saul falls into a swoon, Ver. 20.

The character of a virtuous he the inst Saul.

The wonder-
ful good-na-
ture and ge-
nerosity of
this woman
of Endor,
1 Sam. xxviii.
21, &c.

I MUST not pass over here the candour, the good-nature, and the greatness of this woman's mind, without some note of admiration. The king had forbidden her the practice of an art that was the only maintenance of herself and family. Here comes a guest and a stranger to her, that she had never seen before; but a person in misery, and one that had need of her advice in the way that he himself had forbidden; for it prov'd to be the king. She receiv'd him, treated him, and reliev'd him; and all this she did willingly and chearfully; nay, and so frankly too, that she gave him all she had, and without any prospect or contemplation of a reward, by gaining the king's favour; for he, she knew, was doom'd to die; beside that over and above the piety of these offices, she did all this for the very man whose prohibition had been the ruin of her. This proceeding was quite contrary to the custom of the world, that makes charity an interest, and gives or relieves only to get by the bargain, putting out virtue, as they do money, to interest. We may reckon that we have recommended to us in the great example of this generous woman the honour and humanity of doing good offices to all people in necessity; beside that a sincere and unaffected charity, is a virtue of all others the most acceptable in God's sight.

AFTER this right done to the woman of Endor, there is somewhat further to be said upon this occasion by way of admonition, that all sorts of people may be the better for it, those especially who are born great, and prompted by honourable inclinations to the love and practice of virtue; for this it is that makes men immortal even upon earth, and inspires princes and governors with generous thoughts and resolutions, in defiance not only of danger, but of death itself, when the safety and well-being of their country required it.

THIS case of Saul is an eminent instance to my purpose. He knew most certainly that he was to die in this battle; for the prophet had told him as much. But he persisted yet in a resolution to stand his fate, without betraying his army to the enemy, or exposing his royal dignity to scorn, for the saving of his carcase. He made it his glory to die fighting for the defence of his government; and rather to have his sons and his whole family die partners with him in the honour of the action, than to leave them behind him, under anxious uncertainties how their survivors may prove, comforting himself with this, that a good name would supply the failure of any other posterity. This is the man, that, in my opinion, deserves the character of truly just, brave, and wise; and I would have the same veneration paid to all publick-spirited examples of his pitch and elevation, either past or to come; for let history say what it will of some men that may yet do great things, perhaps upon the hope or assurance beforehand of coming off safe and victorious; these men are not to be look'd upon as heroes of the first rate, (though much however to be esteemed,) but those rather, who like Saul, stand firm and unshaken in a fearless defiance of the worst of fatalities, and under the certainty even of death itself. What mighty matter is it for a man to venture his life upon a common chance of war, and be-

twixt hope and fear, to make the best of all favourable accidents! The other is the great soul, that when he knows he is to perish, boldly advances upon his destruction; meets it, and encounters his fate, though without any hope or thought of surmounting it. Be this spoken to the immortal honour of Saul, who hath made himself exemplary to all lovers of glory; and whoever would celebrate himself to after-ages, must tread in his steps; princes especially, to whom it is so necessary to have exalted minds, answerable to the sublimity of their fortunes, that a mediocrity, either of courage or of virtue, is a kind of a scandal upon them. More might be said upon the subject of Saul's dignity and resolution: but not to make this digression too tedious, I shall now go on where I left.

THE Philistines having drawn their troops together from all quarters, according to their distribution into tribes, kingdoms, and governments, Anchus the king of Gath, with his men after the rest, and David with his band of six hundred after Anchus; several of the Philistine commanders taking notice of a mixture of Hebrews among them, enquir'd from whence they came? who sent for them? and what they did there? Anchus made answer, "That the young man there, (pointing to David,) was a servant of Saul's, who was fallen under his displeasure, and forced to fly for his life. He came to me, says Anchus, with the people he has about him, for sanctuary; so I receiv'd him, and provided for him; and now upon this occasion he has promised me his uttermost assistance against Saul, in requital for his protection, and to gratify his revenge." The Philistines were one and all against trusting a profess'd enemy, and were rather for having him remanded; for they did not know, they said, what mischief the treachery of such a party might do upon such an occasion. And for the difference betwixt him and his master, the service he might do him upon this opportunity, would compound for forty such breaches; wherefore Anchus should do well, they said, to consider what he was doing, and without more words to send him back to the habitation he had assign'd him; for this was the David, they said, that the virgins cried up so in their songs, for killing so many thousands of the Philistines. Anchus could not oppose the force and reason of the objection; and therefore he thought fit to take David aside, and discourse him upon that subject. "Young man, says he, upon the certain proof and experience that I have received of your fidelity and courage, I have now entertained you as my ally and associate in this expedition; wherefore withdraw yourself immediately to the place I have allotted you, and have a particular care there of the peace of my people, and the country near you, for fear my enemies should take advantage of my absence, and press me with troubles at home. You will do me the office of a kind ally, every jot as effectually in that government, as if you were my second in the army; and in the mean time, I am as much your friend as ever." Upon this declaration of Anchus, they parted, and David, according to his order, went his way to Sicella.

Anchus brings up David and his men to the army; but the great officers will not admit any Hebrews, 1 Sam. xxix. 2--5.

The character of a glorious hero, in the instance of Saul.

Achish remands David to Sicella, Ver. 10.

Sicella taken by the Amalekites, and burnt, 1 Sam. xxx. 1.

David's followers charge the loss of their wives and children upon his account, Ver. 6.

David puts the question to Abiathar, whether to pursue the Amalekites, or not, Ver. 7, 8. The high-priest bids him follow them, and prosper, ibid. David pursues, and overtakes them at the brook Besor, Ver. 9.

David falls upon them in sleep and drink, and makes a terrible slaughter, Ver. 16, 17.

The Hebrews recover their wives, children, and booty, V. 18.

BUT in the mean time, while David was following the camp of the Philistines, the Amalekites fell upon Sicella, took it, and laid it in ashes; making the like havock in the country thereabouts: they pillag'd all, in fine, wherever they came, and at last went home again with what booty they could carry along with them. David, at his return, finding the place of his habitation destroy'd and desolate, his own wives, and the wives and children of his fellow-soldiers hurried away prisoners, with all that belong'd to them, he broke out into so passionate an extravagance of lamentation and outrage, that he rent his cloaths, and wept himself a-dry, even for want of matter to supply more tears. His followers were ready to stone him too, for the loss of their wives and children; for he was the cause of all, they said; and the whole miscarriage was laid at his door.

WHEN David had mourn'd himself a-weary, he came at last to think of applying to Heaven for comfort; and so desired Abiathar the high-priest to put on his pontifical robes, and consult God in form, and then report the oracle. The question was, whether or not, in case of overtaking the Amalekites upon the pursuit, the Hebrews might be allowed to receive their wives and children again, that had been taken from them before, and revenge themselves upon the enemy. The high-priest bad David follow them, and prosper. Upon which encouragement he took his six hundred men, and incontinently pursued them to the brook Besor, where they found an Egyptian that had lost his way, and was ready to perish with hunger, having been three days in the desert without eating. They took pity upon him, and after giving him a little refreshment, they ask'd him who he was? and to whom he belong'd? He told them he was an Egyptian born, and a servant to a person who was at the sacking and burning of Sicella, and the country thereabouts; who left him upon the way, in his passage home again, because he was so faint, that he could not keep up with the troops. David made use of this Egyptian for his guide, upon the trace of the Amalekites, whom he overtook at last, and found them tumbling upon the ground; some feasting, others carousing; and some again with much pride and vanity, in the contemplation of their late booty. But, in short, while they lay dozing, and drown'd in sleep and drink, and their thoughts wholly set upon their ease and pleasure, heedless, defenceless, and unarmed, David fell upon them in this disorder and confusion, mingling their blood with their wine, and with great ease doing dreadful execution upon them; so that upon the main, what with those who had no arms at all, and those who had arms, but were too drunk to use them, there escaped of the whole number not above four hundred persons, who were carried off by the swiftness of their camels. The pursuit lasted from noon till night; and in the close of the action they recover'd their wives, children, and booty.

DAVID had but four hundred men with him in this adventure; the other two hundred (part of the six) were left behind for a guard to the baggage. Upon his return from the chase, and the spoil, the four hundred that were upon

the action would not allow the other two hundred that were upon easier service, to have any part in the booty, more than that of their wives and children. David look'd upon it as an unreasonable proposition. "For, says he, the victory was given by God, and being a blessing upon the common cause, it is but reason that the whole body should partake of the benefit, especially where the one part was upon duty, as well as the other; and at the same time preserv'd the baggage." This decision pass'd into a law, which is still in force to this very day; that is to say, the spoil to be equally divided betwixt them that guard the baggage, and those that fight the battle. David, after his return to Sicella, sent up and down to his friends and acquaintance in the tribe of Judah, presents out of the spoil. We shall pass now from the destruction of Sicella, and the total overthrow of the Amalekites, to a bloody victory obtained by the Philistines over the Hebrews.

THE armies join'd, and the encounter was very sharp. Saul, and his sons, did all that was possible for brave men to do; but finding themselves oppress'd with numbers, (for the whole stress fell upon them,) they had no more to do, they saw, than to die honourably, and to sell their lives at such a rate, that the enemy should have little reason to boast of the purchase. They were surrounded, in fine, with fresh numbers; and still as they cut off one party, they were assailed by another; so that in the end they themselves were forced to submit to the necessity of an insuperable fate. Upon the fall of Saul's sons, to wit, Jonathan, Aminadab*, and Melchi, that were slain in the heat of the battle, the whole army fell into a confusion, and fled in a direct rout, the Philistines pressing upon the rear with a prodigious slaughter. Saul shifted for himself a-while, with a small body of his own, till in the end they were broken all to pieces by the Philistines darts and arrows, and he found himself so weakened with wounds and loss of blood, that after all his heroical exploits, he was not able either to stand upon his legs, or to do execution upon himself. In this extremity, he called to his armour-bearer to do him the good office, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his enemies. But the servant excused himself out of the veneration he had for majesty, and upon that refusal Saul cast himself upon the point of his own sword; but not being able to finish what he had begun, he took notice of a young man an Amalekite there at hand, and desired him to take the sword, and some way or other give him a dispatch. He did it at first asking, and in the same instant made prize of Saul's golden bracelets, and of his royal crown, and moved off with them immediately as fast as he could. When the armour-bearer saw that Saul was dead, he laid violent hands upon himself too; and there was not one man of the king's guard who out-liv'd his master. This battle was fought near the mountain of Gilboah.

No sooner had the Hebrews of the valley beyond Jordan, and the cities on the plains, gotten intelligence of the death of Saul and his sons, and of the entire destruction and dissolution of his army, but they withdrew themselves out of their open towns into fastnesses

A bloody battle, 1 Sam. xxxi. 1.

Saul's sons, Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchi, are all slain, Ver. 2. * Scrip Abinadab and Malchishua.

Saul casts himself upon the point of his sword, Ver. 4.

An Amalekite dispatches him, and takes away his crown and bracelets, 2 Sam. i. 10.

The Philistines cut off the heads of Saul and his sons, and expose their bodies upon gibbets, 1 Sam. xxxi. 9.

The men of Jabesh very bravely take down their quarters, and give them a publick and an honourable interment, Ver. 11, &c.

nesses and strong holds; while the Philistines took possession, and without any difficulty made themselves masters of the places the other had quitted. On the next day after the battle, the Philistines coming into the field to view the dead, found the bodies of Saul, and his sons, among the rest. They stripp'd them, cut off their heads, and sent express every way up and down with the news of this defeat. Their arms they deposited in the temple of Astarte*, and their bodies they exposed upon gibbets, under the walls of the city of Bethshan, known at this day by the name of Scythopolis. This barbarous outrage upon the bodies of Saul and his sons, coming to the ears of the men of Jabesh-Gilead, they took up such an indignation at the inhumanity of refusing them the last rites of burial, that some of the most daring and enterprizing among them, (that place producing men of the greatest courage and resolution,) made up a party,

and travelling all night, took down the bodies of Saul and his sons from the walls of Bethshan, and carried them away to Jabesh; not a creature daring to open his mouth against them. Their deaths were lamented by the whole people of the place, who gave their bodies a publick and an honourable interment in the chief part of their province. They spent seven days in so strict a solemnity of fasting and mourning, that men, women, and children, were all bound indispensibly to observe it.

THIS was the end of Saul, according to the prediction of Samuel, for his not prosecuting the war against the Amalekites, according to his order, and for the massacre of Ahimelech, and his family, with the devastation even of the sacerdotal city itself. He ruled in the days of Samuel † eighteen years, and twenty two more after his decease, coming to this unhappy end in the same manner as it is here set forth.

* Scrip. Ashtaroth.

† Gataker rejects this opinion in his Dissert. de Stylo N. T. c. xvi.

BOOK VII.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK VII.

From the Tear of the World 2890 to 2931.

CHAP. I.

David's lamentation for the death of Saul and Jonathan. The tribe of Judah sets up David for their king. Abner sets up Ishbosheth. Abner marches against David, and is defeated by Joab. Hazael pursued Abner, and Abner kills him. Abner taking a disgust at Ishbosheth, goes over to David; and is afterwards basely murder'd by Joab. David passionately laments him.

2 Sam. i. 1.



The Amalekite that dis-
patch'd Saul,
casts himself
at David's
feet, Ver. 2.

THE battle last above-
mention'd, was fought
upon the very day of
David's coming back to
Sicella, from the over-
throw of the Amalekites;
and on the third day af-
ter that, came the per-
son who had killed Saul,
and made his escape out of the battle. He ad-
vanced toward David with ashes upon his head,
and his clothes all rent, and so threw himself
down prostrate at his feet. David asked him
who he was, and from whence he came in such
a dress? he told him he was an Amalekite, and
came from the unfortunate battle of the He-
brews, where the king himself, and his sons,
were missing after the battle, beside many
thousands of the army. "I shall speak no more,"
says he, than what I saw with my own eyes.
"It was my fortune to be near the king, when
he was in his extremity. He cast himself
upon the point of his own sword; but so
faint with his wounds, that he could not
execute what he had begun: so that upon
his earnest desire, I was forc'd to do the of-
fice for him, to keep him from falling alive

"into the hands of his enemies." He shew'd
David at the same time the bracelet, and the
crown that he took from the dead body, to
confirm the truth of his story, which he reserv-
ed for a present to David. There was no place
left for doubting after this evidence; so that
David rent his clothes upon it, and spent the
whole day with his friends, in tears and lamen-
tations. But the most sensible part of his af-
fliction was the loss of Jonathan, his ever dear,
and faithful friend, and more than once the ve-
ry preserver of his life. Now so transcendent
was the virtue of David, and the generosity of
his good-nature toward Saul, that notwith-
standing so many repeated practices upon his
life, he did not only deplore his misfortune,
but order'd the criminal to be deliver'd up
to justice; not only upon his own confession,
but upon the more certain evidence of his guilt,
in the crown and the bracelet, that he took
from Saul after he was dead, to carry them
to David: and proving himself over and above,
to be the true brood of an Amalekite, by own-
ing the very principle of a regicide. To say
nothing of several elegies and epitaphs of Da-
vid's composition to the honour of Saul and
Jonathan, which are still extant this very day.

WHEN nathan

David's mo-
sensible af-
fliction is the
death of Jo-
nathan, V. 1.

He orders
regicide A-
malekite to
be put to
death, V.
15, 16.

He writes
elegies and
epitaphs to
the honour of
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Joab and
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upon the
pursuit, V.
Abner stri
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chace, V.

Hebron, by God's appointment, falls to David's lot for his habitation. 1 Sam. ii. 1, 2. The people with one voice, proclaim David, king, V. 4.

After the death of Saul, Abner finds out Ishbosheth, the only male of the family, 2 Sam. ii. 9.

And gets him declar'd king of all Israel, Judah excepted, V. 10. Abner makes war upon the tribe of Judah for declaring David their king, V. 12, 13. Joab commands David's army, taking Abishai and Hazael his two brothers along with him, V. 18. The two armies draw up and face one another, Ver 13. Abner propounds a combat, of 12 to 12, and they all die upon the place, V. 15, 16. The armies join; Abner routed, V. 17. Joab and his two brothers upon the pursuit, V. 19. Abner strikes Hazael dead upon the chase, V. 23.

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WHEN David had paid his last duties to the honour and memory of Saul and his sons, and that the term of the mourning was expir'd, he consulted God by the prophet, which of the cities of Judah should be allotted him for his habitation; and it was answer'd Hebron: wherefore he left Sicella immediately, and repaired thither, with his two wives, and the guards of his person that he had about him; whither the whole body of the tribe came soon after, and in a full convention with one voice proclaimed him king. David had heard by this time of the generous and respectful behaviour of the men of Jabesh toward Saul and his sons, and how bravely they rescued their bodies from the gibbet, in the face of the enemy, and gave them a pompous, and an honourable burial: so that he sent them particular acknowledgments, in his own name, for what they had done in favour of those princes, as an obligation that should for ever be remember'd to their advantage: the same messenger giving them also to understand, that the tribe of Judah had created and declared David their king.

IN this juncture, Abner the son of Ner, and Saul's general, a man of great courage and resolution, and naturally cut out and qualify'd for glorious undertakings. This great man, I say, had no sooner heard of the death of Saul, Jonathan, and two other of his sons in the late battle, but away he posted to the camp to look after Ishbosheth; at that time, the only survivor of Saul's male issue. So he found him at last, and to secure him from danger, cross'd the river Jordan with him, and got him to be accepted and declared king of all Israel, the tribe of Judah excepted; appointing Meanahaim* for his residence, which signifies as much as the camp. Abner was so incensed against the tribe of Judah for the choice of their king, that he resolved to make war upon them for it, and so detach'd a body of the stoutest men he could pick out, for the encounter. Joab, the son of Suai, and Zeruiah, David's sister, had the command of David's army; taking his two brothers, Abishai and Hazael, along with him. When they were advanced to a certain fountain of Gibeon, the two armies, being now in sight of one another, drew up, but as they stood in order there, and ready to engage, Abner propounded a trial beforehand between an equal number of each side, to see which were the braver men of the two. So by consent they sent out twelve and twelve to dispute the point, betwixt, and in sight of the two armies. They began the combat with their darts, and then fell in with their swords; every man taking his adversary by the hair, and digging and stabbing one another till they all fall dead upon the place. Upon this, the armies join'd, and for a good while fought furiously on both sides: but in the end, Abner was totally routed, and put to flight; Joab, and his two brothers closely pursuing them, encourag'd their men, both to the chase, and the execution. But no man stuck so close to him as Hazael, who was so swift of foot, that he had the better of most horses; and having singled him out, press'd close after him, without turning either to the right hand or to the left. When Abner found he press'd

so hard upon him, he offer'd him a suit of arms to let him go; and seeing he could not thereby prevail upon him to desist from the pursuit, he fairly advis'd him not to put him to the necessity of doing him a mischief, for the saving of his own life; after which he could never think of looking his brother in the face again. Abner perceiving by this time, that Hazael was not to be wrought upon, he turned his lance in his flight, and struck his pursuer dead upon the place. This accident put some kind of stop to the pursuit; for the people gave over the chase to stand gazing at the spectacle. But Joab and his brother Abishai were now past the dead body, and so exasperated against Abner for the death of their brother, that with an incredible speed and vigour, they press'd the pursuit till towards sun-set, to Mathon; that is to say, the Aqueduct. In this place, Abner, with the tribe of Benjamin, took the advantage of a rising ground to observe the enemy, and from thence to reason the case with Joab after this manner. "That this outrageous animosity was already gone too far among people of the same blood and profession. As for your brother Hazael, says he, I begg'd of him to be quiet, and let me alone without pursuing any farther; but he brought it to this in the conclusion, that I must either take away his life, or lose my own; so that he may even thank himself for this miscarriage." Joab could not oppose the reasonableness of Abner's plea, and so caused a retreat to be founded; encamping upon the same place that night: but Abner continued his march over the river Jordan, and so to the palace of Ishbosheth, the son of Saul. Joab, the day following, took a view of the dead; (which he caused to be buried) computing that Abner lost three hundred and sixty men, and David nineteen; without reckoning Hazael, whose body was carried by Joab and Abishai, to Bethlehem, and there laid in the sepulchre of their fathers; from whence they returned to king David at Hebron.

THIS controversy betwixt the house of David, and the house of Saul, was the rise of a long civil war among the Hebrews; but still as David and his party got the better of it in all encounters, so the sons of Saul, on the other side, were still worsted in whatever they undertook. David, in the mean time, had six sons† by as many wives. There was Ammon, the son of Ahinoam; Daniel, the son of Abigail; Absalom, the son of Maacah, the daughter of Tolmai, king of Geshur; Adonijah, the son of Haggith; Sphacia, the son of Abithal, and Jethrakam the son of Egla.

IN the prosecution of this civil war, it was the prudence, the interest, and the popularity of Abner, more than any thing else, that supported the pretensions of Saul's family, and kept the people in their obedience to Ishbosheth. But this prince being informed that Abner liv'd in a scandalous familiarity with Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, one of his late father's concubines, he laid it directly to his charge, and reprimanded him so severely about it, that it put him into a severe fit of melancholy and indignation, to find all his faithful services to Saul, and his family, so ill requited. Upon this provocation, Abner

Abner calls out to Joab and reasons the case with him, V. 26.

Joab gives over the pursuit, but Abner marches away to Ishbosheth, V. 28, 29. Abner loses three hundred and sixty men, and David nineteen, V. 30, 31, 32.

This dispute betwixt the houses of Saul and David, prov'd the occasion of a tedious civil war, 2 Sam. iii. 1. David had six sons in Hebron by six wives, V. 2, 3, 4.

Ishbosheth reproves Abner for his familiarity with Rizpah, one of his father's concubines, V. 7.

* Μαγδαλ, Jos.

† See 2 Sam. iii. 3, 4. and compare the original and the old Latin translation.

This reproach provokes Abner to meditate a revenge, 2 Sam. iii. 8.

Abner compounds with David for the bringing of the tribes over to him, Ver. 12.

David embraces the motion: insisting only to have his wife Melchole restored, V. 13. Abner procures the restoring of Melchole, with Ishbosheth's good liking, V. 14, 15. Abner calls together the principals of the people, Ver. 17-20.

meditated a revenge, no less than the taking of the crown off from Ishbosheth's head, and setting it upon David's; and giving the world to understand, that Ishbosheth was not advanced to the government for any virtue, or ability of his own, but wholly by the advice, arms, interest, recommendation, and the try'd fidelity of himself alone.

WHILE this humour was at work, he sent a commissioner to Hebron, with full power to strike up a league with David in his name, upon this single condition, that from and after the time of Abner's drawing off all the tribes from Ishbosheth to David, and advancing him to the throne by the universal consent of the people, Abner should be received from that day forward as David's first minister and favourite. Nothing could have been more welcome to David than this proposal of Abner's, and it was entertained accordingly. The first thing he desired, as the earnest of a future alliance, was the restoring Melchole*, whom he had purchased with very great labour and hazard, beside the heads of six hundred Philistines, paid down upon a bargain for her with Saul. So Abner took Melchole out of the arms of Phalti, upon whom she was bestow'd, with the privacy and assistance of Ishbosheth, who had been already possess'd with the merits of the cause, and the reasonableness of the demand; David having written to him upon that subject. While things were at this pass, Abner call'd the elders and the commanders; or in short, the principals of the people, both military and civil, together: to whom he deliver'd himself upon the present occasion to this purpose.

"THERE was a time, says he, when you would have gone over from Ishbosheth to David, and I was against it; but you are now at liberty to do what you please: for the prophet Samuel hath most infallibly assured us from the voice of God himself, that David is the man whom divine providence hath designed for the king and governour of the whole nation of the Hebrews: and that it is he, and only he, that is to avenge us upon the Philistines, and to bring them under our yoke." These words were so clear a discovery how Abner stood inclin'd, that the heads of the people, and of the army, fell in unanimously with his opinion; and from that time forward, declar'd and acted openly in favour of David. When they had proceeded thus far, Abner, in the first place, call'd for the Benjamites, of whom alone consisted the life-guard of Ishbosheth, speaking to them in the same manner with the former, and with the same effect too; for they all declar'd themselves as one man for David.

WHEN Abner had made this advance toward the performance of his conditions, he took about twenty men of his own choice away with him to David; in order, partly, to the ratifying of the treaty; and in part, for common satisfaction, because men are better pleas'd to do their own business themselves, than by proxies. And he had in it also this farther end, that the proceedings on both sides might be the more impartially transmitted from the one

to the other, and an exact report made of what had pass'd betwixt himself and the heads of the tribes, and how he had now brought over the Benjamites to David's party. Abner and his company were treated by David with all imaginable freedom and magnificence, for the time they staid; but after some few days, he desir'd for the present to be dismiss'd, that he might conduct the army and the people to him; and, upon delivering up the government into his hands, by the consent of the whole nation, make good what he had undertaken.

ABNER was presently dispatch'd according to his desire, and hardly got out of the gates of Hebron, at one end of the town; but Joab, David's general, who had been somewhere abroad (it seems) came in at the other: where being given to understand that Abner had been in private with David, upon certain proposals to settle him in the government, the conditions offered and accepted, and a league solemnly ratify'd betwixt them, and himself just then sent back upon that errand, an outrageous jealousy enter'd into Joab's head, that this intrigue of Abner's would be his ruin, and supplant him not only in his master's favour, but in the most honourable of his commissions: especially considering that Abner was a man of policy and address, and one who knew well enough how to improve a critical juncture to his own advantage.

THE venom of this envy began now to work in the heart of Joab, and his first recourse was to back-biting and detraction. Hereupon he endeavour'd to persuade the king by artful insinuations, that he should do well to have a care how he trusted Abner; for his business was, above all things in the world, to establish the family of Saul in the government. His pretences were only snares; and upon the gaining of his point, and pumping out what he had a mind to know, he was now gone home again to reap the fruits of his false-dealing. When Joab found that there was no good to be done upon David, by calumny and slander, to the prejudice of Abner, he bethought himself of a surer and shorter way of doing his business, by taking away his life; and so dispatch'd messengers after him in David's name, to call him back again with all imaginable expedition, under a pretext of somewhat forgotten in his instructions that was very considerable. They overtook him upon the way at a place call'd Besira†, about twenty furlongs from Hebron; and upon delivering their message, Abner very innocently went back with them to the city, little dreaming of what afterwards befel him. Upon his coming up to the walls of the town, there stood Joab in the gate, with a wonderful appearance of kindness and humanity, ready to receive him, (as the deepest hypocrites, when they design the greatest villainy, put on the most sanctified countenance, and shew the fairest outside;) so taking him aside, as upon some private business, he took the opportunity of a secret corner out of sight, only his brother Abishai in company with him; and surprizing him at unawares, plung'd his sword into his guts. Thus

Abner and his people are fairly entertained, and dismiss'd, ib.

Abner's privacy with David gives Joab a mortal jealousy of him, Ver. 22,

23.

Joab calumniates Abner to David, Ver. 24, 25.

When back-biting would not do, Joab has recourse to violence. Joab counterfeits a message from David to Abner, Ver. 26, 27.

* Scrip. Michal, Saul's daughter. Josephus has several times before called her Melcha.

† Scrip. Sirah.

‡ Viz. About two miles and three quarters of English measure.

Joab perfidiously murders Abner. 2 Sam. iii. Ver. 26, 27.

was this brave man taken off by the perfidious malice and treachery of Joab, in revenge (as he pretended) for the death of his brother Hazaël, who was slain in the battle of Hebron, upon the violent pursuit of Abner; but in truth, to gratify his jealousy and revenge, for fear of being supplanted in his court preferments. This instance is sufficient to convince us, that men abandon'd to the lusts of avarice and ambition, will stick at nothing; for they are never at ease so long as they see any thing above them. So long as they are in the pursuit of what they eagerly desire, they press their ends, without ever examining or considering the means. There is no such thing as scruple of honour or conscience in the case; but right or wrong, how to accomplish their ends; and they are still bolder yet in the defence and maintenance of a thing ill gotten, than they were in the acquiring of it; for they can better bear a miscarriage in missing what they would have been at, than the shame of having any thing forc'd away from them that they have acquired. They will, in short, struggle harder to keep what they have, especially when they have tasted the sweet of it, than to get what they had not. But here's enough in a word upon this point.

The death of Abner goes to the heart of David. Ver. 28, &c.

THE news of Abner's death pierced the very heart and soul of David, insomuch that upon the very hearing of it, he stretched forth his right hand toward Heaven, in an appeal and protestation, upon the whole matter, that he was neither privy nor consenting to the fact; cursing most bitterly the assassin, whoever he was, his family, and all his accomplices: and all this, not only in a detestation of so base and unmanly a practice, but likewise to purge himself, upon the strictest niceties of faith and honour, that he had been true to Abner. He appointed by proclamation a publick mourning for him, with all the solemnities of tearing garments, and putting on of sackcloth, he himself with his great ministers and officers assisting at the funeral, and giving sufficient demonstrations, by wringing of hands, beating their breasts, and other expressions of sorrow, both of the veneration they had for Abner's memory, and the sense they had of so inestimable a loss, all people being now fully satisfy'd in the conclusion, that David was far from approving or consenting to so execrable an act. He caused the body to be interr'd at Hebron, with great state and magnificence, composing an epitaph himself, to the honour of the deceas'd. He was the chief mourner, and a president to all the rest, who acted in conformity to his example. The death of Abner, in a few words, afflicted him to such degree, that his friends could not prevail upon him to touch either meat or drink that whole day. The severity of this religious strictness gained exceedingly upon the affections of the people, and particularly upon the friends of Abner; to whom nothing could be more acceptable than this last testimony of David's veneration and esteem for his person and memory, now he was gone; for he did not treat him, they saw, with a slight and ignominious way of burial, as an enemy, but with all the tenderesses of generosity, justice, and friendship. Beside that it highly elevated the character of David's piety and good-nature, in giving men to understand

what they might expect from him themselves, if ever Abner's case should come to be theirs. So that David, in this way of proceeding, consulted his interest as well as his reputation and virtue; for after this proof, he was never suspected for want of good-will to Abner.

WHEN the company were upon the point of breaking up, David entertain'd them with a short discourse to the advantage of Abner, and first upon the account of his own particular unhappiness, in being depriv'd of a friend he had so great a value for: and then with a respect to the publick, how much the whole nation suffer'd in the loss of so brave and so wise a man; and, in short, a person so necessary both for war and counsel. But God, (says he) who governs all things, will not let this murder pass unrevenge'd: he is my witness, that I am not in condition to call Joab and Abishai to an account; for they have a greater interest in the army perhaps than I myself: but this I dare pronounce, that sooner or later, divine justice will find them out. Thus it was that Abner ended his days.

David's high esteem for Abner, *ibid.*

David's propheticall preface of a judgement to attend Joab and Abishai. *ibid.*

CHAP. II.

Baanah and Rechab present David with the head of Ishbosheth; who orders them to be put to death by exquisite torments. All the tribes own David for their king. He raises an army, and takes Jerusalem. Joab the first that scales the wall.

THE death of Abner was a most terrible mortification to Ishbosheth the son of Saul; for in him he lost a dear friend and a near kinsman, who was the chief instrument in advancing him to his father's throne: neither did he himself long survive him neither; for he was treacherously murder'd soon afterward by Baanah and Rechab, the sons of Rimmon. These two brothers were Benjamites, and of the first rank among them. They were thinking with themselves, that if Ishbosheth were but taken out of the way, David would be clear of all competitors. Upon which consideration, they concerted the matter betwixt them, how they might do him that piece of service; making no manner of doubt, but honours and commands in abundance would be conferr'd upon them as rewards for the performance of so good an office. So that at a time when he was alone in his bed-chamber, and taking his afternoon's repose, no guards at hand, and the very servant that commonly kept the door, wearied and fast asleep, they took their opportunity to steal into the chamber, kill'd him in his sleep where they found him, cut off his head, and posted away with it all night toward Hebron, the sooner to get clear of the people they had injur'd, and to bring the present so much the fresher to him whom they pretended to oblige. When they came to their journey's end, they presented it to David, not a little valuing themselves upon the merit of having destroy'd his competitor for the empire: but their entertainment was not answerable to their expectation, as will appear by what David said to them upon this occasion.

Ishbosheth hath a very great loss of Abner, 2 Sam. iv. 1.

Ishbosheth basely murder'd by Baanah and Rechab, V. 6.

The manner and contrivance of the execution, Ver. 8, 7.

They carry Ishbosheth's head to David for a present, V. 8.

David's generous indignation at so base and barbarous an action, V. 9, &c.

"WICKED wretches that you are! says he, prepare yourselves immediately to receive the just reward of your horrid villainy. Do not

David does all possible honour to the memory of Abner. *ibid.*

back-would Joab surfe ace. un-a mel- m Da- bner, 27.

"you know that I requited the murderer of Saul according to his demerit; who, when he had taken away that sacred life, had the confidence to bring me his golden crown for an ostentation of the service he had done me in it? Nay, and it was at the instance too of Saul himself, that he did it, to prevent the indignity of being taken alive by his enemies. Am not I the same man, do you think, at this day, that I was then? or am I turn'd so abandon'd a wretch since, as to countenance the most profligate of men and of actions, and to reckon myself under an obligation to you for dipping your hands (upon my account, as you would have it thought,) in the blood of your Lord? The cutting of his throat in his bed too; and the throat, over and above, of a person so just, that he never did any wrong; and so generous a patron and benefactor to your ungrateful selves, that all the advantages you can pretend to in this world, are but what you stand indebted for to his bounty and goodness; wherefore you shall now pay for your breach of faith to your master, and for the scandal you have cast upon me, both at once; for what greater wound could any man give me in my reputation, than to expose me for a person that could take pleasure in the tidings, or give countenance to the committing of so barbarous and inhuman a murder?" Upon these last words, he gave order to have the two regicides put to exquisite torments, and the head of Ishbosheth to be laid in the monument of Abner, with all the formalities of funeral rites and honour.

The two regicides tormented to death, and all honour done to Ishbosheth's body, 2 Sam. iv. 9. All the elders and great officers make their court to David, 2 Sam. v. 1, 2, 3.

So soon as this execution and ceremony was over, all the elders and great officers of war and peace came thronging to David with a compliment of recognition, and with a tender of their lives and fortunes at his service; not forgetting to mind him of the zeal and devotion they ever had for him, even in the life of Saul, and when they had the honour to serve under his command; enlarging upon it, how the prophet Samuel, according to God's order and appointment, had declared him king, and the government to descend to his sons after him; foretelling that the great work of subduing the Philistines, was reserved for him alone, and consequently the settling of Israel in the possession of a lasting peace and safety. David highly commended them for their good will and disposition; encouraging them to go on as they had begun, with an assurance, that he, for his part, would never give them cause to repent it. David accompanied this declaration with a splendid treat; and when he had entertained them with all greatness, humanity, and freedom, he sent them away with a summons to the whole body of the people to meet at his palace.

He gives them a magnificent treat, and summons the whole body to attend him at his palace, *ibid.* A muster of all the armed troops of the several tribes that met upon this call, 1 Chron. xii. 23, &c.

THERE gather'd together upon this call, of the tribe of Judah, six thousand and eight hundred men armed with shield and lances.

These had been hitherto of the party of Saul, over and above those of the same tribe who had made David king by themselves. Of the tribe of Simeon, seven thousand, an hundred, and upwards. Of the tribe of Levi, four thousand and seven hundred, with their leader Jehoida; and with these was the high-priest Zadock, with two and twenty eminent men of his relations. Of the tribe of Benjamin, four thousand * armed men; for this tribe was altogether of opinion, that some of Saul's family would succeed to the government. Of the tribe of Ephraim, twenty thousand and eight hundred; strong hale men, and of great courage. Of the half tribe of Manasses, eighteen thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar, two hundred cunning men, who could foretel things to come, beside twenty † thousand in arms. Of the tribe of Zebulun, fifty thousand choice men, and well armed; this tribe coming over to David entire. All these us'd the same armour as the tribe of Gad. Of the tribe of Naphtali, a thousand eminent commanders, armed with shield and spear, with almost an ‡ innumerable multitude of their followers. Of the tribe of Dan, twenty seven thousand ††† choice men. Of the tribe of Asher, forty thousand; and of the two tribes beyond Jordan, and the other half of the tribe of Manasses, that were armed with shield, spear, sword, and helmet, an hundred and twenty thousand. The remainder of the tribes wore swords also.

THIS is the muster-roll of those who came up to David to Hebron. They brought corn, wine, and other necessary provisions with them in abundance, and with one voice proclaimed David to be their king. When they had spent three days there, in feasting and jollity, David marched out at the head of this army to Jerusalem. The Jebusites, a people of the race of the Chanaanites, were at that time in possession of the city; and upon David's advance toward them, they shut their gates upon him, and in a pleasant way of defying David and his troops, brought out their lame, and their blind to the walls for the guard of the town. They should need no other guard, they said, for the encounter of such an enemy; so great was their confidence in the strength of the place. David was so incensed at this contemptuous mockery, that he resolved immediately to attack the city; reasonably computing, that if he made an example of the people of this place, it would strike a terror into all others for the future. So David fell on with the flower of his army; and, upon a general assault, enter'd the lower town; but the castle still held out. David finding it to be a strong place, the attempt likely to be hazardous, and his honour at stake upon the carrying of it, he bethought himself how he might inflame the courage of his men by some extraordinary proposal of honour and reward; and by that incentive to kindle an emulation among his people who should do best: David pass'd his royal word,

David unanimously declared king, *ibid.* and 2 Sam. v. 3.

David advances to Jerusalem, Ver. 6.

The lower town first taken, and then the castle, Ver. 7.

* The Scrip. 1 Chron. xii. 29. says but three thousand.

† 1 Chron. xii. 32. From whence this is taken, does not make express mention of twenty thousand, but says, "The heads of them were two hundred, and all their brethren were at their commandment"; which allowing each of them to be a centurion or captain of an hundred, (as 'tis plain Josephus here supposes) makes exactly up the complement; two hundred times one hundred, being just twenty thousand.

‡ We have it 1 Chron. xii. 34. "And of Naphtali a thousand captains, and with them with shield and spear, thirty and seven thousand." But by what Josephus here says, one would have thought them a much greater number.

††† 1 Chron. xii. 35. 'tis said, "And all the Danites expert in war, twenty and eight thousand and six hundred."

that

that he who first mounted the wall, and made good his station, should have the command of the army. Hereupon the Hebrews joined in a fierce attack, and a generous contention who should merit that honour. It fell to Joab's lot to win the prize; so that from the top of the battlement he called out to David to make good his promise.

Joab first enters the breach. 1 Chron. xi. 6.

C H A P. III.

Jerusalem call'd the city of David, who takes the town, fortifies, adorns it, and keeps his court there. The king of Tyre seeks his friendship and alliance. David's wives and children.

Jerusalem called the city of David, 2 Sam. v. 7.

WHEN they had clear'd the castle of the Jebusites, and repair'd the town, the king gave to Jerusalem the name of the city of David, and made it his place of residence during his reign. This was after he had ruled seven years and six months over the tribe of Judah in Hebron. Upon the establishment of his court at Jerusalem, success attended his affairs every day more and more; for God in his providence designing it for a seat of glory, had a peculiar kindness for the place.

Hiram propounds an alliance with him, Ver. 11.

David fortifies the place, and gives the command of it to Joab, 1 Chron. xi. 8.

Jerusalem of old called Solyma.

Orphan a Jebusite, and a particular friend and favourite of David's.

David's children in Jerusalem, 2 Sam. v. 14, 16.

ABOUT this time, Hiram, the king of Tyre, sent an embassy to David, upon a treaty of friendship and alliance, and presents likewise along with it of cedar wood; builders and master-workmen toward the erecting of a palace for him at Jerusalem. David fortified the upper town, and laid that and the citadel both in one, with a wall about them, and gave the command of it to Joab. David was the first who chang'd the name of it, and it was after the casting out of the Jebusites; for in the days of our father Abraham it was called Solyma; and some will have it that Homer pointed at this city, when he speaks of the people of Solyma; for the word Hieron*, or Temple, signifies in the Hebrew, security or a fortress. Now the whole time of the war with the Philistines, from the Hebrews dividing their lands, under the command of Joshua, to the day here spoken of, was reckon'd to be five hundred and fifteen years; but the Barbarians kept the possession of Jerusalem all along, till they were beaten out by David.

Now there was among the Jebusites a very rich man, one Orphan, who had done many good offices for the Hebrews, and deserved singularly well from David himself, as will be seen hereafter in its proper place. This man, upon the sacking of the town, was preserved by the king in all the heat and fury of the soldiers, and his name must not be pass'd over in silence.

DAVID took several wives (beside concubines) more than he had before; by whom he had eleven children, as Amnon, Ellus, Ebas, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Eliel, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenas, Eliphai; and a daughter named Tamar, who was the sister of Absalom. Nine of the sons were lawfully begotten; but the two last by concubines.

C H A P. IV.

David's signal victories over the Philistines and their allies. The ark brought to Jerusalem. Uzzah struck dead for touching it. David sings and dances before it; and his wife Melchole ridicules him for it.

WHEN the Philistines understood that David was made king of all Israel, they drew out their army, and encamp'd in a place call'd the valley of the giants, not far from Jerusalem. Upon this occasion, David, who would do nothing without counsel and direction from above, appointed the high-priest to inform himself in the way that God had prescribed, what might be the event of this battle. He received a comfortable and an encouraging answer, and so drew out, and march'd immediately to fight the enemy. David so ordered the matter, that upon the very instant he fell by surprize upon the Philistines, front and rear, and put them to a total rout, killing multitudes upon the place, and giving chase to the rest.

THIS was a signal victory, easily obtain'd, and without much opposition; but it must not be therefore infer'd, that the army of the Philistines was inconsiderable, for either numbers or soldiers; for Syria and Phoenicia, and several other warlike nations, were all engaged in the confederacy: it had been otherwise impossible, after so many defeats, and the loss of so many thousands, they should ever have brought an army into the field again. As for example, upon this very overthrow, they follow'd it with an invasion of thrice the number they had before, and had the confidence to post themselves in the very same place again.

DAVID, upon this juncture, consulted the oracle as formerly, and received order to lie still with his army in a certain wood, call'd the grove of mourning, not far from the enemy; and from thence not to move, or to make any attempt upon any occasion whatsoever, till he found the branches of the trees in an agitation, as of their own accord, and without one breath of air stirring to cause that motion. David kept punctually to his order; and so soon as ever the providential sign was given him, he advanc'd that very moment, as to a certain and a determin'd victory. The Philistines shrunk upon the first push; but when they came to close fight, they ran outright, with the Hebrews at the heels of them, and their swords in their reins; following the chase, and doing terrible execution till they came to Gazar, a town situate upon the borders of either party. Their next work was to pillage the camp, where they made themselves masters of a prodigious booty, with little trouble or hazard, seizing their idols among other things, and breaking them to pieces.

THE danger of this war being speedily and happily over, the king was pleas'd, by the advice and assent of his great council of elders and officers, to draw together the whole force he was able to make, out of all the tribes under his jurisdiction; together with the

The Philistines draw out against David, near Jerusalem, Ver. 17.

The Philistines, a confederacy of several nations.

David consults the oracle again, and receives his orders, V. 23

David charges the enemy; puts them to the rout; pursues them, and pillages the camp, Ver. 24, 25.

2 Sam. vi. 1.

* The absurdity of this is fully laid open by Mafius upon Joshua, cap. x. yet If. Vossius defends Josephus. See his epistle to Colvius, p. 395, 396.

David marches to Kiriath-Jearim to fetch the ark to Jerusalem, Ver. 2.

The manner of transporting the ark, Ver. 3, 4, 5.

Uzzah struck dead for putting out his hand to save the ark from falling, Ver. 6, 7.

The ark lies deposited for three months in the house of Obed-Edom, V. 11.

The removal of the ark to Jerusalem, Ver. 12.

Melchole takes offence at the levity of David's dancing and singing before it, Ver. 16.

priests and Levites; and so to march with this great body directly to Kiriath-Jearim, and bring the ark of God from thence to Jerusalem, being the place designed for his holy worship, and for the celebration of all sacrifices, ceremonies, and religious rites for the time to come. If this care had been taken in the reign of Saul, it would have been much better both for king and people.

THE tribes being met according to appointment, and all things in readiness for the removal of the ark, David himself also assisting at the solemnity, the priests took it out of the house of Aminadab, and laying it upon a new waggon with oxen to draw it, left the ark in charge with their children and relations, to take care of it. The king himself went foremost; and after him follow'd a multitude of people, glorifying God with sacred hymns and psalms, and other delightful airs, after the fashion of the country; and dancing all along as they went, to the sound of harps, cymbals, and other musical instruments; conducting, after this manner, the ark toward Jerusalem. As they were upon the way at a certain place call'd the Threshing-floor of Chidon, or Nathon, the oxen staggering with the ark, Uzzah put forth his hand to keep it from overturning, and was immediately struck dead by a divine vengeance, for presuming to touch it, he not being in holy orders. This exemplary death of Uzzah was a great affliction to David himself, and to all his people; and they call'd the place Perez-Uzzah, or the breach of Uzzah; which name it beareth unto this day. David was so struck with the dread of this judgment, that for fear Uzzah's case might come to be his own, if he should receive the ark into the city, (his fault being only the temerity of touching it,) he suspended the carrying of it to Jerusalem, and turned off with it upon the way, into the house of a certain good man and a Levite, whose name was Obed-Edom: there it lay deposited for three whole months, in which time it was observ'd, that every thing prosper'd in the family, and that the master of it grew rich to admiration. It was in every body's mouth, in fine, how strangely Obed-Edom was improv'd in his fortune since he had the ark under his roof; and that of a very poor man before, he was now all on a sudden look'd upon as a man considerable for wealth; and in so good a condition, that he was the wonder as well as the envy of his neighbours. The rumour of this change coming to the king's ear, set David's heart at rest, as to any danger from the ark; so that he resumed his former purpose of transporting it to Jerusalem; which was done after this manner.

THE priests had the charge of carrying it, and seven choirs of singing men, according to the king's appointment, marching before it, David himself bearing his part in the consort, with dancing and singing to his harp; which his wife Melchole (the daughter of the late king Saul) utterly disliked, as an action of too much levity, and below the dignity of David's character. The ark being brought to the city, it was disposed of into the tabernacle, which David had made on purpose for it. Upon the occasion of this festival-meeting, there were sacrifices and peace-offerings in abundance, and sufficient for the whole multi-

tude; for there was not a man, woman, or child there, who had not a cake and a part of the flesh of the sacrifice given them; and when they had eaten plentifully, David returned to his palace.

HIS wife Melchole met him upon the way, with a thousand good wishes and blessings, but still reproving him for dancing and capering about, so unlike a king, and for uncovering himself in the eyes of his hand-maids and servants. David told her that he was not ashamed of doing any thing that he knew was acceptable to that God who advanced him to the throne of Israel, in preference to her father, and all other pretenders; and that he would sing and dance again and again, without regarding at all, how either she or her hand-maids took it. This Melchole had no children by David; but by her other husband, to whom Saul had given her in marriage, upon taking her away from David, she had five sons; of whom hereafter.

DAVID was so sensible of God's goodness towards him upon the daily successes of whatever he took in hand, that he began to make it matter of conscience to live in a palace of cedar himself, that was as stately and as beautiful as art and ornament could make it; and at the same time to lodge the ark in a tabernacle; so that he resolved to erect and dedicate a temple to God's honour and worship; and according to the prediction of Moses, he communicated the design to the prophet Nathan; who upon counsel and advice, encouraged him to proceed upon the work; for he might be sure of God's special favour and providence along with him. These words served more and more to animate and confirm David in his purpose and design.

IN the night following, the word of the Lord came unto Nathan, saying, "Go and tell David that I accept of his good-will in being the first proposer of erecting a temple unto my service; yet in regard that the necessity of his wars hath made him a man of blood, I cannot permit the doing of this work in his days; but let him know, that after a long and a happy life of his own, he shall commit the care of the undertaking to his son and successor Solomon; whom I shall be as tender of as a father can be of his own child, and continue the government in the line of his family; or in case of his committing iniquity, I will only punish the transgression with bodily sickness or famine; not with a total rejection, as I did Saul." The prophet, without any delay, acquitted himself of his commission; and it was so welcome a message to David, to see the succession secur'd to his posterity, and the honour of his family so graciously provided for, that he betook himself immediately to the ark of God, fell down upon his face, and worshipped. "Lord, says he, thy holy name be prais'd for all thy benefits and mercies! thou that hast taken thy servant from the sheep-fold, and advanced him to this height of dignity and power! Lord, says he, I bless thee for all this; for thy continued providences to myself, and thy promises to my posterity; and for thy multiplied deliverances and protections to thine own people." With this benediction, and a hymn, he finished his prayer, and departed.

CHAP.

David propounds the building of a glorious temple, 2 Sam. vii. 2.

The prophet Nathan encourages the project, V. 3.

But Nathan tells him afterward that the work was reserv'd for his son Solomon, Ver. 4--16.

David's prayer and thanksgiving upon God's gracious message to him by Nathan, Ver. 18, &c.

Another Adad family in upmaria, xx. 1.

C H A P. V.

Several mighty victories obtain'd by David against the Philistines, the Moabites, and the king of the Sopherians.

David resolves upon a war with the Philistines, and marches with an army into the enemy's country; invades the Moabites, overcomes them, and makes them tributaries; and totally destroys Adrazar the king of the Sopherians, 2 Sam. viii. 1-8.

DAVID, who could not endure to lie idle, meditated a war, not long after this, against the Philistines, being much animated to this enterprize by a prediction, that he should overcome all his enemies, and leave his kingdom in peace to his successor. In order to this war, he appointed a day and place for a rendezvous; summon'd his troops together; and when he was in condition to march, made an incursion into the enemy's country; overcame them in a pitch'd battle, took possession of a good part of their lands, and annexed them to the jurisdiction of the Hebrews. He made war then upon the Moabites, destroy'd two thirds of their army, took the rest, and made them tributaries. After which he overthrew Adrazar*, the son of Arach, king of the Sopherians; whom he encounter'd not far from Euphrates, and kill'd him twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; taking also a matter of a thousand chariots, of which he reserved only an hundred for his own use, and burnt the rest.

C H A P. VI.

David overthrows Adad; subdues the Idumeans; provides for Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan, and makes war upon the king of the Ammonites.

Adad joins his friend Adrazar against David; comes to a battle near Euphrates, and receives a total overthrow.

IN the mean time, Adad, king of Syria and Damascus, hearing that David had made war upon Adrazar, his singular good friend and ally, dispatch'd away a considerable army to his succour, in hopes to remove the seat of the war; and after several skirmishes, he came to a battle with David near Euphrates; where he lost the greater part of his army, twenty thousand being cut off; the rest sav'd themselves by flight. Nicolaus makes mention of this same Adad, in the fourth book of his history, as follows. "A long time after, says he, one Adad, a valiant man, and a native of the place, had the command of Damascus and Syria, Phœnicia only excepted. There happen'd to be a war betwixt this same Adad and David, the king of the Jews, and several battles fought between them; but in the end, Adad was overcome at Euphrates, behaving himself with the resolution of a brave prince, and a great captain." And the same author, treating further of his posterity, says, "That the government was handed down from father to son, to the tenth generation; the successor still receiving the father's name with the empire, as the Ptolemies among the Egyptians. The third, in order from this Adad, and the greatest man of the family, out of a generous zeal to repair the honour that his grandfather lost by this defeat, pour'd in an army upon the Jews, and laid waste Samaria."

Another Adad of the family breaks in upon Samaria, 1 Kings xx. 1.

And our historian was not mistaken in this part of his relation; for this is the Adad who invaded Samaria in the reign of Ahab king of Israel; of whom we shall say somewhat further in due time and place.

WITH this victorious army David over-ran Damascus and the rest of Syria; left garrisons behind him where he saw convenient; laid the country under contribution, and so return'd home again; carrying with him to Jerusalem the golden quivers, and other rich equipage that was taken from Adad's guards; and dedicating the spoil and trophies to God, in acknowledgment of the victory he had obtain'd through his favour and protection. All these valuable spoils, and a great deal more, were afterwards taken away by Syfack the king of Egypt, upon the sacking of Jerusalem, in his war with Rehoboam, David's grandson. But we shall have occasion to be more particular upon this subject elsewhere.

WHILE David was in the course of his successes, and God's special direction and assistance manifestly along with him, he made an attack upon Bettea and Machon†, two of the most considerable cities that Adrazar had in his dominions; both which he took by assault, with gold and silver in them to an inestimable value; beside a great quantity of a sort of brass, esteemed of a greater value than even gold itself. This was the metal that Solomon afterward made use of for his fair and beautiful basons, and a huge vessel call'd the sea, upon the finishing and adorning the temple.

WHEN the king of Hamath|| came to understand that Adrazar had lost his whole army, and was utterly undone, he thought it his wisest course, (for fear the like fate might attend him) to court David by a voluntary proposal, into a treaty of friendship and alliance. So he sent his son Joram to him, with a compliment of congratulation for the victory he had gain'd over their common enemy; (for so was Adrazar reputed) and with instructions also to solicit a league of amity and fair understanding betwixt them; not forgetting several magnificent presents in vessels of gold, silver, and brass, antique and curious, to the highest degree of excellency and perfection. David accepted both of the proposals and the presents, receiving and dismissing the ambassador, to the honour and satisfaction of both parties; but still dedicating to God, all the spoils of gold and silver, and things precious, that were taken from the enemy, as to the author of the victory. Neither was David successful only in his own personal adventures and undertakings, but God prosper'd him in all his commissions also, though executed by deputies and lieutenants; as in the case of Abishai, Joab's brother, who was sent out with an army against the Idumeans; and by God's assistance not only subdu'd them, but after eighteen thousand of them were kill'd upon the spot, he kept them in awe with garrisons, as a check upon them; charged the land with a contribution, and taxed the people by the head.

David over-runs Damascus and Syria, 2 Sam. viii. and 1 Chron. xviii.

He takes Bettea and Machon, with a mighty pillage.

The king of Hamath propounds a league with David, and sends his son Joram on the embassy, Ver. 9.

His proposals and presents are all accepted, Ver. 10, 11.

Abishai, Joab's brother, kills eighteen thousand Idumeans, and lays them under contribution.

* 2 Sam. viii. 3. Hadadazer, and 1 Chron. xviii. 3. Hadarezer.

† 2 Sam. viii. 8. Berah and Berothai; and 1 Chron. xviii. 8. Tibbath and Chun.

|| In 2 Sam. viii. 9. and in 1 Chron. xviii. 9. this king is called Toi.

David settles
his officers,
1 kings xx. 15.

DAVID was naturally a lover of justice, and had no other regard in all his judgments, than to the equity and righteousness of the cause before him. He made Joab, the son of Zeruiah, his general, and Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, the keeper of his records. He chose out of the house of Phinees, Abiathar, and Zadock, who were his friends, to be his priests, and Seraiah for secretary. Benaia the son of Jehoiada commanded the guards of his person, and the king's elder sons were still incorporated into that body.

David en-
quires after
Jonathan's
friends and
relations,
2 Sam. ix. 1. 2.

So soon as ever the king had put his family-affairs in some sort of order, he cast his thoughts upon his old and dear friend and associate Jonathan, and upon the solemn league of mutual amity that had pass'd betwixt them; for he had this virtue in perfection, with many others, that he never forgot an obligation to a friend, but look'd upon an arrear for pass'd benefits as the most sacred of all debts. Upon this consideration, he made diligent inquiry, what sons, friends, or relations, Jonathan had left behind him, that he might find matter for his gratitude to work upon. In pursuance of this inquiry, there was brought to him one Ziba, formerly a servant and a freeman of Saul's, as the most likely person to resolve that question. So the king ask'd him if he knew of any of Jonathan's family yet living, and where to find them; for he was answerable for an old debt there, which he would gladly repay. Ziba made answer, that he had a son yet alive, whose name was Mephibosheth; who by a mischance happen'd to be lame of one leg. For upon the news of that bloody battle, wherein his grandfather and his father were slain, the nurse took him up in a fright to run away with him; and stumbling for haste, let him fall out of her arms, and hurt him. Upon farther examination the king had notice that he was brought up with one Machir, in the city of Labatha*, and that there he was at present. Whereupon he was immediately sent for, and presented to David. When Mephibosheth approach'd the royal presence, he prostrated himself at the king's feet, and did him reverence. The king bad him be of good cheer, and hope for better days; assuring him of all the comfort he could wish for from the favour of his prince. So he appointed him presently to be put in possession of his father's and grandfather's house and estate, and of all that belonged to them; took him home to him as his particular guest, and order'd that he should eat every day at his own table. The young man was highly sensible of this excessive grace and bounty; and when he had made a dutiful acknowledgment of it, in such manner as became him, David then called for Ziba; and telling him how he had bestow'd upon Mephibosheth, his father's and grandfather's estate, gave him in charge to look after it, and take care of the grounds, and from time to time to receive the profits, and bring them to Jerusalem. Mephibosheth, after this, lived in the king's house, sat constantly at the same

Ziba directs
David where
he may find
his son Me-
phibosheth,
Ver. 4.

Mephibo-
sheth is
brought to
David, V.
5, 6.

David takes
care of him,
V. 7.

And makes
Ziba his
steward, V. 10.

table with him, and David gave him Ziba, and fifteen sons that he had, with twenty others belonging to him, for his servants. Ziba, having received his commission, did his duty, and went his way; promising to govern himself in all things according to his order and instructions. But the son of Jonathan continu'd still at Jerusalem with David, and was treated in all respects as a child of the family; so great a tenderness had David for any thing that had a relation to Jonathan. Thus it was with Mephibosheth, to whom was born a son whose name was Micha.

ABOUT this time dy'd Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, a friend and ally of David's; and Hanun his son succeeded him. David upon this revolution, sent ambassadors to him, to condole his loss, and comfort him in his affliction, and to assure him of the same friendship and respect to himself that had been formerly paid to his father. The heads of the Ammonites made a malicious construction of this embassy, which the good faith and candour of David did not deserve at their hands. They did all they could in fine, to irritate their king, with calumnies against David; and to put jealousies in his head, that the servants of David were not in truth ambassadors but spies; who under the pretext of a compliment of state, were sent to explore the strength and condition of the country; and that therefore, without giving any heed to fair words, he should do well to be cautious and circumspect betimes, before things were gone beyond recovery. Hanun was over-ruled by this counsel; how contrary soever to the true reason of the case; and so sent the ambassadors back again with all the indignities of scorn and vile usage imaginable. They cut off one half of their beards, and one half of their vests, and so dismiss'd them in that dress, with a contumely of action, instead of words at length, for an answer. David took it so heinously to be thus treated, and to see his ambassadors so barbarously affronted, contrary to the laws of nations, honour, hospitality, and good manners, that immediately he declar'd his resolution publicly to right himself upon the Ammonites by an open war, and to call their king to an account for what he had done. The principals and allies of the Ammonites were so conscious to themselves, that their perfidy, and breach of faith, together with the scandalous manner of it, was wholly unpardonable; that upon the first news of David's determination to vindicate himself by arms, they found themselves necessitated, in their own defence, to encounter force with force, and so prepar'd for a war. They sent their ambassadors to Syrus, the king of Mesopotamia, with a thousand silver talents to bring him into the alliance; which he accepted of, and engaged also the king of Zoba. These two kings had betwixt them about twenty thousand foot. They likewise purchased the assistance of the king of Maacah, and of Ishtob, who had two and twenty thousand men in arms.

Mephibo-
sheth's son
Micha, V. 12.
Nahash the
king of the
Ammonites,
dies; 2 Sam. x.
1. and David
sends a con-
doling com-
pliment to
his son Ha-
nun, V. 2.

The embassa-
dors are sent
back with ig-
nomy and
scorn, V. 4.

David de-
clares war a-
gainst the
Ammonites,
V. 7.

Who call in
all the allies
they can
make to their
assistance,
V. 6.

* Scrip. Lo-debar.

C H A P. VII.

Joab overthrows Hanun and his confederates. David gives a terrible defeat to the king of Syria. The story of David and Bathsheba. Amnon ravishes Tamar, and her brother Absalom lays a plot to take away his life.

THIS preparation of the Ammonites, in conjunction with so many confederate princes, made no impression at all upon the courage of David: he knew he had a gracious God to trust to; his cause was good, and the injury he had received intolerable; wherefore he was resolved to cast himself upon God's providence, and the justice of his arms for satisfaction; so that he committed the management of the war to Joab, and sent him away with the choicest of his troops against the enemy. He marched directly towards their capital city*, and encamped before it. The enemy marched forth out of the town, and divided into two bodies; the one consisting of auxiliaries, which they drew up in the open field; the other being composed only of Ammonites, ranged themselves before the gates that looked toward the Hebrews. Joab considering this disposition of the enemy's army, disposed of his troops likewise in the same order; and at the head of the best men he had, he himself preparing to charge Syrus, and the confederate kings, with one division, gave his brother Abishai the command of the other, with orders to attack the Ammonites; having agreed upon it beforehand betwixt themselves, that in case Syrus should get the better of Joab, Abishai should come in to his relief; and Joab to second Abishai, if he should be press'd by the Ammonites. Joab hereupon dismiss'd his brother, encouraging him to behave himself valiantly, and to make good the reputation both of the cause and of the action. Joab made the onset upon Syrus, who stood very bravely at first; but so many of his men falling, the rest fled; and the Ammonites upon the very sight of their disorder, betook themselves likewise to their heels, after the example of their fellows, without staying for the coming up of Abishai, and fled as fast as they could into the town; so that Joab, after a dreadful execution done upon the enemy, returned to Jerusalem with his victorious army.

THIS rout and confusion of the Ammonites, how unequal a match soever they were found to be to the Hebrews, was not enough yet to keep them quiet for the future; but they sent to Chalama †, a king of the Syrians beyond Euphrates, and agreed with him for an auxiliary army at such a price. Shobach was his lieutenant-general over an army of eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. David being given to understand the mighty strength of the Ammonites, did not find it convenient to make war any longer by his deputies; so that he himself pass'd the river Jordan with the whole army, and joining battle with the enemy, kill'd them forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, and came off a conqueror; Shobach himself, the general of Chalama, receiving a wound in this battle, of

which he died. The people of Mesopotamia, upon the miserable event of this overthrow, sent forthwith their ambassadors, with presents and addresses to David, and deliver'd up themselves; and the action being over, and the winter drawing on, David returned again safe to Jerusalem.

AT the beginning of the spring following, Joab was again dispatched with a commission to prosecute the war against the Ammonites, where he laid their country waste; drove the people into Rabatha, their metropolis, and laid siege to the place. David was undoubtedly a just and a pious man, and a strict observer of the laws of his country; but yet at this time he had the misfortune to fall into a grievous sin, the occasion of which was as follows:

As he was walking for his diversion one day toward the cool of the evening upon his terraces, he had the hap to descry a woman bathing herself in her own house, who was a person of a most exquisite shape and beauty, and her name Bathsheba. He fell in love with her immediately; and under the impotence of a passionate appetite, had her brought to his bed. Soon after this she found herself with child, and desired the king to consider of some way for the concealment of it; for otherwise she must suffer death by the laws of the country. Uriah, the husband of this woman, and Joab's armour-bearer, was hereupon call'd away from the camp, and David ask'd him several questions about the state of the army; how the siege went forward, and the like. He told the king, that things went as well as he could wish. So David gave him part of his own supper, and bad him go home for the present to his wife; but finding afterwards that he had pass'd away that night in the palace, and among his guards, ask'd him, "How it came to pass, that having been so long away from his wife, he had not rather chose to go home, than spend his time elsewhere, so contrary to the practice of all other men under his circumstances?" "Sir, replied he, I did not think it fair and honourable to indulge myself in the arms of my wife, at the same time when my general and fellow-soldiers lie in an enemy's country upon the ground." So the king told him, "He should now stay there one night more, and the next day he would send him back again to the army." When the king went to supper, he caus'd Uriah to sup with him, and made him drink so freely, that although he became thereby almost drunk, yet he never thought of going to his wife all this while, but spent that night again in the court, as he had done the former. This highly affronted David; infomuch, that he wrote to Joab, that he was much dissatisfied with Uriah, and he would have him punish'd according to his desert; and so put him in a way how to bring it about, without giving any suspicion that it was done by his order; and the contrivance was this: David appointed Joab to command him upon the first dangerous attack, where his companions might leave him in the lurch to be certainly cut off. This letter he gave to Uriah, under his own hand and seal, to be deliver'd to Joab; who, upon the receipt, follow'd the king's direction,

Joab being order'd to prosecute the war against the Ammonites, lays siege to Rabatha, 2 Sam. xi. 1.

David corrupts Bathsheba, and she proves with child, Ver. 4.

David writes to Joab, to put Uriah upon some desperate post, where he may be destroy'd, Ver. 14, 15. Joab follows his order, Ver. 16.

* Viz. Rabatha; which 2 Chron. xx. 1. 'tis said, Joab besieged and destroyed it the spring following.

† This king, in 2 Sam. x. 16. and 1 Chron. xix. 16. is called Hadarezer.

Uriah is cut
to pieces,
2 Sam. xi. 17.

Joab writes
David the
news of a re-
pulse upon
an assault at
Rabatha,
Ver. 18.

The messen-
ger lets fall a
word by-the-
by, of Uriah's
being kill'd
in the at-
tempt, V. 24.
David passes
it over as the
chance of
war, but bids
Joab husband
his men, raze
the city to
the ground,
and give no
quarter, V. 25.

and put Uriah upon a desperate attack, where he knew the enemies to be strongest, with several brave men to back him, for the countenance of the design; Joab promising to second him with the whole army, upon the least breach or possibility of entrance into the town; Joab recommending it earnestly to him, to maintain the reputation he had already acquir'd with the king and the army, by acquitting himself frankly and bravely upon this occasion. Uriah, with great cheerfulness and assurance, undertook the post, while Joab gave his companions private orders to withdraw, and leave him, so soon as they found themselves in any danger. The Hebrews pressing hard upon the wall, put the Ammonites in a dreadful apprehension that they would force the town; whereupon they threw open their gates, and made a desperate salley; which was as good as a signal to those with Uriah, according to their orders from Joab, to abandon their leader; which they did with one consent, upon that critical point of time, and left Uriah to be cut to pieces. He did all the execution that was possible to be done by a single man against numbers; and after several wounds receiv'd, fell like a man of honour, with his face to the enemy. Some few of his friends, who were also asham'd to fly, not being made privy to the plot, fell with him at the same time.

THE action being now over, Joab dispatch'd away an express forthwith to David, giving an account, that to make short work of a siege that was otherwise likely to be tedious, he had given an assault to the town, lost men in the attempt, and was at last beaten off, and forced back again to the camp. "Now, says Joab to the messenger, if you find the king displeased at the news you carry him, tell him withal, that Uriah fell in the attack." David, upon the hearing of this story, was mightily unsatisfied. "What, says he, for men with their naked bodies to think of storming stone walls! Why did they not rather make use of mines or engines? One would think they might have taken the domestick example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, for a warning, that was slain at Thebes by a piece of a mill-stone thrown down upon his head, by an old woman, from the battlements. The man was otherwise very brave; but his temerity brought him to a shameful end; for in all these cases, caution is as necessary as courage; and the safest counsels are the best. All people, in the business of war, should do well to consult history and experience, what has generally succeeded well, and what otherwise, and to consider upon what point the stress lies, either of the one, or of the other, and to act accordingly." While the

king was in this sort expressing his resentment and displeasure at the ill management of the action, the messenger took an occasion to tell him of the death of Uriah, as a thing by-the-by. "Well, says David, these are common accidents; the chance of war is various, and soldiers must content themselves to take the best and the worst by turns. Do you tell Joab what I say; but tell him moreover, that for the future I would rather have him do the business by casting up works, or by machines, than by open force. But let him know upon the main, that I would have the

city raz'd and level'd with the ground, and the inhabitants put all to the sword, without sparing so much as one individual person." With these instructions the messenger went presently away to Joab.

UPON the news of Uriah's death, Bathsheba for several days mourn'd her husband; but so soon as her days of mourning were over, David took her to wife, and had by her a male child not long after. This match was so far from being acceptable and well pleasing to God, that he was highly offended at it, and gave the prophet Nathan to understand as much in a dream; blaming David exceedingly for what he had done. Now Nathan being a man of a diverting humour and address, and well considering how little regard princes commonly have in the career of their passions to the right or wrong of things, chose rather to communicate his message to David in mild terms, by way of allusion, than bluntly and abruptly to accost him by a direct and downright denunciation of the displeasure and commination of God Almighty; bringing in what he had to deliver after this manner:

"THERE were two men, says he, who lived in the same city; the one had an abundance of flocks and herds of all sorts of cattle, oxen, sheep, and the like; and was, in fine, a very rich man; the other was master of no more than one only lamb; which he brought up, and fed with his own children, and lov'd it as his daughter. The rich man had a stranger come to his house, whom he was bound in hospitality and in honour to entertain; but rather than treat him out of his own store, he sent and forced away the poor man's only lamb for the stranger's supper." "A villain, says the king, in a passion, to do a thing so base and so unjust! I would have him make four-fold satisfaction, and die for it besides." "Why then, replied Nathan immediately, thou thyself art the man who deserves such punishment, and out of thy own mouth hast pronounced judgment upon thyself. The prophet, after this, gave him an account of his vision, and of God's high displeasure against him; minding him of his ingratitude to that providence that had constituted him king of Israel, and given him the command of all the neighbouring nations thereabouts; deliver'd him several times out of Saul's hands, &c. And for him now, who had so many lawful wives allow'd him, to take away, and marry another man's wife, in defiance of God and man, and to betray her husband to the enemy, and to death, what could he expect after all this, but to be overtaken with a divine vengeance? the prophet then predicting to him, that he should live to see his woman ravish'd by one of his own sons, and that son to enter into a practice upon the life of his father; and in a word, that for this secret sin of his, he should be brought to open shame and punishment; concluding with this presage, that the son of his unlawful love should be very short-liv'd." This denunciation of the prophet struck David with terror and confusion, and drew from him a penitential confession with tears, that he had sinned against God. Now David being a righteous man, and (this one thing excepted) one who before had never been

Bathsheba
mourns out
her time for
her husband
and David
takes her to
wife, Ver. 26.

Nathan, by
the allusion
of a fable,
brings David
to a sight of
his sin, 2 Sam.
xii. 1-4.

Ver. 5.

Nathan fore-
tells the se-
veral cala-
mities to be-
fall David,
Ver. 10, 11,
12.

David con-
fesses and re-
pents, Ver. 13.

been guilty of the commission of any unjust action, God was pleased to accept of his true repentance, and took him into his favour again, and promis'd to secure him in the enjoyment both of his kingdom and of his life.

WHEN Nathan had given David this prospect of things to come, he returned to his habitation; and was no sooner gone, but the Lord struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David with a grievous sickness, which was so sensible an affliction to the father, that he took his chamber upon it, and for seven days together prostrated himself upon the ground in sackcloth and mourning; nor could he be persuaded by his servants to receive any sustenance; beseeching Almighty God to spare the life of the child, having the greatest tenderness imaginable for the mother. Upon the seventh day the child died; but none of the family durst speak a word of it to the king; for he, they thought, that was so given up to sorrow, as to deny himself the most necessary comforts and refreshments of life, when the child was only sick, would afflict himself with a more intense and severe abstinence, if he should know it to be dead. David observed such a disorder in the countenances of his family, that he took it for certain there was something extraordinary in the case, that they durst not acquaint him with, which he concluded could be nothing else but the death of the child; and upon examining one of his servants about it, he found it so to be. David, upon this, presently got up, wash'd himself, changed his cloaths, and so went his way directly to the tabernacle to worship; commanding his servants, after this, to set his supper upon the table. His kindred and domesticks were all in admiration and astonishment at a change of humour so unexpected; for while the child was but dangerously ill, there was nothing but passion and extravagance; and now it was dead, the father came to himself again. This was their descant; but they had yet a curiosity to know what might be the true reason of it; wherein David was very free with them upon a decent intimation of the desire they had to be better inform'd. "While the child was yet living, says he, "and not quite out of hope of recovery, I omitted no opportunity of application to God for its life; but when I saw it was dead, it would have been a foolish thing to torment myself any farther to no manner of purpose." The prudence of this resolution was highly commended by all that heard him. Bathsheba, after this, in her due time, according to the course of nature, brought David a son; who, by the direction of the prophet Nathan, gave him the name of Solomon.

JOAB, by this time had press'd so hard upon the Ammonites, by cutting off their water, and all other provisions from them, that they were now well nigh reduced to the last extremity of hunger and thirst; for they had only one little spring left them, which they were fain to husband by short allowances, for fear of drawing it dry, or losing that too. Joab sent David a particular account of the state of the siege; desiring the honour of his presence there in person, to put the last hand himself to the destruction of the city, as an action worthy to be found upon the roll in the history of his other heroical exploits. David was so fully

satisfy'd with the wisdom, faith, and zeal of his general, that he put himself presently at the head of his army, and marched to the assault of Rabatha; took it by storm, and gave the pillage of it to the soldiers, taking only for himself a golden crown of the kings, of a talent weight, and a rich sardonix upon it; which David wore constantly upon his head afterward for an ornament: to say nothing of an infinite variety of other rich booty that was found in the city. The men were put to death by exquisite torments, and all the rest of the Ammonite cities which stood out, as this did, were served after the same manner.

THE glory of this victory was follow'd soon after with a mortification that took off much of the relish of it. David had a daughter that was as yet a virgin, and incomparably the most agreeable, lovely beauty of the age she liv'd in. Her name was Tamar, and she and Absalom had one mother. Amnon, the eldest son of David, fell desperately in love with her; and finding, that betwixt her own modesty, and the watch she had upon her, there was no hope of succeeding, he pin'd away into a kind of languishing consumption. Jonadab, his friend and kinsman, and a person withal of very good sense and judgment, taking notice of this change in Amnon, and that he grew every day worse and worse, went to him, and ask'd him what he ail'd; and in short, if he was not in love: for he had a suspicion of it. Amnon, without any difficulty, own'd himself to have a violent passion for his own sister; upon this the other immediately suggested to him a method how he might compass his end. Do but you, says Jonadab, counterfeit yourself sick; and the first visit your father gives you, make it your request that he would send your sister to you, upon an opinion, you may say, that her care and assistance would much contribute toward your recovery. Amnon follow'd his counsel; desiring his father, accordingly, upon his first visit, to send his sister to him; which he did immediately; and nothing would serve Amnon then, but he must have some cakes of his sister's making: for he could not eat any thing else. So she took the flour, kneaded it, rais'd, and bak'd it, all in her brother's sight; and in conclusion, offer'd him some to eat; which he would not so much as taste of; but called out to his servants immediately to withdraw, and let no body come in to trouble him; for he would lay himself to rest. So soon as the room was clear'd of the waiters, he desir'd his sister to carry the curiosities she had made him, into an inner chamber there, which she did; and her brother taking advantage of that privacy, laid hold of her; and by the uttermost importunity of a violent passion, press'd and courted her to the gratifying of his brutal lust: the innocent virgin crying out, and exclaiming all the while to him, "for shame, for shame," not to offer at so impious, and so scandalous a baseness, as it would be to sacrifice the honour of himself, and his whole family to the outrage of a beastly appetite. "Let me go, says she, for the love of God, and keep your exorbitant desires within the compass of law, honesty and religion: or, if you cannot master them, try if you can get your father's good-will, and never think of extorting a kindness from me by violence." But there

All put to death by torment; and so the rest of the Ammonite cities that stand out Ver. 31. Amnon David's eldest son falls desperately in love with his sister Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 1. Jonadab lifts it out of him, and tells him how he may gain his point, V. 3.

Amnon follows his counsel, V. 6.

David's child by Bathsheba is struck with a desperate sickness, 2 Sam. xii. 15. David mourns in fasting and sackcloth for seven days, Ver. 16.

The child dies upon the seventh day, Ver. 18.

Bathsheba brings David a son, which by Nathan's directions is called Solomon, Ver. 24. Joab cuts off the Ammonites water, and streightens them for provisions, Ver. 27.

Joab writes David the state of the siege of Rabatha, and advises him to appear in person at the assault, V. 28.

Bathsheba is out me for husband David her to Ver. 26.

man, by illusion fable, 2 Sam. 1-4.

5.

Nathan fore- the se- cala- ties to be- David, er. 10, 11,

David con- ses and re- nts, Ver. 13.

Amnon ravishes his sister, 2 Sam. xiii. 14. After this brutal act, he turns her violently out of doors, Ver. 15. Thamar expostulates the matter with Amnon, Ver. 16.

Thamar makes proclamation in the streets, how she had been abus'd, Ver. 19.

* Scr. Baal-Hazor.

Abfalom lays a plot to kill Amnon at a sheep-sheering, V. 27, 28.

there was no reasoning, she found, with an impetuous raging passion. She thought however to put him off at present; but it would not do; for in despite of all she could say or do, either to hinder, or to divert him, he gain'd his end upon her by force.

No sooner had he committed the villainy, and laid the fury of his burning lust, but in the same instant, his extravagant love was degenerated into the contrary extreme, of an implacable hatred: insomuch that he urged her with reproaches and ill language, to depart his lodgings and be gone. "What? says she, now you have debauch'd me, am I to be expos'd too? and sent away by day-light with all this confusion and horror upon me, to tell the world how barbarously you have used me? nay, says she, this treatment in cold blood is yet worse, if worse can be, even than the accursed act itself, under the impotency of an ungovernable passion to alleviate the crime." But reasoning and struggling was all in vain, for go she must; and Amnon, without any more ado, commanded his servants to turn her out of the house. Away she goes upon this into the street, with ashes on her head, and her vest (such as was then in fashion for persons of her quality) disorder'd and torn; and so thorough the city; crying out and complaining how she had been abus'd and ravish'd. Her brother Abfalom had the fortune to meet her in this distraction and dress; and asking her what was the matter, she told him the whole story of her brother, and the brutal indignity that he had put upon her. Abfalom told her to pacify her, that the dishonour, however, was not so great, considering it was the act of her own brother; which for the present put some respite to her clamour. After this, she lived a pretty while single in the house of her brother Abfalom. Upon the carrying of this story to David, he was infinitely troubled at it; but Amnon being his eldest, and his beloved son, he was yet loth to put him to extremities. Abfalom, all this while, bore him a mortal grudge, and waited only a fair opportunity for a revenge. At the end of two years after the rape of Thamar, Abfalom having appointed a sheep-sheering at Belzephon*, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, invited his father and his brothers to the meeting. His father excus'd himself, upon the trouble and expence it would be to him: so that Abfalom desir'd leave only for his brothers; which being obtained, he gave his domesticks this order; that upon his giving them the sign, when Amnon should be in his cups, they should fall upon him, and kill him.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Amnon frights the brothers. Absalom flies to Geshur. Joab gets leave for him to return. He goes to Hebron upon a pretended vow, and enveigles the people to declare him king. Achitophel joins with him. David quits Jerusalem. Absalom commits a horrible wickedness at the instance of Achitophel.

Amnon kill'd by Abfalom's order, V. 29.

ABFALOM's people took their time, and put their master's orders in execution. This violence upon Amnon struck such a dread and confusion into the rest of the brothers, that they immediately took horse upon

it, and posted away to their father, taking for granted that there was a plot upon the whole company. In this nick of time comes a fore-runner to David, with news, that Abfalom had put all his brothers to death. This was so terrible a surprize to David, to hear of the loss of so many of his sons, and by the hand of their own brother too, that he abandon'd himself (as well he might) to an inconsolable desparation: and without any farther enquiry into the matter, or waiting for a confirmation of the report, (though a wickedness almost incredible) he gave himself up to an insupportable anguish of thought; tearing his garments, and casting himself prostrate upon the ground, lamenting not only the murder'd, but the murderer himself. But Jonadab, the son of Shimei, David's brother, desir'd David only to ruminate upon the matter a little with temper and moderation. I cannot believe, says he, that your sons are all kill'd, because I see no colour of reason for it. But for Amnon's part, it is not unlikely, says Jonadab, that Abfalom may have taken his revenge upon him for the affront he put upon his sister. While they were in discourse, they heard the trampling of horses, and the hurry of people as approaching; and what was all this, but the king's sons who had made their escape from the feast at the house of their brother?

THE greeting of the father and his sons was not without tears on both sides; the father surpriz'd at the sight of them living whom he took to be dead; the sons lamenting the loss of their brother, and the father deploring the barbarous murder of a son; so that there was subject abundantly every way for grief and lamentation in all respects. Abfalom, in the mean time, retir'd to Geshur, where he was a matter of three years in the house of his mother's father, a person of eminent authority in that country.

DAVID had by this time a great desire to recal Abfalom, not to punish him, but to have him home again; for the severity of his displeasure was now well nigh over; and these charitable inclinations were dextrously enough managed to Abfalom's advantage, by the friendship of Joab, who was still at David's elbow. In order to this end, he dealt with an ancient woman who was to put herself in mourning, as a person in great distress, and as an humble suppliant, to present the king with her case to this effect: "That two of her sons

" in the country had had an unhappy quarrel, which grew to that animosity, that they fought upon it, and one of them was kill'd. " Some of his friends who was slain, demand justice upon him that kill'd him. So she " was to beg of his majesty the life of her son, " as the only hope and stay of her old age. " She had no prospect of relief, but in his " majesty's clemency; for her son's enemies " were so malicious, that nothing less could " satisfy them than the interposition of the " king's authority." She performed her part, and the king granted her request; whereupon, with a dutiful acknowledgment of the king's grace and favour to an ancient woman, and the mother of one only child, she prayed one further instance and assurance that she might enjoy the fruit of his royal goodness. Her suit was, " That the king would, in the first " place, be pleas'd to pardon his own son " Abfalom;

The rest of the brothers post away to the king upon this alarm, ibid.

Jonadab advises David to patience, till he can hear further, Ver. 32, 33.

In this interim David's sons come over to their father, Ver. 35, 36.

A tender greeting on both sides, ibid.

Abfalom retires to the house of his mother's father in Geshur, Ver. 37.

Joab does all good offices of mediation for Abfalom, 2 Sam. xiv.

An invention of Joab's in Abfalom's favour, Ver. 2-18.

Joab obtains leave for him to return, Ver.

"Abfalom; for in beginning with a compassion to him, it would be effectually the ratifying of her son's case, in his own family. "It would be very hard, she said, for a father to lose one son by misadventure, and to kill another himself."

THE king presently surmized that this was a contrivance and project of Joab's; and upon discoursing the woman, found the matter to be so in reality. Upon which discovery David call'd for Joab, and told him that he had gain'd his point, and was now at liberty to bring Abfalom back again when he thought fit; for his anger was over, and he had freely forgiven him. Joab was very glad to hear it, did his reverence to the king, and so hastened away to Geshur, and brought Abfalom back with him to Jerusalem. The king being told of his coming, sent him word, that matters were not as yet in so good a disposition as that it would be proper for him to appear in his presence; so that Abfalom kept himself out of the king's sight, within his own walls, and with his private family. He had gone thorough a great deal of care and trouble; and his entertainment of late had been rather coarse than delicate; and in short, not suitable to the state and curiosity of a prince of the blood. But he still kept up the beauty yet, and the gracefulness of his person to the highest degree of human perfection. He cut his hair every eight months; in the compass of which time, it grew up to the weight of two hundred shekels; that is to say, to five pound weight.

He pass'd away about two years in Jerusalem, in this private way of living, and had children; three sons and one daughter, who prov'd to be a miracle of a beauty. She was married afterward to Rehoboam the son of Solomon; and had a son by him whose name was Abia. Abfalom finding himself uneasy under his present circumstances, sent to Joab to use his interest with his father towards regaining him admission into the royal presence; and, in short, to the procuring him the comfort of a thorough and absolute reconciliation. He waited a while for an answer; but receiving no satisfaction upon this message, he sent some of his people to a neighbouring field of Joab's, to burn his corn as it stood there upon the ground. Joab came to him about it, and expostulating the matter with him, ask'd him what he had ever done to deserve such unhandsome treatment at his hands? "Why, says Abfalom, I had no way of getting you to me but that. I wrote to you about interceding for me to my father, and you have done nothing in it I perceive. Pray will you try if you can pacify him; for at this rate, if he goes on still to be inexorable, I am in a worse condition at home than I was in my banishment." Joab took pity of him upon this discourse, and plied the king so artificially and so luckily on his behalf, that his heart relented, and Abfalom was immediately sent for to attend his father. He cast himself at the king's feet upon his first entrance into the room, and begg'd pardon for all his misdoings; whereupon David with his right hand took him up again, with the assurance of a solemn promise, that all old offences should be forever buried and forgotten.

ABFALOM being re-establish'd in the good opinion and esteem of his father, in a short

time furnished himself with a splendid equipage, with chariots and horses; a numerous train and retinue of servants, and no less than fifty men to attend him as the guard of his body. He was the first man still at the king's levee; not forgetting, on the other hand, to take all occasions also to cajole the multitude, and to keep fair with the people. If any man had a cause to be heard, and came for justice, he would be asking him in a familiar affable way, "Friend, says he, what is thy name? what countryman? what business? can I do thee any good?" and the like. When he found people out of humour, and malecontent for a cross verdict, or a hard judgment, (as they pretended; "Why this it is, says he again, the king has evil counsellors about him. Nay, and God help him, mistakes the point himself sometimes, as well as another. Well! and so God speed ye my friends; if I had been in some body's place, things should never have gone at this rate." This was his method of way-laying the affections of the people, and moulding them for his design; and the humour ripen'd apace too.

WHEN he found himself pretty well assur'd of the strength and interest of his party, he went and address'd himself to David in the fourth year after his reconciliation, for leave to go to Hebron to perform a vow which he had made in the time of his banishment; which leave he easily obtain'd, and took a prodigious multitude; some whom he invited, and others that came trooping in throngs along with him. Among the rest was Achitophel the Gilonite, David's prime minister, with two hundred men of Jerusalem, who came thither to sacrifice, without the least imagination of a conspiracy. But to make short of the matter, the plot took; and Abfalom, by the common voice of the people, was proclaimed king.

DAVID was so surpriz'd at the news of a rebellious usurpation, so little expected, that he stood confounded, as if he had been planet-struck, upon the very thought of the impudence and ingratitude of his son's perfidiousness; a wretch that could so soon forget his own late guilt, and his father's mercy, as to revolt into a second Apostasy, so much more flagitious than the former; for he was first to lay violent hands upon his father's kingdom, though he himself knew it to be the special gift of God; and after that, to practice upon his very life too. Now David being in this streight, bethought himself of passing the river Jordan into some place of more security; and so, with the advice of some of his intimate friends, what course to take in this seditionous juncture, he resolved to leave the care of his palace to ten of his concubines; quit Jerusalem, and commit the issue to God. He accordingly departed with great multitudes of people that cheerfully adher'd to him, and join'd themselves in his train, especially his own six hundred friends, that kept so close to him when he was hunted up and down by Saul, from one hiding-place to another. The high-priests, Abiathar and Zadock, and all the Levites there, were for going with him too, and taking the ark along with them; but upon very good reasons he prevail'd with them to stay, telling them that God's providence was sufficient for his preservation, without any

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up with a
splendid
equipage;
and makes
court to the
people,
2 Sam. xv. 1.Abfalom gets
leave of his
father to go
pay a vow at
Hebron, V. 9.He gets him-
self proclaim-
ed king, V. 10.This perfid-
ious shame-
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tude sur-
prizes David,
Ver. 14.David leaves
his palace to
his concu-
bines, and so
quits Jerusa-
lem, Ver. 16.The high-
priests and
Levites press
to go with
him, but he
opposes it,
Ver. 25.

David settles
a secret cor-
respondence
with them,
2 Sam. xv. 27,
28.

News
brought to
David that
Achitophel
was gone over
to Absalom,
Ver. 31.

He meets his
trusty servant
Hushai, V. 32.

And sends
him back
again to
watch Absa-
lom in Jeru-
salem, Ver. 34,
&c.

David meets
Ziba, 2 Sam.
xvi. 1.

Who tells
him that Me-
phibosheth
stays at Jeru-
salem, in
hopes to be
chosen king,
Ver. 3.

Shimei re-
viles David,
Ver. 5.

necessity of the holy ark being upon the place. The last thing he said to them was, that they should make sure of some private way of intelligence to let him understand from time to time of whatever pass'd that might concern him to know; and they acquitted themselves of that commission with great faith and industry; that is to say, Ahimaaz the son of Zadock, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar. Ittai, the Gittite, had so great a zeal for his own personal duty, and the service of his master, that he forced himself along with him, though he press'd him earnestly against it.

As David was going barefoot up Mount Olivet, and all the people in tears round about him, there came to him a messenger with the tidings that Achitophel was gone over to the faction of Absalom, which was one of the most sensible disappointments that had as yet befallen him; wherefore David prayed to God to infatuate him, and to turn his wisdom into foolishness. He was a clear-sighted man, and of great penetration in business, and there was nothing David so much dreaded, as the policy of his advice. When he had gained the mountain's top, he look'd back upon the city, all in tears, with ejaculations, as one that was now taking his last leave of his government; and whom should he meet there, but his try'd friend and faithful subject Hushai, with his garments torn, and ashes upon his head, lamenting the transitory state and fortune of all things below the sun. David

bad him be of good cheer, and bear the present situation of affairs with resignation and patience; and urged him finally with great earnestness to go back again to Jerusalem, where he might behave himself like one of Absalom's party; pry into his counsels and designs, and by thwarting Achitophel's sense of things, do his master infinitely better service, than by staying with him. Hushai yielded to his persuasions; and so taking his leave of David, returned to Jerusalem, Absalom himself coming thither not long after. David in the mean while passing forward, met with Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, to whom he had committed the management of the estate he had bestow'd upon the son of his dear friend Jonathan. He was driving two asses before him, and offer'd David and his men to take what they pleas'd of what he had, if there was any thing they lik'd. The question was put to Ziba upon this occasion, "What was become of his master?" "He left him at Jerusalem, he said, in hopes that upon the present distraction of affairs, the people, in honour to the memory of his father Saul, might be prevail'd upon to chuse him king." David had such an indignation for this ingratitude, that he resum'd his grant of the lands made to Mephibosheth, and bestowed them on Ziba, as the more deserving person of the two. This was an expression and a bounty that were both very acceptable to Ziba.

DAVID was still advancing, and as he pass'd near Bahurim, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, the son of Gera, and assaulted him with curses, and with stones; and the more David's friends took his part on the one side, the more foul and scandalous was the ribbaldry of Shimei on the other. He call'd David a blood-sucker, the

cause of all their miseries, and bad him be gone out of the country, like an insolent execrable wretch as he was; giving God thanks for that retaliation upon him, by his son, for the indignities that he had formerly put upon his Lord and father. These rude and barbarous outrages provok'd the indignation of every body that heard them; and Abishai had certainly kill'd him for it, if David had not interposed, and prevented it. "Pray hold your hand, says David, and do not add mischief to mischief. Things are bad enough already, and do not you make them worse. I look upon all the clamours of this clown, as I do upon the bawling of a mad dog, that God had let loose upon me; and his holy will be done. Why should you wonder at the unmannerly revilings of a scoundrel, when at the same time I am worse treated by my own ungracious son. But there is a merciful God above, who in the end will deliver the innocent out of the hands of their oppressors, and give us victory over all our enemies; wherefore in the name, and under the protection of that God, let us proceed forward in our journey."

And so as David advanced temperately on one side of the mountain, Shimei ran railing and cursing over-against him on the other. They came at last, after a long and a wearisome march, to the bank of the river Jordan, where David muster'd and refresh'd his troops.

ABSAKOM, and his great counsellor Achitophel, were by this time come to Jerusalem, where they were received with shouts and acclamations by a vast concourse of people, and among the rest, by David's friend Hushai, with a God save the king, and the wishes to him of a long and a happy reign. Absalom, upon this encounter, ask'd Hushai how it came to pass, that he who was look'd upon to be so eminent and faithful a servant to his father, should now desert his former master, and come over to him? Hushai answer'd him discreetly enough, "That there was no contending with the will of God, and the consent of the people; and so long as you have them on your side, you may be sure of my fidelity. It is from God that you have receiv'd your kingdom; and if you can think me worthy of a place in the number of those you will vouchsafe to own, you shall find me as true to yourself, as ever I was to your father. No man is to account the present state of things uneasy, so long as the government continues in the same line, and a son of the same family succeeds to the throne." These words of Hushai to Absalom, put an end to all jealousies.

THE thing they had now before them was, to resolve what should be done next, and Achitophel was presently call'd in, to advise about it. The counsel he gave was, for Absalom to go in and lie with all his father's concubines. "For this, says he, will fix the people, and make them so much the bolder and firmer to the present state, when they shall see the breach advanced beyond all possibility of reconciliation; for as matters now stand, people will be apt to say, why the father and the son may come to an agreement yet for ought we know; and if they should chance to adjust differences in the conclusion, where are we? so that it will be dangerous

Abishai would have kill'd Shimei, if David had not hinder'd him, Ver. 9, 10.

Absalom comes to Jerusalem, and Hushai welcomes him with a God save the king, as well as the rest, Ver. 15, 16.

Absalom calls a council what to do, Ver. 20. Achitophel advises him to lie with all his father's concubines, Ver. 21.

Hushai poses to counter-act the whole strength of the nation, and Abishai himself head the

Abfalom took his advice, and committed that indignity in the fight of the people, 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

gerous to declare under such an uncertainty." Abfalom, in short, took Achitophel's counsel, and commanded his servants to erect him a tent in the palace, where he lay with his father's concubines in the sight of the people. This was no more, in fine, than what the prophet Nathan foretold would befall David.

CHAP. IX.

Achitophel's counsel for the destroying of David; Hushai opposes it, and carries it against him. Achitophel hangs himself upon the disappointment. Absalom makes Amaza his general; fights a battle with his father, and loses the day. A bough takes up Absalom by the hair of the head in his flight, and Joab runs him through with his javelin.

2 Sam. xvii.

Achitophel demands ten thousand men, upon condition either to bring David's head, or forfeit his own, V. 1, 2, 3.

AFTER the execution of this counsel given by Achitophel, the next question was, what they were first to do in prosecution of the war? His answer was this, "That if they would but put him at the head of ten thousand * choice men, he would undertake therewith to destroy David, and secure the publick peace to the people, and the government to Absalom both in one." Absalom was much of Achitophel's opinion; but willing however to have Hushai's also, he put it to him, what he thought on't. Hushai (that was David's true friend, and ever so reputed) finding the advice to be shrewd and dangerous, did what he could to divert Absalom from it by giving his judgment another way, after this fashion. "Sir, says he, I need not tell you that your father is a valiant man, and that he hath a great many brave men about him; with whom in all encounters he hath ever come off victorious. You know him to be a soldier too, and a man of stratagem, as well as of courage. He will most infallibly have advice of our approach; and in some valley, wood, or behind some rock perhaps, lie ready to betray us into an ambush: or suppose we should attempt to engage them, they will order the matter so as to manage their retreat by little and little, till they have drawn us into the snare, and David's whole body to fall in upon us before we know where we are. Now I submit myself to your judgment, betwixt the consternation it will cause on the one hand, and the encouragement it will give on the other, what a confusion this way of proceeding will create among us: and now you have heard both opinions, you may follow either Achitophel's or mine, which is most to your liking." But having given you my thoughts thus far now, what we are not to do, I must crave leave to tell you what I think advisable under our circumstances to be done. "Let the whole nation of the Hebrews be summon'd to appear with all their troops at some certain time and place, to make war against David: and when they are met, do you yourself (says he to Absalom) take the command of the whole into your own hand, without trusting to deputies. When this is done, David must either expose himself in the

plain field, or otherwise fly to fastnesses, strong holds, wall'd towns, and the like. If he keep the plains, his forces are so few and inconsiderable, compared to the many thousands in Israel, wholly devoted to your interest, who will value themselves upon an opportunity being offer'd them to exert their zeal in service of their prince and country, that your power and strength being hereby so much superior to his, you are sure of obtaining an easy conquest over him. Or if he shall go the other way to work, of hiding and skulking up and down, to keep upon the defensive, there are twenty ways, by mining, battering, starving, and the like, that will certainly reduce him." They were all so unanimously for his advice, that Absalom himself gave his voice for him, even in preference to the counsel of Achitophel. But it is to be noted, that the hand of God was in all this.

HUSHAI, upon this result, made all possible haste to the high-priests Zadock and Abiathar, with an account of what had pass'd at the council betwixt Achitophel and himself, and how things were carried; desiring them to dispatch an express immediately away with it to David, with a caution, by all means to pass the river Jordan that very night; for if his son should either get intelligence where he was, or change his mind, he might fall in upon him before he could get over.

THE high-priests had provided lodgings for their sons out of the town, and a faithful maid-servant at hand to carry them the intelligence, which they were to transmit forthwith to David. Upon the receipt of this information, they made what haste they could with it, as became dutiful and faithful servants. But by the time they were advanced about two furlongs† upon their way, they were discover'd by certain horse-men; and Absalom having notice of it, gave order presently for the taking of them up. The messengers were quickly aware of their danger, and so turned out of the way towards Bahurim, a small village near Jerusalem; where they met with a woman who was so charitable as to conceal them, by letting them down into a well, and throwing some skins of beasts over the mouth of it. This matter was no sooner ordered, but the pursuers came up to the house, and examined the woman very strictly, whether she had seen any such men or not. She could not deny, she said, that two such men drank at the gate just now, and so went their way; but, says she, if you make haste after them, they may easily be overtaken. When they had search'd up and down a long time after them to no manner of purpose, they returned to their quarters with their labour for their pains. So soon as the woman saw that all was safe, and the coast clear, she drew the young men out of the well; and they prosecuted their Journey time enough to give David a seasonable account what Absalom was a doing. It was late before they got thither, but David, however, got his people over the water the same night.

IT stuck in Achitophel's stomach, that Absalom should reject his counsel, and at the same time embrace Hushai's: so that he mount-

Hushai carries it against Achitophel.

Hushai communicates this immediately to the high-priests Zadock and Abiathar, Ver. 14.

Messengers sent to David with directions to pass the Jordan that very night, V. 16.

Achitophel lays it to heart to see Hushai's counsel taken, and his rejected, V. 23.

* 2 Sam. xvii. 1. The number of men required by Achitophel for the executing this exploit, was twelve thousand.
† Viz. about a quarter of a mile.

ed his ass, and went home to Galmon, where he called his family together, and told them the advice he had given Absalom; but that he would not follow it; and that in a short time, that refusal would be his ruin; for David would certainly get the better of him, and soon after recover his kingdom. "Now it is more honourable for me, says he, to die with resolution like a gentleman, than to wait sneaking till David returns, and then to be put to a scandalous death at last for the services I have done the son against the father." With these words he withdrew into a private apartment in his house, and hang'd himself, in the conscience of a self-condemnation: his relations afterward taking care for his funeral.

Achitophel goes home, and hangs himself, 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

David passes the Jordan, and so to Mahanaim, V. 24.

DAVID, being now over the river Jordan, as aforesaid, came to Mahanaim*, the fairest and the strongest city in that tract of land; where he was treated by the principal persons of the whole country, with the highest instances of generosity and good-will imaginable; partly out of humanity, with a regard to the necessities of his present condition, and partly out of a reverence to the memory of his former state. There was Siphar, a prince of Ammon: Barzillai and Machir, two principal men of Gilead, &c. These generous persons took such care of David, and his people, that they wanted neither beds, bread, wine, flesh, nor any thing else that might be necessary, either for their subsistence, or for their refreshment.

Absalom encamps with a mighty army near his father, commanded by Amasa the son of Jothar, by Abigail, Ver. 25.

ABSALOM, in the mean time, was gotten over the river with a mighty army against his father, and encamped not far from Mahanaim, a town of Gilead, having made his kinsman Amasa general, in the place of Joab: Amasa being the son of Jothar by Abigail. Now Abigail, and Zeruah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters.

THE king took a review of his men, and found himself upon the muster to be only four thousand † strong; but yet with this handful of an army, he chose rather to act the part of an aggressor, than to lie still upon his guard till Absalom should give the attack. So that he presently constituted his officers, and divided the little body of his army into three parts: Joab had the first division; Abishai, the second; and his old friend Ittai the Gittite, the third. David would needs have gone himself in person, but his friends, for very good reasons, opposed it; for, said they, "If we should be beaten, and you yourself in the field, the whole cause would be lost without any hope of resource. But otherwise, if one division should have the ill hap to be worsted, the rest, they told David, might repair to himself, and be empowered thereby to reinforce themselves to make another push for it. Besides, that the king's not being upon the spot,

David divides his little army of four thousand men into three bodies, under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai the Gittite, 2 Sam. xviii. 2. David would have engag'd in person; but reasons are given against it, ib. & 3.

"would possess the enemy with an apprehension, that he had another fresh army in reserve." This motive carry'd it, and the king was prevail'd upon to stay at Mahanaim. David then adjur'd his friends by all the ties of honour, gratitude, and conscience, to acquit themselves in their duty; and in case God should give them a victory, to spare the life of the young man; for he durst not trust himself with his own life after the death of Absalom. This was follow'd with a thousand blessings and good wishes; and so he dispatched them to the army.

WHEN Absalom saw that Joab had drawn up his division upon a plain, with a wood at his back, he dispos'd of his own troops likewise into the same form over against the other. When the two bodies came to engage, there was great bravery shew'd on both sides. The one contending for the recovery of what David had lost, and the other for the defence and maintenance of what Absalom had got; and there was nothing that David's men were not resolv'd either to do, or suffer; so they might but avenge the father upon the apostasy of a rebellious son. Absalom's men fought a good while upon a point of honour, and to avoid the infamy of being worsted by so inconsiderable a party. David's men, on the other hand, for the glory of routing so many thousands of the enemy upon such a disproportion. In the conclusion, David's veterans behav'd bravely, and like themselves; for they broke the enemy's order, and put them to a total rout, getting the chace of them over woods, mountains and craggs, which way soever they fled: some they kill'd; some they took; and more were lost in the pursuit than in the battle.

The armies engage, and the first charge was very brave on both sides.

Near 20000 men were reputed to be slain in that day's action. Now Absalom was so remarkable both for his beauty, and his stature, that he was every body's mark: so that for fear of being taken alive, he mounted the fleetest mule he could lay hands on, and fled away as fast as her heels could carry him. But by the celerity of her course, the force of the wind blew up his hair, so that it catch'd hold on the snagged bough of a tree; and the mule running forward from under him, left him dangling in the air, and continu'd her speed, as if she had had her rider still upon her back. One of David's soldiers saw this, and carry'd the tidings thereof to Joab, who bad him go quickly, and dispatch him, and he should have fifty shekels of silver|| for his pains. No, says the soldier, I would not do such a thing to the son of my lord and master for two thousand: especially considering the charge the king gave in your hearing, not to touch the life of the young man. Joab hereupon commanded him to conduct him to the place where he saw him hanging; which when he came to, he pierced him through the heart with

Joab in the end puts the rebels to a total rout, V. 6, 7, 8.

Twenty thousand kill'd upon the place, ib.

Absalom flies, and is found hanging upon a bough, by the hair of the head, Ver. 9.

Joab strikes Absalom dead with his javelin, V. 14.

* *Εἰς παρεμβολὰς*, Jos. in Lat. [Castra.] in Heb. [Mahanaim.] This word is sometimes used appellatively, and sometimes for the proper name of a place; when appellatively, it may be translated into English [the camp;] when for the proper name of a place [CHESTER.] It derived its origin from Jacob's returning out of Mesopotamia into Canaan; as we read in Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim." i. e. the camp, from the angels who pitched their tents by his. Afterwards a city was built here, which, from that circumstance, obtain'd the name of Mahanaim.

† In 2 Sam. xviii. 1. from whence this is taken, the express number is not mentioned. || i. e. About six pounds nine shillings and two pence English money, supposing, as we have before, that a shekel was worth two shillings and seven pence; but in 2 Sam. xviii. 11. 'tis no more than ten shekels of silver, that is, one pound five shillings and ten pence, and a girdle; the value of which, might perhaps make up the difference.

Joab sounds
a retreat, and
gives over
the chase,
2 Sam. xviii.
16.

his javelin. His armour-bearers that were then present, took down the body from the tree, and cast it into a deep pit, piling a great heap of stones upon it, in the form of a sepulchre. This being done, Joab founded a retreat to take his men off from the chase, and save the effusion of more blood in a civil war. Absalom had already erected a marble column, with an inscription upon it, in a place call'd the King's Valley, some two furlongs* from Jerusalem, which he call'd by the name of the Hand of Absalom, to perpetuate his memory, as he said, even if he should leave no children behind him. He had three sons, and one daughter, who was married to Rehoboam the son of Solomon, by whom he had Abia, his next immediate successor; but of this we shall say more hereafter.

CHAP. X.

David's grief for Absalom; and Joab's plain-dealing with him. Shimei pardon'd. The tribe of Judah goes out to receive David; and the rest fall off at the instigation of Sheba. David sends Amasa after Sheba. Joab meets him, and treacherously kills him; and then follows Sheba, and brings his head to David himself. The Israelites punished with a famine for Saul's breach of faith with the Gibeonites; and then punish'd again with a pestilence for David's numbering the people.

Ahimaaz
presses to
carry David
the first news
of the victo-
ry, Ver. 19.

ABSALOM being now dead, his people slipp'd away by stealth every man to his own home; Ahimaaz, the son of Zadock the high-priest, making it his suit to Joab, that he might be the man to carry David the first news of the victory, as being the work of God's power and providence. Joab gave him this answer, that it would not look well for him who had been always heretofore the messenger of good news to the king, to be now the first man to tell him of his son's death. So Joab call'd to Cush, and sent him on the errand, and that he should tell the king what he himself had seen. Ahimaaz intreated Joab a second time, to let him carry the tidings only of the victory, but not of the death of Absalom. Joab upon this importunity gave him leave, and he knowing the nearest way better than the other, got thither before him. David was at this time sitting at the gate, in a longing expectation to know the event of the battle, when a scout brought him word, that he saw one come running that way, but he was too far off to discern who it was. The king looked upon it as a good omen, and the scout immediately upon this told the king that he discover'd another, which gave him still more hope than before. The messenger being now come within distance, was found to be Ahimaaz, the son of Zadock the high-priest, who came first. "Well, says David, this is the man that most certainly brings me good tidings." The words were hardly past his lips, when Ahimaaz cast himself at David's feet to do him reverence, who asked him what news from the army? To which he replied, great success and victory. David ask'd him then, what was become of Absalom?

Joab rather
sends Cush,
Ver. 21.
Ahimaaz tries
Joab a se-
cond time to
let him go,
and Joab
gives him
leave, Ver.
22, 23.

Ahimaaz tells
David only of
the victory,
Ver. 28.

Ahimaaz answer'd him, that so soon as ever he saw the enemy routed, he came away immediately with the intelligence; but that he heard a mighty clamour and shouting all the while, upon the pursuit of Absalom; and Joab sent him away in such haste, that his orders were only to carry the news of the victory, without any mention of Absalom. By this time Cush was at the king's feet, with the tidings of a victory; and the king putting the same question to him as to the other, viz. What was become of Absalom? "May it be," says Cush, with all the enemies of my lord, "the king as it is with Absalom." These words turned a day of joy and triumph into a day of mourning. It prov'd so to the king, for the loss of Absalom; and to the people also; for David withdrew himself upon it out of sight, to the top of one of the highest turrets about the city, beating his breast, and tearing his hair, with cries and exclamations, "Ah my son Absalom, my son Absalom, ah that I myself could have but died with thee, my son!" Now David was in his own nature extremely fond and tender of all his children, but his love to Absalom was in a more intense degree than to any of the rest. This discouraged Joab and the army from entering the town in a triumphant manner, since the king appeared overwhelm'd with sorrow for the success; so that they came in with doleful countenances, hanging down their heads, and looking more like men conquered, than conquerors. David, in short, continued so long in this way of an abandon'd dejection, that Joab, without any more ado, broke in upon him in the very agony of his passion, to reason and expostulate the matter with him.

Cush, after
him, tells
David both
of the victory
and of the
death of Ab-
salom, Ver.
31, 32.

David's pas-
sionate tran-
sports for the
death of his
son, 2 Sam.
xix. 4.

"SIR, says he, do you know what you do? are you aware of the dishonour you bring yourself by this wilful and effeminate way of impotent lamentations? Why, it makes you look as if you had a hatred for your friends, that have sav'd your life at the hazard of their own; nay, for yourself and your family too; and at the same time, as great a kindness even for those of your enemies, which divine justice hath taken away in your favour, by the stroke of a most righteous vengeance. If Absalom had carried the day, and settled himself in his usurpation, who do you think, Sir, would have bemoaned, either your fate, or ours, in such a case? for we should most certainly have been cut to pieces, every creature of us: Nay, you yourself, and your children, would have fallen the first victims to their cruelty; then your enemies would have rejoic'd and gloried in your ruin, and it would have been death for any man to have but so much as pitied us. Pray, Sir, does not your conscience as well as your honour check you for this intemperate tenderness, for the memory of so implacable an enemy. He was your son, 'tis true, but a most ungracious one; and you cannot be just to God's providence, without acknowledging the blessing of his being taken away. Pray put on a cheerful countenance, and shew yourself to your people, and tell them, that it is to their loyalty and bravery, next under God, that you are indebted for the honour of this

Joab's bold
and generous
way of plain-
dealing with
David, Ver.
5, 6, 7.

* Viz. about a quarter of a mile.

" day; for if you go on as you have begun,
 " I will infallibly cause your kingdom and
 " your army to reject you, and place another
 " on the throne; and then you will find a
 " more real and sensible evil to afflict yourself
 " for."

Joab's blunt
 liberty brings
 David to
 himself again,
 2 Sam. xix. 8.

THIS bold and blunt liberty of Joab brought David in some measure to himself again; and to take care of his government and people; so that he shew'd himself at the gate in a more popular way of address, and with more of satisfaction in his countenance. This change of humour wrought so effectually upon the people, that they came in multitudes from all parts to pay him their reverence.

Abfalom's
 people make
 publick ac-
 knowledg-
 ments and
 addresses to
 David, Ver.
 9, 10.

WHILE matters were in this disposition, Abfalom's men that fled from the late battle, and were got home again, sent messengers up and down, from place to place, to mind their friends of the infinite obligations they lay under to David upon all accounts, and particularly for the toils and hazards he had undergone in his own person, for the vindication of their liberty; how ungratefully they had behav'd themselves in their revolt, &c. and what had they more to do now, than to lay themselves at his feet; beg his pardon, and beseech him once again to receive them into his care and protection, as formerly; especially the person being now gone, whom they had most unjustly and injuriously set up in his stead. The king had addresses of this kind sent him in abundance, which he still communicated by letters to the high-priests Zadock and Abiathar, with certain hints, how they were to manage the heads of the tribe of Judah toward his restoration. And they insinuated accordingly, how great a shame it would be for them to stand looking on, and let others go before them, in doing a common right to a prince so generous, and of their own tribe and extraction. This way of proceeding created an emulation among them, who should be foremost. They were likewise to expostulate the matter with Amasa, the enemy's general, how it came to pass that he himself, the nephew of David by his own sister, should not dispose the army to a sense of their duty, and the restoring of the government to the right owner. They told Amasa, that for what was past, he might be sure of his pardon; and they doubted not but he might have the same command under David that he had under Abfalom.

Zadock and
 Abiathar ma-
 nage all to
 David's ad-
 vantage, Ver.
 11-14.

They expostulate the matter with Amasa the general, ibid.

Amasa comes over to the interest of David, ibid.

The tribe of Judah leads the way, Ver. 15.

THE high-priests dealt after this manner with the principals of the tribe, and upon the aforesaid assurance brought Amasa over to David. The tribe of Judah were the first (and they did it easily too) that sent their commissioners to invite the king back to the exercise of his government; and betwixt the influence of this example, and the credit of Amasa, they were all to attend, and receive the king at Jerusalem. The tribe of Judah were remarkably the forwardest of the whole body, and the most officious in their respects; for they went to the very bank of the river Jordan to meet him. There was Shimei the son of Gera for one, at the head of a thousand Benjamites; and there was Ziba also, Saul's freeman, with his fifteen children, and twenty servants; who, together with the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge over the river, for the more commodious passage of David and his troops.

UPON his coming to the river, the tribe of Judah were the first that saluted him; and Shimei then advancing to the bridge, threw himself at David's feet, begging his pardon for the indignities he had put upon him; beseeching him to pass it all over, and that it might never rise in judgment against him when he should be re-instated in his kingdom; desiring moreover, that his early repentance and return to his allegiance might atone for his past faults. " Well, says Abishai, Joab's brother, (who was then within distance of hearing and seeing all that pass'd) and do you think to come off so easily, that could have the face to blaspheme the king that God hath set over you, at so unpardonable a rate?" " Be quiet, you sons of Zeruah; pray be quiet, says David, without blowing the coal, and stirring up new broils; for I would have you look upon this as the first day of my reign, and to take notice of what I do now declare upon my oath. I do freely forgive all the world, and I do promise that no person shall suffer for any thing done against me, or against any body else for my sake, of what kind or quality soever; so that you may set your heart at rest, Shimei, your life is in no danger." Upon which assurance he made his reverence, and went his way.

Shimei begs David's pardon, Ver. 18, 19, 20.

Shimei pardon'd, V. 23.

AFTER him came Mephibosheth, Saul's grandson, in as forlorn and uncouth an appearance as one could well imagine; for upon the king's being forced away from his palace, this good man, reckoning the king's calamity as his own, bound himself by a vow, never to cut his hair, or change his cloaths, till it might please God to restore him. Ziba took this opportunity of traducing his master to the king; for upon David's asking him how he came to leave him when he was under persecution, he laid the fault upon Ziba, for not obeying his orders; but on the contrary, treating him like a slave, notwithstanding the express charge he had given him to have all necessities in readiness for his journey. " But Sir, says he, if I had the use of my legs, as other people have, this should not have hinder'd me neither. Nay, Sir, says he, and which is more, he has not only disappointed me in the exercise of my duty, but I perceive he has done me spiteful offices, and aspersed my character to yourself also; but Sir, you are so just, and so great a lover of God, and of truth, that I am sure your generosity and your wisdom will never entertain a calumny to my prejudice. Our family have had the experience of your piety, modesty, and goodness, to a degree never to be forgotten, in passing over and pardoning the innumerable hazards and persecutions that you were exposed unto in the days, and by the contrivance of my grandfather; when all our lives were forfeited, and in your power, and at mercy: but then after all this gracious tenderness, your superadding the honour of taking me to your table as a friend, and as a guest, and a person likewise so obnoxious, in regard of my relations, nothing could be either greater, or more obliging." David heard all this, without either animadverting upon Mephibosheth, or putting Ziba's credit to the test; but he told him, that having given the whole estate

Mephibosheth, Saul's grandson, Ver. 24.

Mephibosheth traduced to the king by Ziba, Ver. 26-28.

The loyalty and gratitude of Mephibosheth, ibid.

David half tion v at Gil the w tribe dah, V

The ot tribes ta exceptio and exp late the ter, Ver

estate to Ziba, he would order him the one half of it back again. "Nay, Sir, says Mephibosheth, so long as I have the satisfaction of seeing my lord the king upon his throne again, even let Ziba take the whole and welcome."

Barzillai always faithful to the king, 2 Sam. xix. 32.

David's kind invitation to him, Ver. 33.

Barzillai excuses himself from a court-life, Ver. 34-37.

The king takes Barzillai's son Achimanus along with him, Ver. 38.

David had half the nation with him at Gilgal, and the whole tribe of Judah, Ver. 40.

The other tribes take exceptions, and expostulate the matter, Ver. 43.

KING David in the time of the war had been much beholden for several good offices to Barzillai, the Gileadite; a great man to all good and honourable purposes; and this Barzillai would needs bring the king onward of his way to the river Jordan. The king press'd him with great earnestness to go thorough with him to Jerusalem, promising that he would be as good as a father to him, and that he should want nothing that might be a relief and a refreshment to his old age. But he excus'd himself, that he should be more at ease in a private way of life, than in the splendor and luxury of a palace. "He was now eighty years of age, he said, and past the relish of court-pleasures; having no other business in the world than to prepare for death, and to give orders for his funeral; wherefore he begg'd his majesty's leave to retire home again, where he might more conveniently govern himself after his own fashion. His taste was now gone, as to the satisfaction of delicious meat and drink; and so for the delights of singing, dancing, revels, harmonious consorts of instruments, or voices, and the like. His hearing was deadened and lost, he said, and he had no longer any sense of these entertainments." The king, in fine, was prevail'd upon at length to part with him; but upon condition, says he, that your son * Achimanus shall go along with me, and take his part in the best offices I can do him. Barzillai, with all dutiful acknowledgments, left his son with the king; and taking his leave with the most passionate wishes of a long and prosperous reign to him, he returned to his own home.

WHEN David came to Gilgal, he had one half of the whole nation with him, and the tribe of Judah intire. There came to him several of the prime men of the country, accompanied with a vast multitude of people, and charg'd the tribe of Judah with taking too much upon them in going to the king, without consulting their brethren; whereas they ought unanimously to have gone together. The heads of the tribe of Judah desired the rest not to take any thing amiss in their going before; for they look'd upon it as a duty incumbent on them for kindred sake, which made them the more earnest and officious upon that consideration. They did not propose any advantage to themselves, they said, by being so forward; neither had they given any cause of offence by their earliness, to those that came after them. The heads of the other tribes were not at all pleas'd with this way of reasoning. "Pray how come you, they cry'd, to engross the king to yourselves, as if he were not our king as well as yours? For he is by God's providence indifferently the governor of us all; so that if we are eleven parts of the whole, and you but one, and consequently valuable in comparison accord-

ing to that proportion, you have certainly done very ill in stealing away to the king by yourselves, without acquainting us."

While the great men were in hot debate about this affair, up stood Sheba the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, (a man of a factious and turbulent spirit,) and call'd out with a loud voice in the middle of the crowd, "What do they talk to us for of a part in David? or what have we to do with the son of Jesse?" So

he caused the trumpet to be sounded, with a proclamation for the people to depart to their tents, and thereupon a war was denounced against David. The multitude fell off into the party and interest of Sheba, saving only the tribe of Judah, who stood by the king, and conducted him to Jerusalem. The first thing he did there, was to clear his palace of his concubines, which his son Absalom had prostituted in the sight of the people; but he had them provided for elsewhere, with all fairness of respect, as before; though he himself had never more to do with them. He made Amasa his general, in the place of Joab, giving him orders to draw what troops he could get together out of the tribe of Judah, and bring them to him in three days, that he might be ready to march out with them against the son of Bichri. Amasa went about his business; but finding he could not gather together an army so soon as he expected, and outstaying his time, David, upon the third day discours'd the matter to Joab†. "This business of Sheba, says he, is a thing not to be trifled with; wherefore do you immediately take what forces you have at hand, with the six hundred veterans, and so without any delay, take your brother Abishai along with you, and march directly away after the son of Bichri; fight him wherever you find him, before he draws his party into a body; and take care to prevent him from putting himself in possession of fortified cities and strong holds; for if he once does that, he may perhaps cost us more trouble to subdue him, than Absalom did."

Joab, in the same instant, posted forward with his brother, and the troops that were assigned him to search for Sheba. At his coming to Gibeon, a village some forty furlongs || from Jerusalem, he met Amasa upon his march in the head of a gallant army. Amasa advancing toward him to embrace him, Joab, with a breast-plate upon his body, and his sword girt to him, going to meet him, industriously dropp'd his sword out of the scabbard, and presently catch'd it up again, with one hand, while he took Amasa by the beard with the other, as if it had been to have kiss'd him; but sheathed it in his guts, so that he died upon the place. Now what was the provocation all this while to commit so impious and execrable a barbarity upon so worthy a youth, nay and his kinsman too; but a malicious envy of his preferment, and a jealousy of his being too great in the king's favour. It was much upon the same ground that he had already murder'd Abner; and much after the same treacherous manner that he did it too. 'Tis true, that in the former case he

Sheba, a man of a violent spirit, 2 Sam. xx. 1.

A trumpet sounded to a rebellion, ibid. A war denounced against David, Ver. 2. Only the tribe of Judah to conduct him to Jerusalem, ibid.

Joab advances with his brother Abishai to find out Sheba, Ver. 7. Joab meets Amasa at Gibeon, at the head of a brave army; and Amasa embraces him, Ver. 8. Joab under pretence of kissing Amasa stabs him, Ver. 9, 10.

As he had murder'd Abner before.

* Scrip. Chimham.

† The Scripture 2 Sam. xx. 6, 7. says, it was to Abishai, and that Joab's men went out after him, &c.

|| Viz. about five Italian miles, which make something more than four of English measure.

might appear to have some specious colour for it in the revenge of his brother Hazael; but for this second murder he had not a word to say in his own vindication.

UPON the death of Amasa, Joab prosecuted his march to look out Sheba; leaving only one man with the general's body, with order to make proclamation thorough the army, that he was an ill man, and but serv'd according to his desert, desiring all those that were for the king to follow Joab, and his brother Abishai.*

While the body lay exposed in the way, there were multitudes gather'd together, as is usual in such cases, gazing upon it with astonishment; so that he who had it in charge, got it out of the way to a village, where he lodg'd it in a house, and threw a coat over it; and so soon as the surprize was removed, the soldiers march'd forward after their commanders. Joab had by this time pursued Sheba almost quite thorough the land of Israel; and getting intelligence at last, that he had shelter'd himself in a strong town call'd Abel-Maacha †, Joab order'd the place to be presently besieg'd, and a trench cast up about it; and at the same time to have it ply'd with mines and batteries; being resolv'd to destroy it, even for the affront of shutting their gates against him.

While these preparations were a-foot for the gaining of the town, a good and a prudent woman, out of a zeal for the service of her country in that extremity, mounted the wall, and call'd out to Joab from the battlements, to speak a word with him out of the hearing of the soldiers. Joab did as she desired, and the discourse she made him was to this purpose: "Whereas God, says she, has given us kings and governours to protect us against our enemies, and to maintain and preserve us in peace and unity one with another, here you are come, without any injury, or provocation, to ruin one of the most eminent cities in the whole land of Israel." Joab at this express'd his utter abhorrence of so foul a deed; and said, he hoped God would always keep him in a better mind; adding, that he was so far from having the least thought of committing any unnecessary violence on this famous city, or of doing harm to any one person in it, that if the people would but deliver up Sheba, that rebellious son of Bichri, to justice, he would in the same moment draw off his army. Upon this promise and declaration, the woman call'd out to Joab, only to have a little patience, and Sheba's head should be thrown down to him over the wall. She went back upon this, to the citizens, to reason the matter with them. "Are you then resolv'd, says she, like a company of wicked men, and for the sake of a wicked wretch, and a meer stranger to you, to sacrifice your habitations, your wives, and your children, and all in so wicked a manner too? what has Sheba done for you, to balance the obligations you have to David? or, setting aside all other arguments, are you able, do you think, to defend your city against this

"army." The reason of the thing was so plain and evident, that they cut off Sheba's head by consent, for a composition, and cast it over the wall: whereupon the siege was forthwith rais'd; and the people returning to Jerusalem, David declared Joab general of all his troops. Benaiah had the command given him of all the guards of the body, and the six hundred veterans. Adoram was the treasurer. Sabathes and Achilais were the recorders; Sufa the secretary; Zadock and Abiathar continuing in the priesthood.

SOME time after this, there was a famine in the land, and David earnestly besought God to reveal unto him in mercy, both the provoking cause of that grievous judgment, and how it might be remov'd. Answer was returned by the prophets, that the blood of the Gibeonites, which Saul had most perfidiously caused to be shed, cry'd to heaven for vengeance; as an action not only contrary to the oath and promise of Joshua, and ratify'd also by the elders, but against conscience and common justice: wherefore, said they, let the king give such satisfaction to the Gibeonites as they shall require for the loss of their slaughter'd citizens, and the Israelites may expect that God will be gracious to them, in a deliverance from their present calamity. When David came to understand this from the prophets themselves, he sent to the Gibeonites, and ask'd them what satisfaction would content them. So they demanded that seven of Saul's sons, or of his race, might be deliver'd up to justice. The king order'd to have seven of them found out, and put into the hands of the Gibeonites, to do with them as they pleas'd: but still excepting Mephibosheth out of the number, for the sake of Jonathan his father. The Gibeonites accepted of this as a composition, and punish'd them as they thought fit themselves: in which instant God sent them rain, and so kindly a continuance of it, that the earth in due time recovered its fertility, and brought forth fruits in their season, fresh and flourishing, as formerly.

It was not long after this that David marched out with his army against the Philistines; fought, and routed them; but following the chase too eagerly, and too far, Achmon the son of Araph, one of the race of the giants, (whose armour was a coat of mail, a lance weighing three hundred shekels ‡, and his sword by his side) seeing David alone, and quite spent, turned short upon him, and struck him down, and had certainly slain him, if Abishai, Joab's brother, had not in that precise moment come to his relief; bestriding David, and not only protecting the king, but killing his enemy. The whole army was so sensible of the danger the king's life was in, and of the providence of his deliverance, that the commanders bound him by an oath never to hazard his royal person any more in a battle; for being naturally brave and forward, he laid himself too open to the common chances of war; and if he should miscarry, it would be an irreparable loss to the nation, to be de-

A woman calls out to Joab from the wall, Ver. 17.

And charges him with injustice in that undertaking, Ver. 18, 19.

Joab promises to quit the siege upon the delivery of Sheba, V. 21.

David overthrows the Philistines.

Achmon strikes David to the ground, Ver. 16, 17.

Abishai rescues him, and kills his enemy, ibid.

* This is Josephus's comment on Ver. 11, and 12. of 2 Sam. xx. where it is not in express words affirm'd that Joab ordered the man, who stood by Amasa's body, to villify him, and proclaim him an ill man; but seems an inference probable enough to be true from the nature of the circumstances that attended the fact.

† Scrip. Abel of Beth-Maachah.

‡ Betwixt eleven and twelve pound Troy weight.

priv'd of the blessings they enjoy'd under his administration.

THIS battle had not been long over, before the Philistines rally'd again, and came to a rendezvous at Gaza. David having notice of it, dispatch'd away an army immediately against them. In this expedition, Sobach the Hittite (one of the bravest men in the whole body) got himself great reputation by cutting off several of the race of the giants, and men of a prodigious bulk and strength too, with his own hand. He had in short the honour of a great share in that day's success. The Philistines, after this, brought yet another army into the field, and the king sent out his troops to encounter them. Nephan, David's kinsman did wonders, for he slew, hand to hand, in a single combat, one of the boldest men the Philistines had in their party: the rest turned their backs upon it, and lost great numbers in that action. But the Philistines in a short time recruited yet once again, after all their loss, and encamped at a certain town not far from the borders of the Hebrews. The Philistines had in their camp a man six cubits * high; six fingers on a hand, and six toes on each foot, and one that valu'd himself upon his descent from the stock of the giants. Jonathan, the son of Shimei, had the honour to kill this giant-tick man in a single combat, and at the head of his troops, which contributed very much to the gaining of the day; beside the glorious character he acquir'd by it, of a valiant man. This was the last battle the Israelites had with the Philistines; for from that time forward, they never had the courage to make head against them any more.

DAVID having now made his way through all the toils and dangers of war, into the quiet of a profound peace, gave himself wholly up to the composing of divine hymns and psalms, to the glory of God, in variety of measures, as trimeters, pentameters, and the like. These airs he order'd to be sung by the Levites upon the sabbaths and other festivals, in company with musical instruments provided for that purpose. As they had an instrument with ten strings, to be touch'd with a quill; the psalter with twelve strings, to be play'd upon with the fingers; and large cymbals of brass. But this is enough as to the general understanding of the nature of these instruments. The king had about him men of honour and valour in abundance; but for worthies of the first rate, he reckon'd only eight and thirty † who had made themselves signal for their exploits; and men of such force and resolution, as if they had been made for great enterprizes, and the carrying of the world before them. Of these eight and thirty, I shall only name five, as a measure to judge of the rest by.

THE first was ‡ Issem, the son of Achem, who broke several times into the body of the enemy, and kill'd nine hundred of them upon one encounter, with his own hand.

AFTER him comes Eleazar, the son of Dodo,

who was with the king in Arasam. It was his fortune to be in a battle, where the Israelites finding themselves mightily over-power'd with numbers, gave way and fled, leaving him alone in his own person to make good his ground; which he did so effectually, that he gave a stand to the whole army, killing and wounding great numbers of them; so that his sword was in a manner glew'd to his right-hand with the blood. The example of this bravery put courage into the fugitives, and made them rally, and charge the enemy's troops with such fury, that they recovered the day, and crown'd it with a wonderful, and a most illustrious victory; Eleazar killing them all this while, and the common soldiers stripping them.

THE third was ** Sebas, the son of Ilus, †† who had the place called the Jaw, upon another engagement with the Philistines, finding the Israelites shrinking and giving way, oppos'd his single body to the whole force of the enemy; did great execution upon them; broke their order; put them to flight, and gave them chace, with a great overthrow. In these three instances we read the bravery of these three heroical adventurers, in the plain field, and in the face of an enemy.

AT another time, when the king was at Jerusalem, and the Philistines encamped before it, in the great valley that stretches out as far as Bethlem, a matter of twenty *† furlongs from the town, David went up to a high tower to ask counsel and direction of God, about the government and event of the war; and speaking among his friends of the delicious water that was in his country, and especially of the well at Bethlem that was next the gate, "What would I give, says he, for a draught of that water!" These three men overhearing him, went their way immediately, broke through the camp of the Philistines, and fetch'd of the water from the well itself, and came back with it the same way they went: the Barbarians standing amazed all the while at the hardiness of the undertaking, and not daring, though so few of them, to give them any interruption in their return. Upon their presenting of this water to the king, he gave God thanks for the safety of them that brought it; but it would not become him, he said, to drink it, for it was the price of blood; and so he poured it upon the ground as an offering to the Lord.

IN the fourth place may be reckon'd Abishai, the brother of Joab, that in one day slew *‡ Ver. 18. six hundred of the enemy.

THE fifth and the last of these worthy champions shall be Benaiah, a man of a facer-dotal family, who fought, upon a challenge, with two brothers, men of eminent fame for feats of arms among the Moabites, and kill'd them both. He fought again with an Egyptian, of a monstrous force and size; and closing with him, though himself naked, and his adversary arm'd at all points, he forced his

* A cubit is the length of the arm from the elbow to the end of the longest finger, which is at least half a yard; so that this man must be three yards high at least.

† 2 Sam. xxiii. 39. the Scripture recounts but thirty seven.

‡ In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. 'tis "Adino the Ezrite, who lift up his spear against eight hundred, whom he slew at one time."

** Scrip. Shammah, the son of Agee.

*† Viz. two Italian miles and an half; that is, a little above two of our miles.

*‡ The Scripture mentions but three hundred.

spear out of his hands, and dispatch'd him with his own weapon; and for his greater honour still, he disarm'd him while he was yet living. He did another thing too, that for the stoutness and boldness of it, may be accounted equal, if not superior, to all the rest. There was a lion dropp'd into a pitfall; the snow drove into the whole, and cover'd the mouth of it; so that the beast finding no way to get out again, set up a roaring. It was Benaiiah's hap to pass by that way, within hearing of this outcry. He went to the place, and so into the pit, and with a staff stagger'd and kill'd the lion. These were five great men; and the other three and thirty not inferior to them.

2 Sam. xxiv.

David commands Joab positively to number the people, Ver. 2, 3, 4.

Joab computes them to be nine hundred thousand men, besides the tribes of Benjamin and Levi, Ver. 9.

David repents.

God pardons him, but offers him the choice of three things, Ver. 10-13.

David deliberates, and chuses the pestilence, Ver. 14.

It enter'd now into David's heart to take an account how many thousand men he could muster out of the people of Israel, forgetting the old precept of Moses, that so oft as there should be occasion to number the people, there should be an oblation of half a shekel * by the head to the Lord; but he sent to Joab, however, to take the account. He excus'd himself upon it, as a thing that was needless; but David would not be said nay, and therefore positively commanded him to go about it, and let it be the first thing he did. Joab, upon this, summoned the scribes and the heads of the tribes to advise with all, and so went through the whole land of the Israelites to make up this computation. After nine months and twenty days, Joab returned to Jerusalem, and told the king upon the whole matter, that beside the tribes of Benjamin, and of Levi, which he had not as yet taken an account of, he found the number of the rest of the Israelites to amount to nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms. In the tribe of Judah alone he reckon'd up four hundred thousand.

DAVID, while this was in hand, repented himself of what he had done, and was told by the prophet also, that God was highly offended at him; whereupon he betook himself to a true repentance, begging pardon of Almighty God, with prayers and supplications, and obtained it. Presently after this God sent the prophet Gad to him, with an offer of three things to his choice; that is to say, either a seven years famine, or to fly three months before an enemy, or a three days pestilence; and to demand a present resolution from him, which of the three he would take. David found himself in a great streight which to chuse. If the famine, says he to himself, it would look as if I had more care of myself than of my people; for my storehouses are much better provided with corn than theirs. If to lie at the mercy of an enemy, it looks the same way still; for I have strong holds and castles to repair to for my own safety. But for the third, it is a calamity that threatens governors in common with their subjects. As he was turning his thoughts upon this deliberation, the prophet press'd him to an immediate answer; to which he made this return, "That he would rather fall into the hands of God

than of man; and therefore submitting himself to God's pleasure and goodness, he chose "the pestilence." The prophet had no sooner received and reported David's answer, but the Israelites were presently seized with a most unaccountable distemper, that was still attended with certain death, and accompanied with accidents that baffled all the doctors, either to find a remedy or a reason. But they died, in fine, in prodigious numbers, and no body knew how. Some went off with gripes and torments that dispatch'd them in a trice; some with incurable faintnesses and languors, in despite of the physicians; others with vertigo's, dimness of sight, suffocations, &c. Some again expir'd, themselves, before they could thoroughly perform the office of burial for their dead friends. The mortality, in short, was so great, that betwixt break of day and dinner-time, there were swept away by this pestilence seventy thousand persons. The destroying angel was now going to Jerusalem upon the same commission; but the king putting on sackcloth, and humbly supplicating God with prayers and tears, to remove this dreadful judgment; in the middle of his ejaculations he lifted up his eyes, and discover'd an angel, with a drawn sword, moving toward Jerusalem. Upon this apparition he broke out into fresh and more passionate exclamations. "Lord, says he, punish the shepherd; but alas! what have these sheep done? Pour down thy wrath rather upon me and my family; but spare the innocent people, I beseech thee."

DAVID's prayers were heard, and God immediately put a stop to the pestilence; ordering the king, by the mouth of the prophet Gad, to go up without delay to the threshing-floor of Araunah, and there to erect an altar, and offer sacrifice upon it. David went away to the place according to his direction, where he found Araunah threshing his corn, who no sooner saw David and his sons coming towards him, but he ran out with infinite reverence to receive them. Now this Araunah was a Jebusite, and so particular a friend of David's, that he protected and secured him from all damage upon the very taking of the city, as has been before observ'd.

"WELL, says Araunah, is there any thing now that my lord will be pleas'd to command of his servant?" "I come, says David, to buy your threshing-floor, and to raise an altar to God upon it, and to offer sacrifice." Nay, says Araunah, not only my threshing-floor, but my ploughs, my oxen, and burnt-offerings, are all at my Lord's service, gratis; and I beseech that God to look graciously down upon your worship and sacrifice." The king was exceedingly pleas'd with the candor and greatness of this good man's mind; but told him, that it must be a purchase, not a gift; for it would not be fair to offer a sacrifice that should cost him nothing. So Araunah remitted himself to David, who gave him fifty shekels for the floor; offer'd sacrifices and burnt-

The Israelites seiz'd with a plague, V. 15.

Seventy thousand persons swept away betwixt break of day and dinner time, ibid.

The king betakes himself to sackcloth and prayers, Ver. 17.

An angel with a drawn sword, moving toward Jerusalem, Ver. 16.

God stops the pestilence.

An altar erected at the threshing-floor of Araunah, Ver. 18.

Araunah, a try'd friend of David's, Ver. 20-22.

David buys Araunah's threshing-floor, and offers sacrifices upon it, Ver. 24.

* About one shilling and three pence half penny in our money.

† The Scripture, 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. from whence this is taken, says, fifty shekels of silver; but in 1 Chron. xxi. 25. where this fact is again recorded, 'tis said, six hundred shekels of gold by weight; betwixt which there is an immense difference. That David gave Araunah more than fifty shekels of silver, is reasonable to suppose, since fifty shekels of silver, (admitting a shekel to be worth two shillings and seven pence in our money, which is the highest valuation any writer has put upon it) would amount to no more than six pounds, nine shillings, and two pence; a very

burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings likewise upon it. After this solemnity, David was re-instituted in God's grace and favour. This was the place that Abraham brought his son Isaac to, when he should have been offer'd up himself for a sacrifice, if a ram had not been presented in his stead, when the knife was ready for the execution. But we have spoken of this in another place.

David calls the place the People's altar, and resolves to build a temple there, 1 Chron. xxii. 1.

WHEN David found that his prayers were granted, and his sacrifice accepted, he resolved to call the whole place by the name of the People's Altar, or the Israelites Altar, and to build a temple there; which purpose of his was afterward ratified by God himself, who soon after sent his prophet to him with a prediction, that his successor should there build a temple. David employ'd people upon this, to take an account how many strangers he had in his dominions, which were reckon'd to amount to about one hundred and eighty thousand persons. Out of these he chose eighty thousand to work in stone; the rest to be employ'd in carrying all sorts of materials; out of which he appointed thirty five thousand to oversee the workmen. There was gotten together a mighty mass of iron and brass, a prodigious quantity of cedar, which he had from Tyre and Sidon; the largest and the fairest trees that were to be got. David would be telling his familiar friends all this while, that these materials were only to lie ready for use, when his son should have occasion for them, which would save time and trouble, and expedite the work; but that as yet his son was too young and unexperienc'd to manage such a province.

David provides artificers, labourers, and materials toward this magnificent structure, Ver. 2, 3, 4.

CHAP. XI.

David gives Solomon orders and instructions for the building of a temple. Adonijah sets up for king; but lets fall his pretence upon the people's opposing him. David's speech and charge to the heads of the nation, with advice to his son about the civil government.

THIS was the situation of affairs, when David called his son Solomon to him, and gave him in special charge, that so soon as ever he came to the throne, he should immediately enter upon the building of a temple, for the honour and worship of God. "I

would have done it myself, says he, but being frequently in war, and consequently a man of blood, I was forbidden by an express command from Heaven, and the work reserved by providence for my youngest son;" who, according to the prediction, was to be call'd Solomon, who should be a prince of peace; of whom it was foretold, that God would take him with a paternal affection into his own care, and that the whole people of Israel should be happy under his administration; and enjoy not only a peace (the greatest of all temporal blessings) with foreigners, but live free from any civil or intestine divisions among themselves. "Now, says David, since you were design'd to be a king, even before you were born, do your endeavour to behave yourself as a man otherwise worthy of that providence; govern yourself according to the measures of piety, justice, and true fortitude; pay a reverence to the precepts, laws, and traditions of Moses; observe them religiously yourself, and do not suffer any violation of them in others. As for the temple that God hath appointed to be built in your reign, be sure to attend it as you ought to do, and let not the difficulty of the work discourage you; for it shall be my care to have all the materials in readiness for you to begin withal, upon your first entrance into the government. I have made a provision of * ten thousand talents of gold, one hundred thousand of silver, brass and iron to a quantity not to be imagin'd, beside timber and stone in a vast abundance. You shall have also many thousands of carpenters and masons, and the means of supplying yourself with what you want. Attend your business with care and dispatch; for upon the finishing of this undertaking, you may assure yourself of the perpetual favour and protection of Almighty God."

David gives excellent advice to Solomon, ibid.

And promises to provide the materials for the temple in his reign, Ver. 14, 15, 16.

AFTER this he recommended it to the princes of the people to assist his son in this fabrick; and without being solicitous upon any other account, to attend the business of religion in the first place; for that alone would be sufficient to secure the peace and welfare of the commonwealth, which are the never-failing rewards of righteousness and justice. He appointed also, that upon the finishing of the temple, the ark should be placed in it, with all the holy vessels and utensils there-

very inconsiderable sum for a prince of David's riches, and no ways equivalent to the value of oxen for burnt-offerings, threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat offering, beside that large tract of ground on which the temple stood. On the other hand, six hundred shekels of gold, according to Calmet's tables, weighed eleven pounds, four ounces, seventeen penny weights, and twelve grains Troy weight, and in value amounted to five hundred and forty seven pounds, ten shillings, a sum that seems much better proportion'd to the value of the purchase; we therefore adhere to the latter account as truest. This variation in Scripture, as also several others that we meet with, cannot any other ways be accounted for, than by imputing them to the errors of the Hebrew scribes, in transcribing the copies of the Bible, whereby the sacred text has suffer'd corruption in some hundreds of places; or reconciled, otherwise than by a faithful restoration of the true readings; the adjusting of which would be a work highly becoming the labours of the most learned men in Europe, and well worthy the prosecution, since the famous M. Le Clerc, and some others have undertook to lead the way.

* An Hebrew talent, according to Dom. Calmet's tables, weighed an hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen penny weights Troy; and its value in gold was five thousand four hundred and seventy five pounds English money. Ten thousand talents therefore must weigh one million, an hundred and forty thousand, six hundred, and twenty five pounds, and amount in value to fifty four millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Its value in silver, according to the aforesaid author, was worth three hundred and forty two pounds, three shillings, and nine pence English money; an hundred thousand therefore must weigh eleven millions, four hundred and six thousand, and two hundred pound Troy, and amount to thirty four millions, two hundred and sixty eight thousand, and seven hundred pounds; but in 1 Chron. xxii. 14. from whence this is taken, 'tis just the reverse, viz. a thousand talents of silver, and an hundred thousand talents of gold, which would amount to five hundred and forty seven millions, and five hundred thousand pounds, a sum so incredibly great, as may justly render the reading of the place suspicious.

David orders the ark, &c. to be deposited in the temple when finished, Chron. xxii. 19.

David is now cold, and worn out with age, 1 Kings i. 1.

David advised to make use of a warm young bed-fellow, V. 2.

Abishag is the person to supply the office, V. 3.

David's fourth son Adonijah,

Claims the government by succession, Ver. 5.

Adonijah makes a mighty entertainment, Ver. 9.

Nathan advises Bathsheba to speak of it to David, V. 11-14.

unto belonging, which he told them should have been there deposited long since, if their forefathers had minded the injunction God laid upon them, of raising a temple to him immediately upon their coming into the land of promise. These counsels and exhortations of David were address'd indifferently, both to his son and to the princes.

DAVID was now but seventy years of age, and yet so worn out and spent with the infirmities of old age, and his blood so chill'd, that all the coverings and blankets they could throw over him would not procure him any heat; so that a council of physicians was called upon it, who unanimously agreed, that the best thing in the world for a man under those decays, was a fair young bed-fellow; for the warmth being gentle and kindly, would relieve nature without force. They found out upon this, in the city, a very beautiful woman that came up to the nicety of the prescription, and put her to bed to him. Her name was Abishag, and her business only to lie by him, embrace, and comfort him; which she might safely and innocently do, the king being now past the temptations of all irregular dispositions. But of this virgin we shall have occasion to speak further hereafter.

DAVID had a fourth son, whose name was Adonijah; born to him by Haggith, and the next after Absalom, as to his beauty, stature, and the gracefulness of his person; nay, and in his ambition too, he was not much unlike him. This Adonijah, Absalom being dead, lays claim to the government, as the next in succession; setting all his friends at work, by interest and popularity, to assist him toward the gaining of his point. He furnishes himself with a pompous equipage of chariots, horses, guards, and the like; while the good man his father innocently lets him go on, without the least check or caution; nay, or so much as asking him the question, what all this splendor and parade tended to. His chief accomplices were Joab the general, and the high-priest Abiathar; but Zadock the high-priest, and the prophet Nathan, Benaiah the captain of the guards, Shimei the king's friend, and the generality of the soldiery, were in a different interest, and opposed his measures.

ADONIJAH prepared a mighty treat in the Suburbs of Jerusalem near the fountain in the king's gardens. To this entertainment he invited all his brothers, save only Solomon; and there was Joab also, and Abiathar; and the chiefs of the tribe of Judah: but for Zadock, Nathan, and Benaiah, and others of that interest, there was not a man of them invited. The prophet Nathan took notice of this to Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon. "Look ye, says he, here's Adonijah setting himself up for king, and David knows nothing of what's done: wherefore let it be your care, as well for your son's sake, as for your own, to look after this affair. Go you to David, says the prophet, and when you have him alone, mind him of his oath, that Solomon should reign after him; and yet here's Adonijah, you may tell him, as good as upon the throne already. While you are discoursing this matter with the king, I may come into the chamber to you, and second your information." Bathsheba follow'd the prophets advice, and went in to the king, where

she made her reverence; and after leave given her to deliver somewhat she had to say, she gave David an account of the affair in the very words the prophet had put into her mouth; "Telling him the circumstances of Adonijah's entertainment; whom he invited, and whom he left out: adding withal, that the people were in a suspense what to do till he should declare his successor, and that her own life and her son's were both at stake upon the issue." While this discourse was a-foot, the servants brought David word, that the prophet Nathan was at the door to wait upon him. He was immediately call'd in, and upon the very instant of entering the presence, he asked David, in some confusion, "whether or no he had that day transferred his government to Adonijah, and declared him his successor; for he has made, says he, a very splendid feast, invited such and such persons to it; omitted such and such others; and now are they eating, drinking, and making merry, with healths and acclamations to the honour of their new king Adonijah: but for myself, Zadock the high-priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards, we are all strangers to the matter. Now it would be well, said he, to let the world understand whether this be done with your privacy and approbation, or not." Bathsheba withdrew when the prophet came in, and was now by the king's order call'd for back again. She was accordingly brought to David, and he spoke to her after this manner: "Well, says he to Bathsheba, the thing that I have sworn formerly, I do now swear over again, in the presence of the great God: Your son Solomon shall reign after me, and sit upon my throne; and you shall see it done this very day." Upon which declaration and assurance, she submissively took her leave, wishing the king a long life.

DAVID, upon this resolution, sent for Zadock and Benaiah, and bad them take the prophet Nathan, and the royal guards along with them; mount Solomon upon the king's mule, and carry him out of the city to the fountain that is called Gihon, there to anoint him with holy oil, and proclaim him king. This office being assigned to the high-priest and the prophet, command was further given, that they should conduct him through the heart of the city with trumpets sounding before him, and multitudes of troops following with shouts and rejoicings, crying, [Long live king Solomon] to the end, that the whole nation might take notice of it, that his father had declared him his successor. David, for a conclusion, gave Solomon in charge to be sure to govern, not only the tribe of Judah, but the whole nation of the Hebrews, according to the strictest rules and measures of piety and justice.

BENAIAH, after this, with an affectionate ejaculation for God's blessing upon Solomon, and the whole proceeding, went instantly away with the rest of the company, according to their order, to execute the office assign'd them. They mounted Solomon upon the king's mule; conducted him out of the city to the fountain; anointed him with holy oil, and then brought him back again, attended with acclamations, and the unanimous wishes of a long and happy reign. They brought him afterward to the palace, and placed him upon his father's throne.

Bathsheba tells David as Nathan directed her, Ver. 15-22.

As she is telling her story, Nathan comes to the door, V. 23. Nathan's discourse with David about a successor, Ver. 27. Adonijah's guests were feasting, &c. Ver. 25. Bathsheba being withdrawn, was called in again, V. 28.

David swears that Solomon shall sit upon the throne that day, Ver. 29, 30.

David commands Zadock and Benaiah to anoint Solomon, king, V. 32, 34.

And so to conduct him with shouts, and trumpets through the city.

They place Solomon on his father's throne, with joy and acclamations, Ver. 39, 40.

This

The noise of
shouts and
trumpets
startles Ado-
nijah and his
guests,
1 Kings i. 41.

Jonathan
comes in, and
tells them the
whole story,
Ver. 42--48.
The compa-
ny slinks
away, Ver. 49.
Adonijah flies
for sanctuary
to the altar,
and begs par-
don, Ver. 50.

Solomon for-
gives him for
what was past,
Ver. 52, 53.

A summons
of all the
princes to Je-
rusalem, with
the priests and
Levites,
1 Chron. xxiii.
2.

The priests,
apart from
the rest of
the tribe,
make twenty
four families,
1 Chron. xxiv.
4.

They cast
lots, and the
first that
comes out is
called the first
family, and
so in order to
the last, Ver.
5--19.

This solemnity being over, the people gave up themselves to jollity and feasting, musick, dancing, and all other chearful diversions, to such a degree of transport and rejoicings, that heaven and earth rang of it. The clamour of this extravagant joy coming to the ears of Adonijah and his guests, did not a little surprize them; Joab himself declaring that the noise he heard of shouts and trumpets did not at all please him. In a word, it gave such a damp to their jollity, and disrelish to their dainties, that none of them had any appetite to enjoy what was before them. While they were in this musing melancholy posture, Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high-priest, come running to them in great haste, whom Adonijah was very glad to see, upon a mistaken opinion that he brought good news with him. So Jonathan gave them the whole relation of the king's orders, and the proceeding concerning Solomon; which they had no sooner heard, but every man slink'd away from the banquet to his own home. Only Adonijah being conscious to himself of an indignity too great to be forgiven, fled for sanctuary to the horns of the altar, and there begg'd for pardon. When Solomon came to understand how it was with Adonijah, and that he insisted upon some security to be given him for an indemnity and oblivion, with as much prudence as clemency, he granted him a pardon for what was past; but with a precaution, to have a care how he behav'd himself for the future; for if he should ever be found in any such practice again for the time to come, his destruction should lie at his own door. So Solomon order'd him to be brought to him from his place of refuge, and when he had paid his duty and reverence to the new king, he bad him go to his own house again in peace, and to behave himself for the time to come like a good man, which it was highly his own interest to do.

It was David's intention to have Solomon declared and recognized the king of the whole nation of Israel; in order to which end, he summon'd all the princes to Jerusalem, together with the priests and Levites; and he found upon the roll thirty eight thousand men among them, that were above thirty years of age; out of which number there were twenty four thousand to attend the building of the temple; judges and their clerks six thousand; four thousand porters belonging to the house of God, and as many singers and musicians, or players upon instruments; of which we have said somewhat already. These he divided into families, and upon separating the priests from the rest of the tribe, he found four and twenty of them; that is to say, sixteen descended from Eleazar, and eight from Ithamar; appointing every family to officiate eight days, or from sabbath to sabbath, and so to do duty one after another. The lots of the whole were all cast in the presence of David, and of the high-priests Zadock and Abiathar, together with the heads of the tribes. The lot that came out first being enter'd upon the roll, [the first family] and so the second, and the third, &c. to the four and twentieth, in order as it happen'd, which way of distribution continues in use to this day. He divided the tribe of Levi also in twenty four parts, to

succeed one after another, according to the chance of the lot, in the same manner with the priests. But the preference was still given to the posterity of Moses; to whom was committed the trust and custody of the holy treasure, and the bounties and donations of princes and royal benefactors. He likewise order'd the whole tribe of Levi, and the priests, to attend the service of God, day and night in their turns, according to the primitive prescription and institution of Moses.

In the next place he made a distribution of the whole army into twelve divisions, with their commanders in chief, tribunes, centurions, and their subordinates; every division to consist of twenty four thousand * men, and each of those divisions to do a month's duty in their respective courses, upon the guard of Solomon's palace, together with their tribunes and centurions; every part to have its distinct officer or judge; and he to be a person of a try'd integrity and justice. He appointed also overseers of the king's income, vineyards, lands, husbandry, flocks, and herds, &c. whom it would be needless to name in this place. When David had order'd matters as above, he call'd a general assembly of the Hebrew magistrates, the princes of the tribes, the officers of the army, and the managers of the revenue; and then raising himself upon an eminence, spoke to the people from his throne to the following effect:

"I AM now to give you to understand, says he, my countrymen and brethren, that I have had it a long time in my thought to erect a temple to the Lord, and I treasur'd up a great quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver toward the charge of the undertaking; but it hath pleased God in his providence, by the mouth of the prophet Nathan, to put a stop to my design, upon this consideration, that he would not have the foundation of his holy house laid by hands that had been dipp'd in blood, which mine have inevitably been, though in the blood of your enemies, by reason of the wars I have been forced upon, in the righteous and necessary defence and vindication of your liberties. But the prophet told me further, that God would transmit the care of it to my son and successor, both to begin and finish the work. You know very well, says David, that our father Jacob had twelve sons; and that Judah was yet chosen by common consent to be ruler of all the rest. You know likewise, that I myself, though there were six brothers of us, was advanced by God to the government, and that none of the rest thought themselves injur'd; wherefore I must now require in like manner of you, and of all my sons, that you submit cheerfully and dutifully to my son Solomon; and that you do it without any murmuring, faction, or civil dissention; for it is from God's immediate command and commission that he derives his authority. Put the case now that God should have set a stranger over you, how great a folly and wickedness would it have been for you to murmur at it? But how thankful ought you now to be for the choice of so near a relation, when you yourselves are partakers

The tribe of Levi is divided also into twenty four parts, to succeed in order, as the priests, Ver. 20, &c.

The army distributed into twelve divisions, and each to do a month's duty by turns in Solomon's palace, 1 Chron. xxvii.

Overseers appointed of the king's revenue, Ver. 25--31. David calls a general assembly, and addresses upon the subject of the temple, 1 Chron. xxviii. 1--10.

* From whence it is evident, David's army at that time consisted of two hundred and eighty eight thousand men.

"of the honour that is done to your brother. There is nothing I so much long for, as to see God's gracious promises take a speedy effect; and the whole people without any more delay put into a full and lasting possession of the blessings they are to enjoy under the reign of Solomon. All this, my dear son, will be made good, says David, and every thing succeed to your wish, so long as you govern according to piety and justice, with a respect to your duty both to God and man, upholding a reverence to the laws, and treading in the steps of your fore-fathers; but whenever you transgress these bounds, there is nothing but misery and ruin to be expected as the consequence."

David delivers to Solomon a draught and model of the temple, with directions for utensils, &c. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, &c.

UPON the finishing of this discourse and charge, David gave his son, in the sight of all his people, a draught of the form and model of the temple, from top to bottom; the foundation and the superstructure; the height and breadth of the fabrick; the private cells, their number, and dimensions; what vessels of gold and silver were to be provided, with directions for their precise weight. "David exhorting his son also, with all diligence and application, to go in hand with the building, pressing also the princes and the tribe of Levi to contribute their assistance; not only in regard of his youth, and want of experience, but out of a reverence also to his divine commission, which both entitled him to the government, and likewise authorized and predetermin'd him to this province. And, says David, it will not be a work of any great difficulty neither; for the materials are provided to your hand; so many talents of gold, more of silver, stone and timber, carpenters, stone-cutters, and other workmen; a great treasure in emeralds, and other precious stones over and above; beside a further supply of * three thousand talents of the purest gold, out of my own treasury, for the adorning of the holy place, and the chariot of God, and the cherubims that are to cover the ark."

The materials and workmen are provided beforehand, 1 Chron. xxix. 2.

The assembly pleased with what David delivered, undertake for large contributions in gold, &c. Ver. 6-9.

Jalus, of the line of Moses, is made the treasurer.

THIS speech of David's was entertained with great cheerfulness, both by princes, priests and Levites, who were all zealous for the forwarding of the work, every one in his proportion. They offer'd, among them, to bring in † five thousand talents of gold, a hundred thousand of silver, ten thousand shekels, and a mass of iron not to be imagin'd. They that had precious stones, brought them into the treasury, where they were deposited in the custody of one Jalus, of the race of Moses. The people were infinitely pleas'd upon the whole matter, and David above all the rest, to see such an unanimous and universal agreement and willingness, both in princes, priests, and people, towards carrying on of the work; for

which he blessed God with a loud voice, in the stile of "the father, and creator of Heaven and earth; the governor and protector of the Hebrews, and the blessed fountain of happiness to the people committed to his charge;" concluding his devotions with a fervent prayer for the comfort and happiness of the nation; and with particular wishes of peace of conscience, and the blessing of an unspotted innocence and integrity to his son. He called then upon the people to join with him in their thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, who fell upon their faces and worshipped; and coming after this to David, made their acknowledgments for all the benefits and advantages they had enjoy'd under his reign. The day following was a great day of sacrifices; a thousand calves, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs, for a burnt-offering; and afterward, a great many thousand victims more for peace-offerings. It was a day, in fine, dedicated to feasting and jollity, both by king and people. Solomon was now a second time anointed, declared, and owned by the people, for their lawful king; and Zadock, by the voice of the whole multitude, designed for their high-priest. Solomon was now conducted to the palace, and placed upon his father's throne, from which day forward, the people paid him their true allegiance.

Solomon anointed, owned, and declared a second time king; and Zadock the high-priest, Ver. 22.

CHAP. XII.

David's last charge, prayer, and farewell to his son Solomon. His death and burial.

DAVID was now sinking apace, under the double weight of age and sickness; and finding himself near his end, he called for his son Solomon to give him his counsel and his blessing, and so to take his last leave of him. "Son, says he, I am now going to my fathers; and you that I leave behind me, are in due time to come to me; which is no more than the paying of a common debt to nature. There's no returning from the grave, and when we are once gone, we have done with this world for ever; wherefore, while I am yet among the living, and before it be too late, pray let me mind you of the same things once again, that I have so often inculcated over and over to you heretofore; govern your subjects according to justice; worship that God from whom you have receiv'd your dignity as well as your being, as you are bound to do; observe his precepts, and keep his laws, as they have been handed down to you from Moses; and have a care that you never forsake them, either for fear, flattery, or any other passion or interest whatsoever; for otherwise, you can never pretend to hope for the blessings of God's favour and providence. But if you behave

David's last words to his son Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 1-10.

It is religion and justice that support government, ibid.

* Three thousand talents weighed three hundred, forty two thousand, one hundred and eighty seven pounds, and six ounces; and their value in gold amounted to sixteen millions, four hundred and twenty five thousand pounds, English money.

† Five thousand talents weighed five hundred and seventy thousand, three hundred and twelve pounds, and six ounces, and their value in gold amounted to twenty seven millions, three hundred and seventy five thousand pounds English money.

‡ The weight and value of an hundred thousand talents of silver, see above, p. 205; but the Scripture, 1 Chron. xxix. 6, 7. varies from this account, and says, "That the chief of the fathers, and princes of the tribes of Israel, &c. gave for the service of the house of God, of gold, five thousand talents, and ten thousand drams; and of silver, ten thousand talents; and of brass, eighteen thousand talents; and one hundred thousand talents of iron."

"yourself

"yourself with reverence and submission towards God, as you ought to do, and as I wish you may do, your kingdom will be establish'd to yourself, and the succession of it continu'd to your family, from generation to generation.

David minds Solomon of the murder of Abner and Amasa, by Joab; and recommends to him the care of Barzillai's family, 1 Kings ii. 1-10.

"LET me now mind you of the iniquity of Joab, in the murder of Abner the son of Ner, and of Amasa the son of Ithra; two great captains, and worthy good men; and all this purely out of a malicious spite and envy. You may do by him as you think fit. The truth of it is, I had punish'd him myself, but that he was so popular, I durst not meddle with him. As for the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, I must desire you for my sake to be very kind to them, and to do them all the good offices you can: not as an obligation, but in requital of the generous friendships I received from their father in the time of my banishment; which I reckon as a debt incumbent upon our whole family. For the son of Gera, Shimei the Benjamite, that hunted me with such bitterness of cursing and reviling in the days of my persecution, at Bahurim, and afterward meeting me at the river Jordan, obtain'd my pardon for it; you may take some warrantable occasion to requite him yet for that affront."

David has pardon'd Shimei; but leaves him at mercy, if he transgresses again, *ibid.*

David finishes his discourse, and gives up the ghost, *ibid.*

David the best of princes, and of men.

So soon as David had finish'd this discourse to his son about his government, the requiting of his friends, and the punishing of his enemies, he gave up the ghost, in the seventieth year of his age, after he had reign'd seven years and six months over the tribe of Judah at Hebron, and thirty three years more over all Israel, at Jerusalem. He was a man of wonderful goodness, and endued with all the royal excellencies that might qualify a prince for the discharge of so great a trust. He was valiant, no man more; and himself personally in the head of all dangers, for the protection and defence of his people. He did more with his

soldiers by his example, than by any imperiousness of command. He was a judicious prince in the choice of his councils; of a singular presence of mind, to make the best of what he had before him, and of as sharp a foresight for the improving of all advantages, and the obviating of difficulties to come. To all this, he was temperate and sober, affable to all, tender toward people in distress, righteous and humane; which are all princely virtues. He was a prince, in short, that never made an ill use of his power, saving only in the case of the wife of Uriah. He left a treasure to his successor greater than ever any other prince whatsoever left before him: and he was bury'd at Jerusalem, with a solemnity of royal pomp and magnificence that was glorious to the highest degree: and over and above the splendour of the ceremony, his son Solomon deposited in his monument an inestimable treasure, of which we may form some tolerable Idea, from that which I have farther to say.

David an unexceptionable ruler, save only in the matter of Uriah.

He dy'd rich, and was buried at Jerusalem, *ibid.*

Solomon deposited a mighty treasure in David's monument.

A MATTER of thirteen hundred years after this revolution, Hyrcanus the high-priest was besieged in Jerusalem, by Antiochus, surnamed the pious, and the son of Demetrius. They came to a treaty, and Antiochus offer'd for a certain sum of money, to raise the siege, and draw off his army. Hyrcanus had no way to raise it, but by the opening of David's monument, and thence he took three thousand talents; out of which he paid Antiochus the sum agreed upon for a composition, and so set the town at liberty, as we have shew'd elsewhere. It was king Herod's fortune, many years after this, to discover another cell of hidden treasure, which he took away, to a prodigious value, but neither of them were come yet to the secret repository where the king's ashes lay; that privacy being so artificially contriv'd, and so far under ground, that there was hardly any coming at it; but here's as much said already as needs upon this point.

Antiochus besieged Jerusalem.

Hyrcanus compounds to raise the siege for three hundred talents.

King Herod found another mass of hidden treasure long after.

† In Book I. Chap. ii. of the wars of the Jews, Josephus says the sum agreed on was three hundred talents, which in weight amounts to nineteen thousand nine hundred and sixty pounds, eleven ounces, five penny weights; but does not tell us whether of gold or silver. If of the former, as is more probable, the sum in value was equivalent to nine hundred fifty eight thousand one hundred twenty five pounds. If of silver, to fifty nine thousand eight hundred eighty two pounds sixteen shillings and five pence. But learned men, not without reason, believe the whole story to be no more than a fiction of the Rabbins, and blame Josephus for his credulity in giving in to it.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK VIII.

From the Tear of the World 2931 to 3048.

CHAP. I.

Solomon comes to the throne with an universal joy; only Adonijah tampers underhand with Bathsheba. Solomon causes Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei to be put to death; and deposes Abiathar from the high-priesthood.



WE have treated in the last foregoing book, of the life and character of David, his piety, and his conversation; the great services, and the many good offices he render'd to his country; the terrible wars and combats that

he underwent, with the history of his victories and successes; and we have brought him to his end at last, full of years and honour, to sleep with his fathers. Solomon, his son and successor, came young to the government; but by the over-ruling will and appointment of God, however, and not without the solemn and declaratory consent and approbation also of his father. When he was once advanced to the throne, the people came all running in to him, as is usual upon such changes, with congratulatory acclamations and multiplied wishes of long life and a happy reign.

ONLY Adonijah, who had formerly made an attempt upon the government in the lifetime of his father, applied himself in an artful way of address to Bathsheba, the king's mother. She received him with great courtesy, and with large assurances of her assistance, if there were any thing in her power that she could serve him in. Upon this encouragement he came presently to his point; "Great

princess, says he, I shall not need to tell you, that if I were disposed to be troublesome upon this turn of government, the right of priority, and the good-will of the people would be on my side; but, says he, since it has pleased God to devolve it upon your son Solomon, I am the king's most humble servant, and shall very well content myself within the bounds of my present condition. I have only one thing to beg of you, which is, that you will be pleas'd to use your interest with your son, on my behalf, that I may be permitted, with his good leave, to take Abishag to wife. She lay by my father David's side only to keep him warm in his extreme decay of heat, and undoubtedly he left her as good a virgin as he found her." Bathsheba promis'd him the uttermost of what she could do in the matter, and encourag'd him to hope well of the issue; for Solomon, she doubted not, would most readily agree to gratify the joint request of his brother and his mother, in a greater matter than this appear'd to be. This was a word of comfort to Adonijah from Bathsheba, who went directly to her son, to confer with him upon the matter. Solomon rose up to meet his mother; and taking her in his arms, conducted her to his bed-chamber, where he placed her on his right-hand upon a chair of state next to his own. Bathsheba was no sooner seated, but she enter'd presently upon her business. "Son,

And under the appearance of a seeming resignation, ib.

He begs Bathsheba's good word to her son, for leave to marry Abishag, ibid.

Bathsheba promises him her interest, Ver. 18.

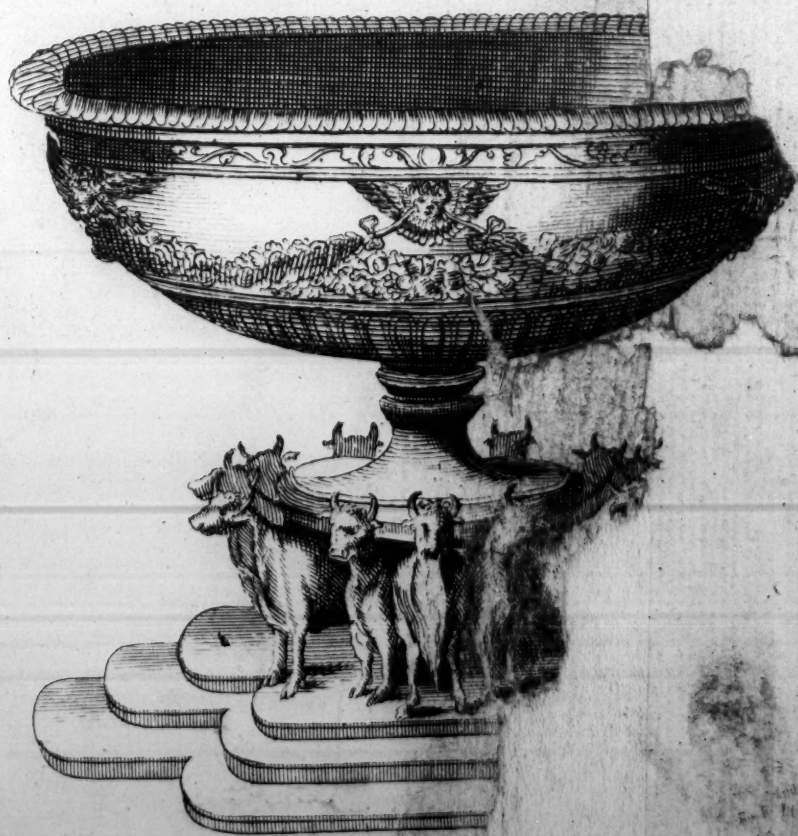
Solomon enters upon the government with universal joy, 1 Kings ii. 12.

Adonijah makes an interest with Bathsheba, for his own ends, Ver. 15-17.

SOLOMON'S



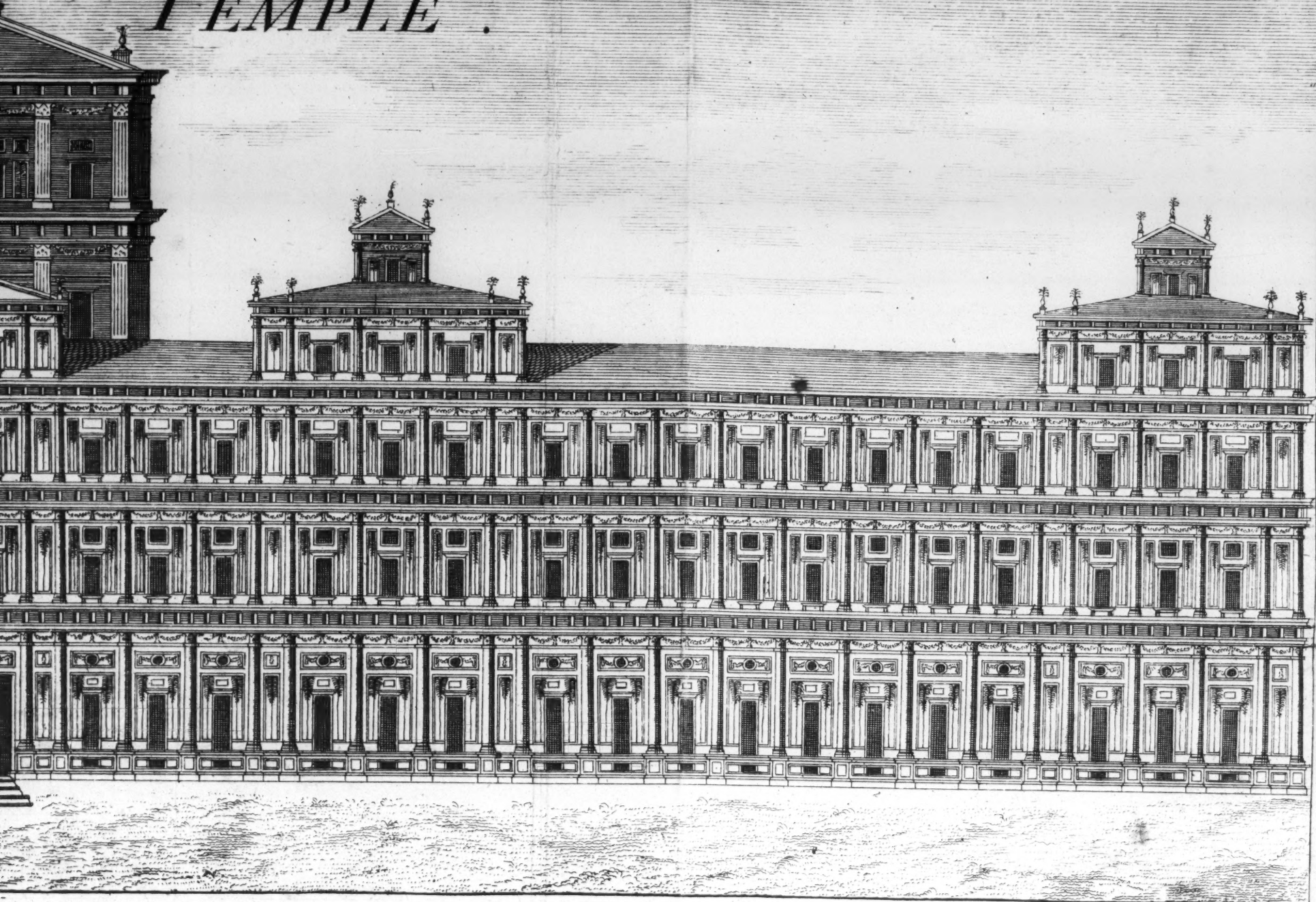
Ark of the Covenant with y^e Cherubims.



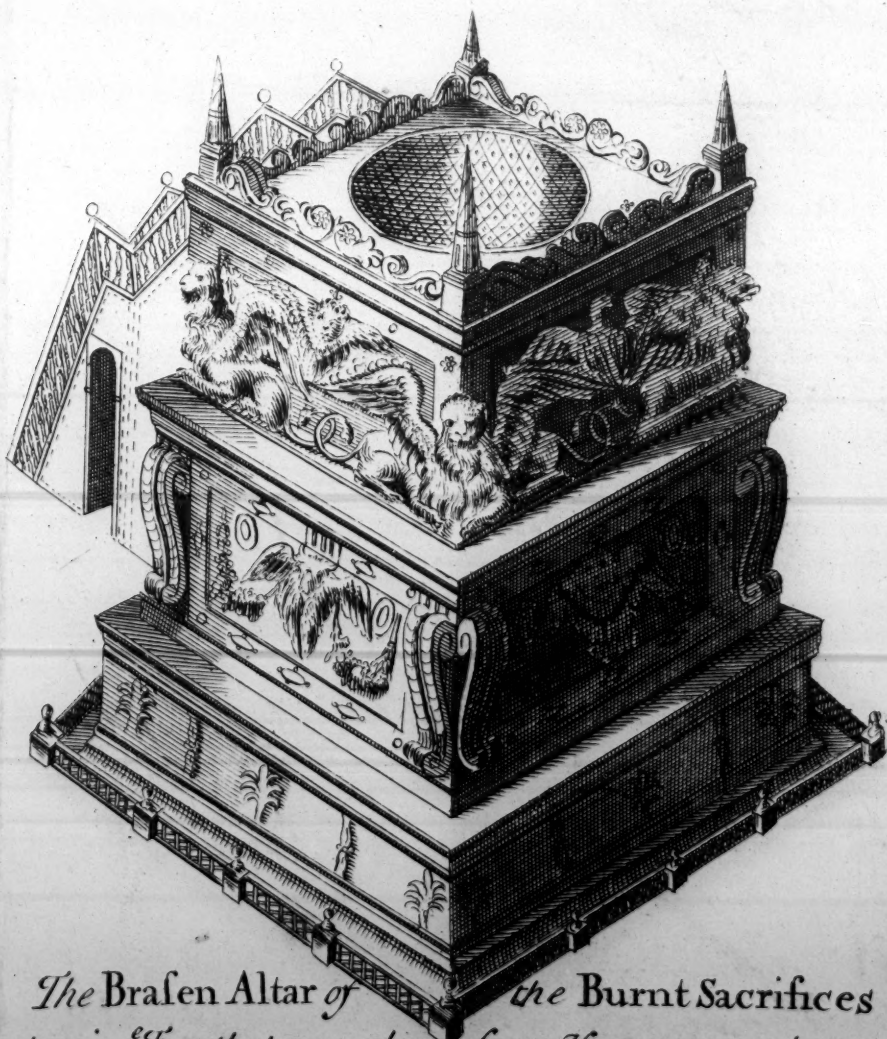
The Brazen Sea, where the

The

TEMPLE .



*The Brazen Bases and Laver wherein
the Sacrifices were washed.*



*The Brazen Altar of the Burnt Sacrifices
wherein y^e Fire that came down from Heaven was kept
by the care of the Priests .*

Bathsheba moves Solomon to give Abishag to Adonijah, 1 Kings ii. 20, 21.

Solomon surpriz'd at the motion, discharges his mother, V. 22.

Solomon orders Adonijah to be put to death, Ver. 25.

And banishes Abiathar from his presence, V. 26.

And deposes him from the pontificate for joining with Adonijah, V. 27.

The sacerdotal dignity translated from the house of Ithamar, to that of Phinees. The line of Zadock.

Joab hearing of Adonijah's death, flies to the altar, V. 28.

Solomon cites him to a court of justice, V. 30. Joab refuses to appear, bid.

"Son, says she, I have an humble suit to you, and it would trouble me not a little, if you should refuse it." Pray what is it? says Solomon, not without some uncalinefs at such a preface, as if there were any thing for her to ask, which a dutiful child could deny to his own mother. So Solomon entreated her to go on, and to depend upon his readiness to comply with her in any thing he could do. "Well, son, says Bathsheba, I make it my request then, that you will give Abishag in marriage to your brother Adonijah." The king started up at that proposal in a surprize, and dismiss'd his mother. "No, no, says Solomon, Adonijah has more ambitious designs in his head than the marrying of Abishag. Why does he not speak plain rather, and put in his claim to the kingdom, as elder brother; which he might every jot as honestly do, and with one and the same trouble. First, he desires Abishag in marriage; and then he has fortify'd himself with great friends and interest to back his pretensions: As Joab, the general for one; Abiathar the high-priest, for another, and the like." Solomon at this rate deliberating and computing upon the present state of things, sent Benaiah, the captain of the guards, with a commission forthwith to kill his brother; and then calling for Abiathar, the high-priest, he told him, that though he had deserv'd to die, yet in regard of the services he had done his father, and of the part he bore in bringing back the ark, his punishment should be thus: "Get you gone, says he, immediately from this place, and let my eyes never see you more. Betake yourself to your own home; fix your habitation in the country, and there continue to the day of your death. You have been false to me in joining with Adonijah, and for that fault, this is your sentence. You have made yourself unworthy of the honour of the priesthood, and from this time forward you shall exercise the function no more."

THIS was the cause of translating the sacerdotal dignity from the house of Ithamar (as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar) into the family of Phinees, to Zadock. During the continuance of the Pontificate in the house of Ithamar, reckoning from Eli, the first that executed that office, there were of the family of Phinees, that led private lives, Boccias, the son of Joseph; Jonathan, of Boccias; Mareoth, of Jonathan; Arapha, of Mareoth; Architob, of Arapha; and Zadock, the son of Architob, who was the first high-priest that was created under David.

WHEN Joab heard of the death of Adonijah, being conscious to himself of having cultivated his friendship, and studied his interest more than the king's, he took up a very reasonable apprehension that his own turn would be next, and so fled for sanctuary to the altar; not doubting but that the veneration the king had for God, and for holy things, would be a protection to him. When Solomon came to understand that Joab had taken sanctuary, he sent Benaiah to cite him to a court of justice to answer for what he had done; but Joab refused to quit the altar, declaring, "That if he must perish, he would rather die there than in another place." Benaiah carry'd

this answer of Joab to the king; who presently order'd him to cut off his head where he was, as a just punishment upon him for the two detestable murders of Abner and Amasa, against all the measures of honour, humanity and justice; but the king gave it in charge to Benaiah, to see his body bury'd, for a memorial to posterity of so execrable a wickedness, and likewise to acquit both himself and his father, of any rigour in the death of Joab. Benaiah, upon the execution of this commission, was made general in Joab's place; and upon the deposing of Abiathar the high-priest, the king assigned Zadock to succeed him.

SOLOMON, at the same time, appointed Shimei to build himself a house at Jerusalem, and not to stir out of it, or pass the river Kedron*, upon the peril of his life: neither was this menace sufficient, without an oath, over and above, to perform what he had promised. Shimei seem'd very well satisfied with the conditions, and gave his oath for the observance of them. Hereupon he quitted his own country, and came and dwelt at Jerusalem. About three years after this, it happen'd that two of Shimei's servants ran away from him; and the master hearing that they were at Gath, took a journey thither, in order to fetch them back again. Upon his return with his servants, the king it seems got notice of it, and took the double contempt so heinously, first of the command, and then of the oath, that he call'd Shimei to a severe account for the misdemeanour. "Didst not thou swear to me, says Solomon, that thou wouldst never stir out of this city into any other, to the day of thy death? and like a false wretch as thou art, thou hast now broken that sacred oath, and for that perjury thou shalt die. Take this for thy instruction too, that divine vengeance, sooner or later, finds out the delinquent; and that forbearance is so far from an acquittal, that it inflames the reckoning. The hand of God is in this judgment upon thee, not only for thy late perjury, but for thy sins of ancient date; I mean thy ribaldry and insolences against my father, in the depth of his distresses. Think of it, says Solomon, for God is just." And so Benaiah put Shimei to death by the king's order.

Solomon orders Joab's head to be cut off where he was, V. 31.

Solomon makes Benaiah generalissimo in Joab's place, and Zadock the high-priest in Abiathar's, Ver. 35.

* Scr. Kidron. Solomon confines Shimei to an house in Jerusalem, upon pain of death never to stir out of it over the river, V. 36.

Shimei crosses the river, Ver. 40.

And Benaiah puts Shimei to death according to the king's order, V. 40.

CHAP. II.

Solomon marries the daughter of the king of Egypt, and repairs the walls of Jerusalem. He's endu'd with the gift of wisdom. The names of his great officers. He builds a temple, places the ark in it, erects a stately palace, fortifies Jerusalem, subdues the Canaanites. His prodigious wealth. The love of women brings him to idolatry. Adad stirs up a sedition against him. Jeroboam foretold that ten tribes of the twelve shall fall under his allegiance.

SOLOMON had by this time all his enemies under subjection; his throne established, the minds of the people settled, and his government consequently made easy to him. In this interval of a profound peace, both at home and abroad, he took to wife the daughter of the king of Egypt; fell to work upon rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, which he made much larger and stronger than they were before; and so apply'd himself to the office of his

Gel. cap. i. fol. 245.

Solomon being now settled in a profound peace, marries Pharaoh's daughter, 1 Kings iii. 1.

He repairs the walls of Jerusalem, ib.

his publick administration. He was very young, 'tis true, but want of years was never any hindrance or excuse to him in the doing of justice, or in the execution of the laws, or in the paying of a religious reverence to the authority and doctrine of his dying father's precepts; for in one word, such was the pregnancy, even of his early youth, that he ruled and managed every thing with a judgment that might have become the gravity of a most consummated experience.

Now finding himself in this state of quiet and freedom, he thought he could not do better than to address himself to God by prayer and sacrifice, in acknowledgment of these mercies; and upon that motion he went to Hebron*, where he offer'd upon Moses's brazen altar, long since erected there, a thousand victims for a burnt-offering. This piety and zeal was so acceptable to God, that the very night following he appear'd unto him in a dream; and to shew him that the services of his heart and good-will should not go unrewarded, he bad him ask what he would, and it should be granted him. Solomon pitch'd upon the greatest and the most valuable thing he could think of, and that which he concluded would be most agreeable to the approbation of the giver, and at the same time most advantageous to the receiver. It was not silver, nor gold, nor any of those vulgar satisfactions, that young men, and the mistaken part of the world commonly set their hearts upon, that he chose as the only things worth asking: this, I say, was not Solomon's wish; but, "Lord, says he, grant me a right apprehension of matters, and a sound judgment, that may enable me to govern this people according to truth and justice." This choice of Solomon's was so acceptable to God, that he not only promis'd him what he desir'd, but riches and glory over and above; and in the first place, such a degree of understanding, and of a practical wisdom, as no man, either publick or private, could ever pretend to before him; with a farther promise, that upon condition of his continuing just to the world, obedient in all things to God, and treading in the steps, and imitating the eminent virtues of his father, the government should remain in his family for many ages. Upon these words Solomon awak'd, arose out of his bed immediately, worshipp'd, and gave thanks, and so returned to Jerusalem, where he sacrificed to God before the tabernacle, and feasted all his people.

Solomon goes to Hebron, and there sacrifices upon Moses's brazen altar, Ver. 4. God bids Solomon in a dream ask what he will, and it shall be granted him, Ver. 5. Solomon asks for a right understanding, and a sound judgment, V. 6-7.

God is so well pleased with his choice, that he gives him riches and glory, over and above, Ver. 10-14.

Solomon awakes, worships, and returns to Jerusalem, Ver. 15.

The case of a live child, and a dead one; and which was the mother of the live child, Ver. 16, &c.

ABOUT this time there was a difficult case brought before him, which I shall give the reader a particular account of, partly for the nicety of it, and partly for the use it may be of to others, in exciting the like industry of search and scrutiny, upon the like occasion. There came to the king two common mercenary prostitutes for justice. The plaintiff told her tale first, and it was to this effect: "This woman, says she, and I liv'd both in a lodging, and it was our fortune to be deliver'd each of us of a male child on the same day and hour. Within a matter of three days, this woman having overlaid her own child, and smother'd it, took mine softly out of my arms as I was asleep, and laid her's in the place of it. Early the next morning,

when I was thinking to suckle my own infant, the child was not to be found, but a dead one laid in the place; for I know my own child by most infallible marks. I have press'd her for my child; but she keeps it from me, and bears me down that it is her child still, and I have no witness to prove the contrary. Now Sir, says the woman, I humbly beseech your majesty to see right done betwixt us." "Well, says the king to the other woman, and what have you now to say for yourself?" "She laid no such child there, she said, but the living child was her own, and so stood upon her justification." People were all in the dark what judgment to make of it, for want of competent proofs, till Solomon bethought himself of this expedient. He order'd the two children, one living, and the other dead, to be brought, and one of his guards to take his sword, and cut them both in halves, just in the middle, and so divide them betwixt the two pretended mothers, half of the one, and half of the other, to either of them. This was look'd upon to be a kind of a childish sentence at first; but one of the women crying out earnestly, and begging that her companion might rather have the child, and pass for the mother of it, provided only that the life of it might be spar'd, and she herself have the comfort of seeing it yet amongst the living. This was all she had to ask, she said: The other woman all this while quietly submitting to the judgment, and not without some seeming satisfaction at the calamity of her neighbour; a cruel, certainly, and a hard-hearted pleasure! The king, in fine, adjudg'd the child to the right woman, upon the evidence of her tenderness and natural affection; highly condemning the wickedness of the other, that after she had kill'd her own child, did what she could to destroy that of her friend's too. This was so singular an instance of the king's wisdom, sagacity, and conduct, that from that day forward, the people honour'd and obey'd him, as a prince that acted by the guidance and direction of a divine impulse.

Solomon adjudges the child to the right woman, ibid.

HE had his governors and great officers in all his provinces. There was Uri, the son of Hur, in the tribe of Ephraim, including Bethlehem. The son of Aminadab, son-in-law to Solomon, had the command of Dora, and the sea coast. The great plain was under Baana, the son of Achil, and so as far as to the river of Jordan. The son of Geber had the government of the Gileadites and the Gaulonites, as far as Mount Libanus; within which command there were sixty large and well fortified cities. Achinadab, that married Basima, another of Solomon's daughters, had the government of all Galilee up to Sidon. Under Baanah was the government of the sea coast about Asher. Jehosaphat commanded the mountains Itabyr and Carmel, and all the Lower Galilee, to the farther side of Jordan. The whole country of the Benjamites was under the government of † Subes; and the land beyond Jordan was under Tabar. These were Solomon's governors, and he had one lieutenant-general to superintend them all.

So soon as the people found themselves settled in a state of peace and plenty, and out of

The people settled in a state of peace.

* 1 Kings iii. 4. 'tis to Gibeon.

† Scrip. Shimej.

They apply themselves to husbandry and trade.

Vast provisions for the king's own table and entertainments, 1 Kings iv. 22, 23.

The number of his chariots, horses, &c. Ver. 26.

Solomon's writings and compositions, Ver. 32.

Charms, incantations, and forms of conjuration.

Eleazar's way of casting out devils in the time of Vespasian.

A root under the seal of a ring for the demoniack to smell to.

fear of any distractions by war or tumult, they gave themselves up to husbandry and improvements, and in a short time advanc'd their fortunes and possessions (the tribe of Judah especially) to a miracle. The king had likewise other officers, beside those beforementioned, over the Syrians, and other barbarous nations, between Egypt and Euphrates, to whom he committed the care of his receipts, those people being his tributaries. The daily proportion of provisions that these people furnish'd every day for the king's own table and entertainment, was thirty chomers * of fine flower, threescore chomers of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs, beside deer, birds, fishes, and other contingent curiosities of the chace. He had so prodigious a number of chariots, that there were forty thousand stalls provided for the horses that belonged to them, over and above twelve thousand horsemen that were of his guards; the one half being quarter'd in Jerusalem, near his person, and the other half distributed into out-villages near the city; and the same officer that was commissary for the expence of the king's table, was appointed also to provide necessaries for the king's house, which way soever he mov'd.

THE wisdom, in fine, and knowledge of Solomon, being a divine infusion, was so far beyond the philosophy and understanding of the antients, that the Egyptians themselves, though reputed the wisest of men, fell infinitely short of him; and so did the great men of his age among the Hebrews, how highly soever celebrated and esteemed; as for example, there was Athan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dodan, the sons of Hemahon. This wonderful prince compos'd a thousand and five books of odes and poems, and three thousand books of parables and similies. He wrote the history of plants, from the cedar to the hyssop; and so of cattle and beasts of the earth, water-fowl and the birds of the air; for he understood the nature of all these creatures; studied and philosophiz'd upon it, and upon their respective proprieties and dispositions. And he did not only know and understand (by a gift from above,) but likewise improve his knowledge and understanding of these things, for the help and benefit of mankind, even to the confusion of the devils themselves; for he compos'd charms and incantations for the cure of diseases, and left behind him forms of conjuration, in writing, so effectual against evil spirits, that they fly before them, without ever daring to return; which way of remedy is much in request with our people to this day.

"I saw one † Eleazar, a country-man of mine, dispossessing of people in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, officers and soldiers, and his method was this: he applied a ring to the nostrils of the person possess'd, with a piece of a certain root convey'd under the seal of it, being a secret of Solomon's. The demoniack did but smell to it, and the devil was drawn out by the nose. The spirit threw the man down, but Eleazar adjur'd it never to trouble him any more;

"making frequent mention of Solomon's name in the time of the operation, and reciting charms and incantations of his invention. Eleazar, after this, was willing to shew the company a master-piece; so he set a cup, or a basin of water, at a little distance from a man that was possess'd, and adjur'd the devil to overturn this basin at his leaving the man, as a token to the company that he had quitted him. This being done, no body doubted of the admirable knowledge and wisdom of Solomon." I have thought fit to insert this narration for the honour of this king's wonderful and extensive genius, and to shew how much he was in God's favour, and how eminent in all manner of excellencies.

UPON the death of David, and the succession of Solomon to the throne, Hiram, the king of Tyre, who ever had a great affection for the father, sent a gratulatory embassy to the son, upon the news of his accession to the government, expressing great joy to see it continued in the family. Upon the return of these ambassadors, Solomon laid hold of the occasion, and wrote a letter to Hiram in these words:

King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting.

"BE it known unto thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind and purpose to build a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, in his days, and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me in a time of peace both to begin and to finish it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction, of Almighty God. Blessed be his great name for the present tranquillity of my dominions; and by his gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to his honour and worship; wherefore I make it my request, that you will let some of your own people go along with some servants of mine to Mount Libanus, to assist them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the Sydonians understand it much better than we do. As for the workmen's reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable, shall be punctually paid them."

HIRAM was wonderfully pleased with Solomon's letter, and returned him the following answer:

King Hiram to king Solomon.

"NOTHING could have been more welcome to me, than to understand that the government of your blessed father is devolved, by God's providence, into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor; his holy name be praised for it. That which you write for, shall be done with all care and good-will; for I will give order to cut down, and to export

Another master-piece of Eleazar's, by a cup of water, naming Solomon often in the operation.

Hiram, the king of Tyre, sends a gratulatory embassy to Solomon, 1 Kings v. 1.

King Solomon's letter to king Hiram, about the building of the temple, Ver. 2-6. and 2 Chron. ii. 3-10.

Hiram's answer to the letter above, much to Solomon's satisfaction, Ver. 11-16.

* A Chomer, or Cœre, contained about six hundred and five pints English measure; thirty of which amounted to eighteen thousand, one hundred and fifty English pints, and threescore to thirty six thousand and three hundred. This word in Scripture is translated measures.

† See Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 32.

"such quantities of the fairest cedars and cypresses-trees, as you shall have occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea side for you, and from thence ship them away to what port you please, where they may lie ready for your own men to transport them to Jerusalem. It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange, as may stand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we islanders want most."

The duplicates of these letters are still extant.

THE duplicates of these letters are extant to this day, both in our own, and in the Tyrian records; and they that have a mind to be better satisfied in the truth of this, let them only consult the keepers of these registries, and they shall find the matter of fact in those papers to be just as we deliver it. I write this to acquit myself to the reader, by way of precaution, that I do not intermix any inventions of my own, or things curious, or but barely probable, for the ornament of the relation; but that I am willing to put every thing that I deliver to the stress of the strictest scrutiny; and, in truth, there can be no prevaricating in a subject of this quality, without extreme impiety and scandal; and I shall not take it ill to be blasted for the worst of forgers, if there shall be any thing found in my papers that will not abide the uttermost test.

Solomon orders Hiram a yearly present of wheat, oil, &c. 1 Kings v. 11. and 2 Chron. 10-16.

UPON the receipt of Hiram's letter, Solomon was wonderfully pleased with the frankness and humanity of the proceeding; so that in return for his goodness and respect, he order'd him a yearly present of two thousand chomers of wheat, and likewise of two thousand vessels of oil, and as many of wine, of seventy two quarts a-piece. This was the first earnest of a friendship betwixt these two kings; and it continued to increase to the last, every day firmer and stronger.

The king provides workmen; assigns their number, task, &c. 1 Kings v. 13, &c.

THE king order'd his people to provide him thirty thousand workmen, which he disposed of in such easy ways and methods of distribution, that their labour should not be grievous to them. The number of them was thrice ten thousand, and their post was to do duty for one month, by ten thousand at a time, in cutting down wood upon Mount Libanus, and to be reliev'd at the month's end by the second ten thousand, and the second, after another month, by the third; so that they had two month's liberty to be at their own homes; and so thus in a circle, every fourth month, each ten thousand to take their turn over again. Their inspector-general, or superintendent, was Adoniram. Beside these, there were seventy thousand foreigners, formerly design'd by David, for the carrying of stones and other materials; eighty thousand stone-cutters and masons, and three thousand and three hundred overseers of the work. Their order was to make use of the largest stones they could get for the foundation, and to have them squar'd, and ready wrought upon the mountains where

Adoniram the overseer, ib.

they grew, and thence to be carried whole to Jerusalem; in which injunction Hiram's men were concern'd as well as any of the rest.

SOLOMON was now in the fourth year of his reign, when he began this mighty work; and of that year, the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jar; five hundred ninety two [†] years from the Israelites coming out of Egypt; a thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into the land of Canaan; fourteen hundred and forty from the deluge; and from the creation of the world, three thousand one hundred and two. It was also in the eleventh year of Hiram, the king of Tyre; and two hundred and forty years after the building of that city.

The time when Solomon began the building of the temple, 1 Kings vi. 1.

THE foundation was laid prodigiously deep; and the stones not only of the largest size, but hard and firm enough to endure all weathers, and proof against the worm; beside, that they were so mortised one into another, and wedg'd into the rock, that the strength and curioly of the basis was not less admirable than the bulk and ornament of the intended superstructure, and the one every way answerable to the beauty and magnificence of the other. The walls were all of a white stone from the ground to the cieling. The height of the building was sixty cubits ^{||}, the length as much, and the breadth twenty; over which there was another stage of the same dimensions; so that the whole height of the building, from bottom to top, was a hundred and ^{**} twenty cubits, and it look'd toward the east. The porch, or court next to the entrance, was twenty cubits in length, to answer the temple; ten ^{*†} in breadth, and a ^{*‡} hundred and twenty cubits in height. There was built round about it, and against the outward walls, like so many buttresses to support it, thirty cells, or little houses, in the form of galleries, opening one into another. The length and breadth of these cells was five and twenty cubits each, and the height twenty; and there were two other floors over this, of the same make and proportions; amounting altogether to the just height of the lower part of the fabrick, which we have been speaking of; for these cells or galleries went no higher than the top of the first story. They were all cieled with cedar, and every partition had its covering apart, independant one of another; but they were all coupled and fasten'd together, by long and large beams, in such a fashion, that they look'd but like one piece, and as if the very walls were the stronger for them. Under these beams were several curious varieties of carving, fret-work, gilding, &c. the walls all wainscoted with cedar, and so illustrated with works in gold, that the dazzling splendor made every thing about it look glorious. The whole frame, in fine, was rais'd upon stones, polish'd to the highest degree of

The foundation of it, 2 Chron. iii.

The walls. The dimensions, Ver. 4.

The order of the whole fabrick.

The beauty and ornaments of it.

* Viz. One million, two hundred and ten thousand English pints.

† Josephus departs from the Scripture in this account of years. See 1 Kings vi. as also in some parts of the building of the temple; for the comparing of which we refer the reader to 1 Kings vi, vii. and 2 Chron. ii, iii, iv.

|| A Jewish cubit, according to Calmet, was near twenty two English inches; sixty cubits therefore must amount to something more than an hundred and nine feet; that is, thirty six yards and a foot.

** Twenty cubits amounted to something more than thirty six English feet; that is, twelve yards.

*† Ten cubits amounted to eighteen feet, and some odd inches; that is, to full six yards.

*‡ An hundred and twenty cubits amounted to something more than two hundred and eighteen feet, that is, seventy two yards and two feet.

perfect-

The curiosity
in the putting
of it together.

perfection, and so artificially put together, that there was no joint to be discerned, nor the least sign of a hammer, or of any working tool that had ever come upon it; all things being so adjusted and accommodated, one piece to another beforehand, that upon the whole matter it look'd liker the work of providence and nature, than the product of art or human invention.

A contrivance for passages of communication.

A partition of it into two divisions.

Now in regard that the second story had not a large door to it at the east end of it, as the lower had, but only some small doors to go in at, from the sides above, Solomon contriv'd a pair of winding stairs to be cut through the thickness of the wall, for a passage to the upper part. The inside of the temple was all lin'd with cedar; and the cramping of the timbers together with strong irons, was a great strength and security to the building. The king caused it to be laid in two divisions; that is to say, the inner part, or holy of holies, of twenty cubits square, which was inaccessible; and the other of forty cubits *, which was assigned to the use and service of the priest. In the partition wall, betwixt the inner and the outward part of the temple, he built large cedar doors, which were richly gilt, and delicately carved, beside choice curiosities of fancy and history, embroider'd upon a hanging veil before it, of rich silks and fine linnen, interwoven with beautiful flowers; some purple, some scarlet, and the colours all in perfection.

Two golden cherubims in the holy place, 2 Chron. iii. 10-13.

SOLOMON caused also to be made two cherubims of massy gold, which he dedicated to God in the holy place, both of a size; being each of them five cubits † high, and two wings, each of them of five cubits in length; which being stretch'd out, one touch'd the south side, and the other the north; and with their other two wings, they met one another, over-spread-

The holy ark in the middle.

ing the holy ark in the middle. It is not for any man to describe, or so much as to imagine a description of these cherubims. And then the very floor of the temple was overlaid with beaten gold, the doors very large, and proportion'd to the height of the walls, twenty cubits broad, and still gold upon gold. To speak all in a word, it was gold all over, and nothing wanting, either within or without, that might contribute to the glory and magnificence of the work. There was a curious curtain, or hanging, put up at this gate, as at the other, but none at the entrance into the porch.

The very floor, and the doors, all rich and glorious, with gold upon gold.

Solomon sends for one Hiram from Tyre, a famous architect and worker in metals, 1 Kings vii. 13.

SOLOMON had heard of a famous man in Tyre for working in gold, silver, and other metals, whose name was Hiram. He was an eminent architect, over and above. His mother was of the tribe of Naphthali; and his father, by extraction, an Israelite. He sent for this man to Tyre, and employ'd him in his business; and wheresoever Solomon had any thing to do that was difficult or curious, it was perform'd by Hiram. He cast him two brazen hollow pillars of four fingers thick in the metal, ‡ eighteen cubits high, and || twelve in circumference; two chapters of brass on the tops of the two pillars, five cubits each.

Several curiosities of Hiram's making.

These were cover'd with a kind of brass network; and below them were flowers or lilly-work of the same contrivance, with two rows of pomegranates hanging down, a hundred in each row. These two pillars he placed in the entrance of the porch; one on the right-hand, which he called Jachin; and the other on the left, which he called Boaz.

He made a vessel also of molten brass, somewhat after the figure of a globe, cut off in the middle, which for the largeness of it he called his sea. It was made goblet-fashion; the diameter ten cubits from side to side, four fingers thick, with a twisted pillar of one cubit over, under the middle of it for a supporter. Around this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls, or oxen; facing, by three and three, the four principal quarters of east, west, north, and south. They stood in a position lower behind than before, which was both an easing to the weight, and kept it firm and steady. This sea, or vessel, held three thousand baths, reckoning every bath at about ten English pottles.

The figure of the brazen sea, 2 Chron. iv. 2-5.

HIRAM made also ten bases of brass of an oblong square, and all of the same form and dimensions; that is to say, five cubits in length each of them, four in breadth, and six in height. The several pieces were cast apart, and then put together after this manner: there were four pillars, or undersettlers, one to the corner of every base, which were so incorporated with the rest of the work, that they served not only to uphold the weight, but to keep the sides tight one to another. Upon the squares were the figures of a lion, a bull, an eagle, &c. and the like images also upon the pillars, and upon the plates of the borders. The whole work was mounted upon four wheels, a cubit and a half over, all of cast-work; nave, spokes, and every thing belonging to it; and it was a wonderful thing to see how true and accurately every inch of it was wrought. The angles were made good with embossed work of shoulders, hands, paws of lions, talons of eagles; with rests or ledges of rail upon them to receive the laver; but so artificially fitted to the figures of those creatures, as they were there represented upon the pannels, together with branches of palm-trees intermixed upon the same piece, that every thing look'd as natural as if it had been to the life.

Ten bases of brass for as many lavers, Ver. 6.

THIS was the structure of the ten bases; and to these bases he made ten lavers of the same metal, and of a roundish concious form, each containing forty baths; the height *† four cubits, and the diameter as much. These ten lavers were set upon as many bases, which in their language they called Mechenoth. They were all placed in the temple; five of them on the left-hand, at the north side; and the other five at the south side, on the right, looking toward the east. In the same place stood likewise the brazen sea. They were all fill'd with water; the sea for the use of the priests to wash their hands and feet with, upon entering the sanctuary, before they went up to

Ten brazen lavers for ten bases, ibid.

All placed in the temple, and fill'd with water.

* Forty cubits amounted to something more than seventy two feet; that is, to upwards of twenty four yards.

† Viz. Something above nine feet; that is, three yards.

‡ Almost three and thirty feet; that is, near eleven yards.

|| Twelve cubits amount to something more than twenty one feet; that is, above seven yards.

*† Four cubits amount to something above seven feet; that is, two yards and a foot.

the altar; and the rest of the lavers for cleansing of the inwards, and other parts of the burnt-offerings.

A brazen altar and vessels belonging to it, 2 Chron. iv. 1.

Several tables, Ver. 8.

Candlesticks.

The golden altar.

Wine-cups, vessels of gold and silver.

Plates and dishes of gold.

Golden measures.

Silver and golden censers.

Priests habits, robes, ephods, precious stones.

Silken vests, &c. for the priests.

Trumpets and silken stoles for the Levites. Musical instruments to accompany voices.

The church-stuff is deposited in the holy treasury. Fences and partitions in and about the temple.

He erected moreover a brazen altar of twenty cubits in length, as many over, and ten in depth, for the service of the holocausts; providing all the vessels thereunto belonging of the same stuff; as boilers, water-pots, flesh-hooks, &c. He dedicated also a world of tables, and one of pure gold for the shew-bread, larger than the rest. But there were a great many others yet of several makes and sizes, not much inferior to that for the shew-bread, and sufficient to hold twenty thousand golden cups and vessels, and twice the number of silver ones. He made a provision likewise of twelve thousand candlesticks, according to the appointment of Moses; and one of them to be applied by a peculiar dedication to the service of the temple, and there to be kept with lights in them, burning day and night, after the direction of the law. The table for the shew-bread was placed on the north side, over-against the candlestick which stood on the south. Betwixt these two was the golden altar. This was all in the fore part of the temple of forty cubits, and a partition-veil betwixt that and the holy of holies, where the ark of the covenant was to be kept.

THE king caused to be made likewise, four-score thousand wine-cups, and ten thousand golden vessels, and goblets of other sorts and fashions, and twice as many silver ones. Plates and dishes of gold to steep the flour in upon the altar, eighty thousand; and of silver, double the number. Golden measures, such as the Mosaic Hin and Assaron*, twenty thousand; and as many more of silver. Golden censers for incense twenty thousand, and fifty thousand other censers to carry fire from the great altar to the little one within the temple.

THIS mighty prince made a provision also of a thousand priests habits; as robes, ephods, suits of precious stones, &c. only there was but one crown with Moses's inscription of God upon it, which is yet to be seen to this very day. There were also silken vests and purple girdles for the priests, ten thousand of each; two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the institution of Moses, and as many silken stoles for the Levites that chaunted the holy hymns, beside four hundred thousand musical instruments; as harps, psalteries, and the like, which were made of a mixt metal betwixt gold and silver, to accompany the voices.

THERE was nothing wanting, in fine, of industry, magnificence, or expence toward the advancing of this glorious work, that might either express the zeal of the founder himself for the honour of God, or stir up the like affections in others. When the preparatory part was over, the church stuff was deposited in the holy treasury, and set apart for religious uses. The temple itself was fenced with an enclosure of three foot in height, [in Hebrew Gisson,] to keep out the laity from entering into a place where only the priests were to be admitted. Beyond this partition was another square court or building, with large portico's

or galleries about it, and four stately gates, that open'd east, west, north, and south; the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. This place was common to all people, provided they came thither with that purity of preparation and legal qualification which the law required.

THE erecting of this outward building was so stupendous an undertaking, that no tongue can express the difficulties of raising it; and the man would have much ado to believe his own very eyes that saw it; such hollows, such depths to be fill'd up, as a body could hardly have look'd upon, or but so much as fancied, without turning his brain; † four hundred cubits to be brought up to a level with the top of the mountain, only to make the work regular, and the ground even. This port was encompass'd again with a kind of double cloister, and two rows of pillars to support it, every pillar being cut whole out of the rock. The doors were all silver-work; the roof fret-work, and the wainscoting all of cedar.

THIS admirable structure was but seven years in hand, and it is hard to say, considering the magnitude, the curiosity, the expence, and the ornament on the one hand, and the dispatch of it on the other, which was the more wonderful of the two; for it was effectually the business of many ages drawn into the compass of a very few years.

THIS mighty undertaking being now brought to perfection, Solomon wrote to all the elders of Israel, and the heads of the tribes, to summon the people up to Jerusalem to see the temple, and to assist in transporting thither the ark of the covenant. The resolution was duly notified, and in the seventh month, which we call Thuri, and the Macedonians Hyperberetæus, with much ado they got together. In this month was the feast of tabernacles, which among the Hebrews was accounted the most sacred and solemn of their festivals; so the priests took up the ark, and Moses's tabernacle, with the holy vessels belonging to the altar, and carried them all into the temple; the king, and the whole congregation, with the Levites, marching before them, with their sacrifices and oblations, sprinkling the ground, as they pass'd, with their blood, and perfuming the air with the fragrancy of incense and sweet odours, to such a degree, that people were sensible of it at a distance, and reflected upon the delicacy of the breath they drew, as no less than a celestial influence; inferring from that agreeable alteration, that God himself had descended from Heaven to consecrate the temple that was newly built, and dedicated to himself, and therein to take up his abode; for though the whole congregation came singing and dancing all the way to the temple, they went on fresh and cheerfully to their journey's end. This was the manner of their transporting the ark.

WHEN they were now come to the holy of holies, where it was to be deposited, the people withdrew, and the priests only that brought it, carried it in to the oracle, and there placed it under the figure of the two cherubims that

A horrid depth of a valley to be fill'd up, and levell'd for the erecting of this fabric.

This wonderful structure was but seven years a building.

Solomon summons the elders and heads of the tribes up to Jerusalem, to see the temple, and transport the ark thither, 1 Kings viii. 1, 2.

On the feast of tabernacles, the priests carry the ark, &c. into the temple, Ver. 3-9. The solemnity of the procession, ibid.

The ark deposited in the holy of holies, and placed under the two cherubims, 2 Chron. v. 7.

* The Hin, according to Calmet, contained something more than ten English pints. The Assaron was the same with the Gomor, or Omer; and, according to the aforesaid author, contained something more than six English pints.

† That is, seven hundred and twenty eight feet, or two hundred and forty two yards, and two feet,

Nothing in it but the two tables with the ten commandments engraven upon them, 2 Chron. v. 10.

After the placing of the ark, a cloud descends, Ver. 13.

in token of God's approbation.

Solomon's prayer for a blessing upon the work, 2 Chron. vi. 14, &c.

Solomon's discourse to the people, upon God's power and providence, Ver. 1-13.

Solomon's exhortation upon the goodness of God, ibid.

were represented with the points of their wings touching one another, which look'd like a kind of cover and protection to the ark that was just under them. There was nothing more in it than the two stone tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, as God deliver'd them upon Mount Sinai. The candlestick, table, and golden altar, stood in the same order now in the sanctuary, as they did at first in the tabernacle, when they offer'd their daily sacrifices. The brazen altar was placed directly against the door, for the better view of the magnificence of the worship on the other side; and then for the rest of the holy utensils and vessels, they were all laid up together in the temple.

THE ark being now dispos'd of into its proper place, with all decency and reverence, and the priests withdrawn, there descended a cloud, which so fill'd and darken'd the place, that they could hardly see one another through it; not like an heavy winter's cloud, big with foul weather, but only such a temperate breathing diffusion, as by the benignity and serenity of its appearance was look'd upon to be rather a token of God's special approbation and acceptance of the work they were upon, and of his coming down to dwell among them in that temple as in his own house, than the effect of any natural cause.

WHILE the people's heads were taken up with these thoughts, Solomon stood up, and with a grace and majesty becoming the dignity of the subject and occasion, address'd himself in a short prayer to Almighty God in words to this effect: "Lord, says he, thou that inhabitest eternity, and hast rais'd out of nothing the mighty fabrick of this universe; the heavens, the air, the earth, and the sea; thou that fillest the whole, and every thing that is in it, and art thyself unbounded and incomprehensible, look down graciously upon thy servants that have presumed to erect a temple here to the honour of thy great name. Lord, hear our prayers, and receive our sacrifices; thou that art every where, vouchsafe also to be with us; thou that seeest and hearest all things, look down from thy throne in Heaven, and give ear to our supplications in this place; thou that never failest to assist those that call upon thee night and day, and love and serve thee as they ought to do, have mercy upon us."

UPON the finishing of this prayer, Solomon made a discourse to the people upon the subject of God's power and providence; telling them what wonderful things had been revealed to his father David in dreams and visions; some already past, and others as yet to come, concerning himself, his name, his succession to the throne, his building of the temple, the establishment of the family, and the well-being and prosperity of the nation. "Now, says Solomon, a great part of these predictions being already verified, you are to thank God, not only for the comforts you enjoy, but for the good things also that are further promised, and to look upon the former only as the earnest of greater blessings."

AFTER the speaking of these words, the king turn'd his eye again toward the temple, and with his hand advanced. "Lord, says he, what are the most glorious works of man, in balance even with the smallest of

thy benefits and mercies? or what can we that have nothing to give, pretend to do for thee that wantest nothing, when the very least of thy bounties are above and beyond all requital? We can only render thee praise, acknowledgment, and thanksgiving; and that indeed is a prerogative faculty that thou hast vouchsafed to mankind above all other creatures; so that this I am not only allow'd, but oblig'd to do, in the name of myself, my family, and the whole people of Israel, for all thy multiplied favours and infinite goodness towards us. Now having no other way of expressing our duty and affections, than by the means of bare empty words, that are only so much air drawn in and breath'd out again, be pleas'd to accept of our humble gratitude in that human capacity; first, for thy gracious goodness to my father, in raising him from a shepherd's crook to an imperial scepter; and in the second place, for making good to thy servant Solomon all thy promises and predictions in his favour. Lord, continue thy bounties to us, as to thy chosen people; preserve, prosper, and perpetuate the government to our family, by a constant train of successions from generation to generation, according to thy promises to my father, living and dying. Lord, grant us all this; and to all mine, the virtues and the graces that may make them acceptable in thy sight. I do further most humbly beseech thee, to let thy holy spirit descend upon this temple, in the blessing of thy peculiar presence. Heaven and earth I know are too little for thy majesty and glory; and much more the workmanship of men's hands, in a fabrick of wood and stone; and yet I cannot but presume to implore thy providence and protection over it. Lord, preserve it from the power and rage of enemies, and be pleas'd to take care of it, as of thy own property and possession; and if at any time hereafter thou shalt be mov'd in thy just displeasure to punish this people for their transgressions, with famine, pestilence, or any other judgment whatsoever answerable to the degree of the wickedness, Lord, be pleas'd upon their humble supplications to thee in thine own house, with prayers and tears, for mercy and forgiveness, to accept of their true repentance, and to remove thy judgment. This I beseech thee, not for the Hebrews alone, but for the relief indifferently of all people whatsoever, that shall offer up their petitions to thee in this thy holy place. By this means it will appear to the whole world, that this is thy house, and we thy people; and that the Hebrews are not so inhuman, as to envy strangers the common dispensations of the author and fountain of all our happinesses."

WITH these words Solomon cast himself upon the ground, and after a little pause in that act and posture of adoration, he rose and offered sacrifices in abundance; having the satisfaction also of an assurance, by a token effectually from God, that his oblations were accepted; for there fell a flash of fire from above, that shot through the air directly down to the altar, and consum'd the offerings. This prodigy being seen by the whole multitude,

He blesses God for the elevation of his family, and making good all his promises and predictions, ibid. He implores the continuance of God's mercy and goodness, and his peculiar presence in his holy temple, ibid.

Solomon prostrates himself, and worships; rises up and sacrifices. A flash of fire from Heaven consumes the sacrifice, in token that God owns both the worship and the temple, they 2 Chron. vii. 1.

they all look'd upon it as a certain sign of God's owning both the worship and the temple, which put them into such an extasy of joy, that they all fell down together, and unanimously join'd in the adoration. Solomon continued his praises and thanksgivings, persuading and encouraging the multitude to do the like, in the contemplation of so clear an evidence of God's special favour toward them. The king charged the people to be instant with God in prayer, for the continuance of his goodness and graces to them, that they might live in holiness and righteousness, without any spot or blemish, and walk in the steps, and according to the divine traditions of Moses, to their lives end: this being the sure and the only way to render the Hebrews the happiest people of all mortals. He minded them also, that their felicity was no way to be secured and augmented, but by the means by which it was acquir'd, as being not only the effect, but the reward of piety and justice. He told them further, that it was much easier to get what they wanted, than to keep what they had got, and bad them have a care, not to forfeit by any misdemeanor what they had gain'd by their virtue.

Solomon dismisses the assembly,
2 Chron. vii.
10.

The feast of tabernacles, and the dedication of the temple happen'd together, 1 Kings viii. 65. The ceremony being now over, the people returned to their own homes, V. 66.

A voice tells Solomon, that his prayers are heard and granted, upon condition that he walk in the steps of his father; but if ever he or his subjects go over to strange gods, they shall be cut off, and scatter'd over the face of the earth, like vagabonds;

THE king made an end of speaking here, and discharg'd the assembly, having first offered up in sacrifices for himself and his people, twelve thousand calves, and a hundred and twenty thousand lambs. This was the first blood that was spilt in the temple; and the Israelites, with their wives and children, were all feasted at it. There was celebrated at the same time before the temple, beside this solemnity, the feast of tabernacles, which lasted fourteen days at the king's expence, with great jollity, magnificence, and splendor.

THE noise and pomp of things was now over, and all imaginable right done to the honour and piety of the occasion; so that every man was now returning to his own habitation, but not without infinite acknowledgments of the king's wisdom, care, and bounty in all respects, and prayers for the long life of Solomon, and the long continuance of the people under the blessing of his government. They went back, in fine, singing, rejoicing, and giving glory to God, with all things so much to their hearts content, that betwixt joy and good company, the time pass'd away cheerfully and easily, without any sense of tediousness or trouble in the journey.

THE ark being now brought into, and deposited in the temple, the beauty and magnificence of that glorious structure, with all due ceremony and solemnity exposed, the congregation dispersed, and returned home again. God appeared now a second time to Solomon in his sleep, and a voice told him, "That God had accepted his sacrifices, and heard his prayers; that he would preserve his temple, and make it the house of his dwelling; that is to say, so long as he himself, and his posterity and people should continue to walk before him, as David his father did, in pureness of heart; promising him, upon that condition, to advance him to the highest degree of earthly bliss; to perpetuate the throne of Israel to his family; so that there

should never want a prince of that line, and of the tribe of Judah, to wield the scepter. But on the other hand, if ever they should betray, and depart from, or forget the worship they profess'd, and run after strange gods, they should be quite rooted out from off the face of the earth, and Israel be no longer a people; but after being torn to pieces, and broken with wars, and other calamities at home, be forced away to shift for themselves in the wide world, as vagabonds and exiles." The voice told him further, "That in case of such an apostasy, his new erected fabrick should, with divine permission, come to be sack'd and burnt by the hands of Barbarians, and Jerusalem itself laid in rubbish and ashes, by a merciless enemy; insomuch, that people should stand amazed at the very report of so incredible a misery and distress, and be wondering one to another how it should come to pass, that a people who were but yesterday the envy of all mankind, for riches, external glory and reputation, should now all on a sudden be sunk and lost to the last degree of wretchedness and contempt, and reduced to this despicable state too by the same hand that raised them. To which question, their own guilty consciences shall make this answer: we have forsaken our God, we have abandon'd the religion of our forefathers, and of our country; and all this is justly befallen us for our sins." This was the substance of Solomon's dream, or vision, as we find it transmitted to us in holy writ.

AFTER the finishing of this temple; which, as we have said already, was seven years in hand, Solomon enter'd upon the building of a royal palace for himself, which was full thirteen years more a perfecting. He was not so solicitous and intent upon the latter, as the former, which in truth was great and artificial to a miracle; and without God's peculiar blessing and assistance, could not have been completed in that compass of years. Solomon's court indeed was in appearance much inferior to the majesty of his temple, not only for want of time to provide his materials, but the one was designed only for the honour and convenience of a temporal prince, and the other dedicated to the king of kings; so that the work was the longer a doing. It was, however, sufficient to answer the end it was design'd for, being a work that redounded much to the glory both of prince and people. But it will be worth the while to say somewhat more particularly of the model and disposition of this majestical fabrick, for the reader's better understanding of the whole, as well as for his curiosity and satisfaction.

THERE was erected, upon several rows of pillars, a fair spacious pile of building, in the nature and after the manner of a common hall for the hearing of causes. It was a * hundred cubits in length, † fifty in breadth, and ‡ thirty in depth; nor could it well be less, to receive the vast multitudes that came thronging thither from all parts for justice. It was supported by sixteen square columns, cover'd with Corinthian work, in cedar, and fortified with double doors curiously wrought, that

their temple sack'd and burnt by Barbarians, and Jerusalem laid in the dust, 1 Kings ix. 2--9.

Solomon erects a royal palace, which was thirteen years a finishing, 1 Kings vii.

Solomon throne, 1 Kings

2 Chron. 1.

* An hundred cubits amounted to upwards of an hundred and eighty two feet; that is, sixty yards and two feet.

† Fifty cubits amounted to upwards of ninety one feet; that is, to thirty yards and one foot.

‡ Thirty cubits amounted to upwards of fifty four feet; that is, eighteen yards.

served both for the security and the ornament of the place. In the middle of this court, or hall, was another edifice of thirty cubits square, and under-set with strong pillars, in which quarter was a throne of state, where the king himself used to sit personally in judgment. Next adjoining to this royal court of justice, was the queen's house, and other apartments thereabouts, for diversion and retreat, after the fatigue of cares and business, all fitted up with cedar, and raised upon huge stones of * ten cubits square, which were partly plain, and in part overlaid with the most precious marble, after the fashion of the most magnificent of palaces or temples. The rooms were hung with three depths of rich hangings, and beautified with images, in sculpture of trees, plants, branches, leaves, &c. and all so miraculously wrought, that they appear'd to the eye to be all in motion. As to the remainder of the space up to the ceiling, it was all set out with delicate parti-colour'd figures, upon a ground of white; and then beside all these, there was a great variety of other chambers too, for retirement or delight; long and large galleries; vast rooms of state, and others for feasting and entertainment, set out as rich as rich could be, with costly furniture and gildings; beside, that all the services for the king's table were of pure gold. But it would be an endless work to give a particular survey of this mighty mass of buildings; so many courts and other contrivances; such an infinite diversity of chambers and offices, great and small; some under ground, others above, as vaults, turrets, and the like. In a word, the whole house was in a manner made up from top to bottom of white marble, cedar, gold, and silver, with precious stones here and there intermingled upon the walls, or ceilings, after the manner of the adorning of the temple. There was also erected a very fair, large, ivory throne, with delicate carved work and engraving upon it, after the fashion of a tribunal. There were six steps that led up to it; the figure of a lion at each end of every step, and two lions more above; that is to say, one on either hand of the state. As the king rested upon his throne, there were arms put forth, as in a readiness to take care of him, and to receive him; and the figure of a bullock placed in a proper posture under him for his support; the whole piece being cover'd all over with gold.

Solomon's throne,
1 Kings vii.

2 Chron. viii.
3.

THESE two magnificent structures were twenty years a finishing; and it was a huge mass of gold, and a greater of silver, beside a mighty provision of cedar and fir, that Hiram the king of Tyre contributed to the perfecting of the work; and Solomon was not behind hand with him neither in his acknowledgments and presents; for he sent him every year great quantities of corn, wine, and oil, as a supply that Hiram, being an islander, stood most in need of, as has been observ'd heretofore. He bestow'd upon him, moreover, twenty cities upon the borders of Galilee, not far from Tyre, which upon view and consideration (not being much to his liking) he fairly declin'd the acceptance of, with a respectful excuse to Solomon, that he had no need of those cities. From this refusal, that part of the

country was called † Chabalon, which with the Phœnicians is as much as to say, It does not please me.

HIRAM had so great a veneration for the wisdom of Solomon, that whenever he found himself at a nonplus for the understanding of any difficulty, or mysterious question, he applied himself to this wise prince for the solution of it, who never fail'd of answering him to his satisfaction, according to the true reason and nature of the matter in hand. The historian Menander, that turn'd the Tyrian annals out of the Phœnician tongue into Greek, makes mention of these two princes as follows:

"Hiram, says he, the son of Abibale, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Tyre. He liv'd three and fifty years, and reigned four and thirty. He annex'd a piece of forced ground, called the great field, to the island, and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter in his temple. He cut down materials also in abundance upon Mount Libanus, for the covering of holy places; and pulling down ancient temples, he built new ones to Hercules and Astarte. He erected a statue for Hercules in the month of Peritius; and then in an expedition against the Eyceans, for not paying the duty of a tribute, as they ought to have done, he overcame them, and returned home again. In his days there was one Abdemonus, a young man that took upon him to give Solomon, the king of Jerusalem, a resolution upon all dark and mysterious questions that should be put to him."

Dius writes also to this effect: "Abibale being now dead, Hiram his son succeeded him, who by filling up void places on the east quarter of the town, enlarged the borders, and brought the temple of Olympian Jupiter, that before stood apart, and at a distance, into the compass of the city; enriching and adorning it with golden offerings to a very great value; after which, he order'd the cutting down of cedars upon Mount Libanus for the use of holy places." He tells farther, "That Solomon, the king of Jerusalem, often sent problems and riddles to Hiram, upon the forfeiture of a great sum of money, if he failed of expounding them. Those difficult cases were afterward not only unriddled by Abdemonus a Tyrian, but new propositions started by him, which Solomon himself not being able to resolve, was obliged to refund the greatest part of the money." Thus far goes Dius.

THE walls of Jerusalem were not at this time in a condition either for the defence or reputation of so famous a city, so that Solomon repair'd and enlarg'd them, with the addition of such towers and other fortifications, as he found requisite for the securing of the place. He built several cities also of considerable note, as Asor, Magedon, and Gazara, in the land of the Philistines, which Pharaoh the king of Egypt had formerly taken by assault; and razing it to the ground, put every creature in it to the sword, giving it afterward to his daughter upon the match with Solomon. This city the king rebuilt, for the strength of its situation, and the use it might be of to the government, as well in war as peace. He built likewise, not far from thence, Betachora and

Many good offices be-
twixt Solo-
mon and Hi-
ram.

Hiram ap-
plies himself
to Solomon
for the solu-
tion of all
difficult cases.
Menander
makes men-
tion of these
two princes.

And Dius
speaks of
Hiram too.

Solomon re-
pairs, forti-
fies, and en-
larges the
walls.

* Ten cubits amounted to upwards of eighteen feet; that is, six yards.

† Bochart reads Chabulon in his Geogr. Sacr.

He builds five cities also, beside other places of pleasure, 2 Chron. viii. 2-6.

A fair city called Thadamora, *ibid.*

for a watering place.

All the kings of Egypt, from Memphis, to the days of Solomon, were called Pharaohs.

Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies king, and so the name denotes office,

as with the Ptolemies and Cæsars.

There were some stubborn Canaanites that refused allegiance to the Israelites. Solomon at length makes them tributaries, upon condition of furnishing so many slaves, 2 Chron. viii.

Baleth, beside other places of pleasure, in respect of the temperature of the climate, the delicacy of the fruits, and the conveniencies of excellent air and water. He possess'd himself after this, of the entrance into the desert that lies toward Syria, where he built a very fair city, two days journey from the Upper Syria, one from Euphrates, and six from Babylon. Now the reason of erecting a city here at such a distance from the habitable parts of Syria was this; that it might serve for a watering place (there being several springs and fountains in it) to those that travell'd through that desert. This town being built, wall'd, and strongly fortified, was called Thadamora, which name it bears among the Syrians to this day. The Greeks call it Palmyra; and let this suffice for the history of Solomon thus far.

Now in regard that I find many people inquisitive how it comes to pass, that the kings of Egypt, from Minæus the first founder of Memphis itself, which was long before our father Abraham, to the days of Solomon, being upward of thirteen hundred years, should be all called by the name of Pharaoh; and from what original they took their denomination, I shall give this plain and short account of it for their satisfaction. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian language, signifies as much as king. My opinion is, that they were brought up by other names; and that upon coming to the exercise of a publick character, they exchange'd the distinction of the family for the common name of power. It was the same thing with the kings of Alexandria, who were educated by one name, and govern'd by another; being all call'd Ptolemies, from the first of their kings; and so it is with the Roman emperors too, who in case of such an elevation, drop their private and hereditary names, and are all called Cæsars, with a respect to the character of a sovereign power. This was it, perhaps, that made Herodotus of Halicarnassus, in his account of the successors to Minæus the first king of Memphis, to reckon up three hundred thirty kings, referring to the number without mentioning their names, Pharaoh being one common name to them all. Now upon the coming of a woman afterwards to the government, he speaketh of her by the particular name of Nicaulis, the appellation of Pharaoh being only proper to the other sex. Neither do I find in the whole history of our nation, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, there was ever any other king of Egypt known by that name. I am also well assured, that this Nicaulis was the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, that came afterward to Solomon: but of this more hereafter. I have been the larger upon these particulars, to shew the harmony betwixt our memorials and those of the Egyptians.

THERE was still a stubborn remainder of the Canaanites, betwixt Mount Libanus, and the city Amathe, who for some time disputed their allegiance to the kings of Israel, till Solomon at last made them his tributaries, upon condition of furnishing him yearly with such a certain number of slaves, as was agreed upon to be employ'd upon tilling the land and other sorts of drudgery; for the Hebrews were not

upon any work that was coarse and servile, neither would it have been reasonable, when God had subdued so many nations to his power, for the conquerors to descend to do the business of their captives. As to the Israelites, their genius lay more toward arms, chariots, horses, exploits of war, and military exercises. The Canaanites in the mean time were held to their labour, and six hundred officers of the king's put over them, to appoint them their tasks, and keep them to their work.

THE king built a fleet of ships also in Ezon-Geber, an Egyptian bay upon the Red Sea. The port is now call'd Berenice, not far from the city of Elan, which in those days was reckon'd to be under the jurisdiction of the Hebrews. In the building, fitting, and rigging out of this navy, Solomon was highly obliged to king Hiram for his generous assistance; for he sent him as many expert pilots, and skilful mariners, as he had occasion for, that serv'd the king's officers for guides to the land of Ophir, since called India, or the Golden Land, where having got together * four hundred talents of gold, they returned with it to the king.

THE fame of Solomon's virtue and wisdom was so advantageously represented, upon this occasion, to Nicaulis the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, that being a princess of extraordinary understanding herself, and a person every way accomplished, the very glory of the character gave her a longing impatience to hear and see the king himself; for, says she to herself, what signifies all this hearsay, without experimental proof? Illustrious rumours speak but the sense or affection of the reporter; and after all, their splendid pretensions fall short, perhaps, and come to nothing in the conclusion. When she had been debating the point for some time in her own thoughts, she came at last to a resolution, in contempt of all the risks and difficulties of a long and tedious journey, to make him an honourable visit, for the satisfaction even of her curiosity, as well as of her inclination and judgment; and to enjoy the fruit and comfort of that wisdom she had heard such wonders of. In this determination she set forward toward Jerusalem, with a train and equipage suitable to her royal dignity, taking along with her a number of camels, laden with gold; a great variety of rich perfumes, and precious stones. Upon her arrival the king receiv'd her with all possible honour, courtesy, and respect; and with so much ease and clearness solved all the difficulties she propos'd, that it put her into an amazement to find his excellencies, in truth and effect, so much beyond what she had heard of them in fame and report. She stood in great admiration at the majesty and curiosity of his palace, the order and disposition of the building, and at the king's incomparable prudence upon the main, through the whole contrivance and conduct; but she was mov'd at nothing more than at the master-piece of that fabrick call'd the Grove of Libanon; the magnificent, and the regular course of his entertainments; the discipline and œconomy of the family, and the doing every thing with so peculiar a grace. She was likewise infinitely pleas'd with the sight of the daily sacrifices, and to behold

Solomon builds a fleet of ships. Hiram assists him to rig them and man them, 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.

Solomon's fame coming to the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, 1 Kings x. 1.

She takes up a resolution of giving him a visit, Ver. 2.

The queen sets forward for Jerusalem with a royal train, and with magnificent presents, *ibid.* Her reception is suitable to the quality and occasion. She finds the king's wisdom much above the fame of it, Ver. 3-5.

The queen looks upon the grove of Libanon as the master-piece of the whole fabrick.

* Four hundred talents in weight amounted to forty five thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds Troy, and their value in gold was worth two million one hundred and ninety thousand pounds English money.

The daily sacrifices, and the order of God's worship transports her beyond all the rest, 1 Kings x. 5.

The queen's address to Solomon, Ver. 6-9.

with what application, care, and veneration, the priests and Levites perform'd their part in the worship. The constant course and practice of this orderly reverence ran in her head day and night, and her heart was so set upon it, that the more she consider'd it, the more she found it to be still her wonder and delight; nor did she make any difficulty of owning as much to the king himself.

"GREAT prince, says she, the credit of reports is so doubtful and uncertain, that without a demonstrative and experimental confirmation of the truth of what we hear, we are forced to suspend our assent for want of knowing what to believe, especially where the fame of things biases toward either extreme of good or evil; but in the question of your incomparable faculties and greatness; that is to say, the internal advantages of the mind in a superlative degree of knowledge and understanding, and the glory of your outward state, the rumour has been so far from partial, that it falls short even of a common justice; for though common fate said as much to your honour as could be put in words, I have yet the happiness at this present time to see much more than I heard. Blessed are the Hebrews; blessed the friends and people of Solomon, that stand ever before him, and hear his wisdom; and blessed be God for his goodness to this land and nation, in placing them under the government of so excellent a prince."

HAVING proceeded thus far, this generous princess did not stop here at words and professions, but, as a farther instance of the high respect she had for the king, she made him a present of twenty talents* of gold, aromatick spices, rich perfumes, and precious stones, to a prodigious value. They speak also of a root of balsam that she brought with her, which (according to a tradition we have) was the first plant of the kind that ever came into Judea, where it hath propagated so wonderfully ever since. Neither was Solomon wanting, on the other hand, in a suitable return of whatever he thought might be to the queen's liking and satisfaction; for he denied her nothing, and was much readier to give, than she to ask, even to the preventing of her askings. After this reciprocal interchange of presents given and taken, the queen went back again into her own country.

ABOUT this time Solomon's fleet returned from Ophir, (otherwise called the land of gold) with stones for jewels, and pine-wood in abundance; the latter was made use of partly for pillars and supporters to the king's temple and palace, and partly for musical instruments, as harps, cymbals, psalteries, and the like, for the Levites to glorify God upon in company with their voices. It is to be noted, that for size and beauty, Solomon had never seen any of this sort of wood comparable to it before.

This was none of the wood that passes commonly upon the world for pine, in the way of trade, betwixt buyer and seller: this has somewhat of the grain of a fig-tree, only a little whiter, and more glossy. I thought it not amiss to advertise the reader of a common mistake, especially being a question that falls so naturally upon this occasion into Solomon's story.

THIS plate-fleet brought the king † six hundred sixty six talents of gold, over and above the merchants adventure, and what the governors and kings of Arabia sent him for presents. Of this gold he caused to be cast two hundred targets, weighing ‡ six hundred shekels of gold each; and these were all hung up in the great hall of the grove of Libanon. His drinking cups were all of beaten gold too, garnish'd with precious stones, and wrought with all the curiosity imaginable; and in short, the rest of his utensils were of the same metal. There was no trading with money in this case; for the king had his ships in the sea of Tarsus that merchandised with foreign nations; and in exchange for commodities of his own, brought him back gold and silver, great quantities of ivory, blacks, apes, &c. Going and coming, they reckon'd upon this expedition as a three years voyage.

THE reputation of Solomon's greatness and wisdom was by this time spread far and near, insomuch that several great kings, for their own satisfaction sake, were inflam'd with a longing desire to see him, and laid hold of all occasions, by their munificence, and other good offices, to shew the desire they had to serve him. They sent him gold and silver plate, purple robes, spices and perfumes of all sorts, horses, chariots, and mules for burden, such as for strength and beauty they thought might be most acceptable to the king; so that he had now an addition of four hundred chariots to what he had before; that is to say, a thousand chariots, and ** twenty thousand horses, that for beauty and speed were beyond all others; and for the better grace of the spectacle, they had the flower of the youth to ride and manage them. They were all proper goodly persons, in *** purple vests; their hair dishevelled and flowing, to the great advantage of their motion, and such an intermixture of golden threads with their locks, that the sun playing upon them, irradiated their heads with a kind of glory. This was the guard, which with their arms and quivers, attended the king's chariot (himself mounted in it, cloathed in white) to a house of pleasure he had at Ethan, not far from the city, which for the delicate gardens, walks, and fountains, and the fruitfulness of the place, he took great delight in.

THIS prince had it in his nature to be neat and curious, and his providence looked so far, that there was hardly any thing so minute as

The cargo of this plate-fleet; besides the merchants adventures and presents sent him, 2 Chron. ix. 13, 14.

His vast returns of gold and silver cost him nothing more than commodity for commodity.

Divers great princes presented him with gold, silver, purple robes, spices, horses, chariots, &c. Ver. 23, 24.

The royal magnificence of Solomon's guards, V. 25.

Rich and curious presents, Ver. 10.

Soon after this interview, the queen returns, Ver. 13. The arrival of Solomon's return-ships from Ophir.

* Twenty talents weighed two thousand two hundred and eighty one pounds, and three ounces; and their value in gold amounted to one hundred and nine thousand, and five hundred pounds English money; but in 1 Kings x. 10. and in 2 Chron. ix. 9. 'tis an hundred and twenty talents of gold.

† Six hundred and sixty six talents weighed seventy five thousand, nine hundred and sixty five pounds, and seven ounces, ten penny weights; and their value in gold amounted to three million, six hundred and forty six thousand, three hundred and fifty pounds English money.

‡ Six hundred shekels weighed eleven pounds, four ounces, seventeen penny weights, and twelve grains, and their value in gold amounted to five hundred and forty seven pounds, ten shillings, English money.

*** 1 Kings iv. 26. and 2 Chron. ix. 25. 'tis twelve thousand. See Bochart's Hieroz. lib. ii. c. 9. part 1.

** Bochart supposes that he describes them according to the fashion of his own times, ibid.

His providence descends from the building of palaces to the care of the highways.

1 Kings x. 27.

Never a more glorious, wife, and powerful prince.

The latter part of his life blasted the former, 1 Kings xi. 1-13. His lust made him mad upon women, ibid.

Strange women brought him to strange practices and opinions, ib.

As he grew careless of the true religion, he was more apt to embrace a false one, ibid. His bulls under the brazen sea, was a breach also of the law.

not to fall under his care. He provided for the very paving of the highways that led to his palace at Jerusalem, partly for the convenience of comers and goers, and partly for the honour of his own magnificence. He kept not many chariots about his person, but quarter'd them here and there by certain numbers in the adjacent towns; and these places were called his chariot-towns. Silver was as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones; and cedars, which had never been seen in Judea before, were now as common as mulberry-trees. He gave commission also to his Egyptian merchants to buy him a provision of chariots with two horses, at the price of six hundred silver drachmas * a-piece; and these were to be sent away to the kings of Syria, and beyond Euphrates.

Now as it is beyond dispute, that this king was hitherto the most glorious, pious, the most incomparably wise, and powerful prince that ever sat upon that throne; so is it no less certain, that he made the latter part of his life a scandal to the former, by departing from the precepts of Moses, and the laws and religion of his forefathers, and blasting so hopeful a beginning with so foul an end. The raging impotency of his lust after women, transported him beyond all bounds, and the women of his own country would not serve his turn neither; for he took indifferently women of all nations, Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, Idumeans, &c. quite contrary to the institution of Moses, which forbid the Hebrews any intercourse of marriage with strangers, wisely foreseeing that strange women would inveigle men over to strange gods too. And this was the true reason of the precaution against such marriages; for the violation of one law is but a step toward the breaking of another; and the taking of a prohibited wife does naturally lead to the embracing of a prohibited religion. But Solomon's sensual appetite was deaf to all counsels of sobriety and reason. He had no fewer than seven hundred wives that were princesses, (the daughter of the king of Egypt for one,) and three hundred concubines; and the passion he had for the charms of their conversation carried him into compliances with them in the impiety of their practices and opinions, as the most effectual earnest he could give them of his unchangeable tenderness and affection. As he grew more advanc'd in years, he felt the decay of age in his mind, as well as in his body, and still as he became more and more careless and remiss in the exercise of the true worship, he was the more easily prevail'd upon to join with these strange women in a false one; not that this was the first breach of the law that he was guilty of; for he had transgress'd the rule, in the very figures of his bulls under his brazen sea, and in the lions afterward that were set as a guard upon his throne; which was all directly against a positive institution. He had at the same time in his own family the most glorious president for honour and virtue, that was any where to be found, in the example of his blessed father, whose piety and practice was so expressly recommended to his imitation, that God inculcated the charge over and over to him in his sleep; and upon the pain of his uttermost displeasure, to be sure to

tread in his father's steps. This he neglected to do, and came, in the conclusion, to an ignominious end.

THE word of the Lord came after this to Solomon, by the mouth of a prophet, telling him, "That his wickedness was no secret, and he should not pass long unpunish'd; but in regard of a promise from Heaven, to his father, that he should have no other successor, the prophet told him that his government should not be taken from him while he was living; and that after his death, his son should suffer for the iniquities of his father; not that there should be an universal defection, but that ten tribes only should revolt, and the other two continue in their allegiance to the son of Solomon for his grandfather's sake, and for the sake of the temple at Jerusalem, which God had made choice of for the place of his habitation." These words wounded Solomon to the very soul, to see himself cast down in a moment from the highest pitch of all sublunary comforts and temporal glory, into the very depth of the contrary extreme.

SOME short time after this denouncing message by the prophet, God stirred up a bitter enemy against Solomon, whose name was Adad, an Idumean by birth, and a branch of the royal family; the ground of his animosity being as follows: When the Hebrews over-ran the country of Idumea, under the command of Joab, who at that time was David's general; Joab having subdued the people, put to the sword all the males he could find in the province that were able to bear arms, and this execution continued for six months. This same Adad, who in those days was but a child, made his escape to Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who not only received him with great humanity, but very generously gave him houses, lands, and revenues for his entertainment, and took such an affection further for him, upon his growing up into the world, that he married him to his own wife's sister, whose name was Taphines, who bore him a son that was train'd up with the children of Pharaoh. In process of time news was brought into Egypt, that David and Joab were both dead; and Adad upon these tidings desir'd Pharaoh's leave to return into his own country. The king, not well pleased with his request, ask'd him what he wanted, or what he meant by that earnestness to leave the best friend he had in the world? for he press'd it over and over, but could not as yet prevail.

SOLOMON being now in a declining condition, and the measure of his iniquity well nigh full and ripe for judgment, God put it into Pharaoh's heart, whom he had hitherto restrain'd, to let Adad return; so that he came forthwith into Idumea, with a design to stir up the people to a rebellion against Solomon. But finding the garrisons so strong, and the country in such a posture, that there was no possibility of success by a surprize, he took new measures, and went from thence into Syria, where he join'd interests with one Rezon, a fugitive from his master Adadazer, the king of Zobah, and a famous captain of a body of banditti, that made spoil and ravage up and

God foretold Solomon by the mouth of a prophet, that after his death his son should be punish'd for the father's sake, by a revolt of ten tribes, ib.

Adad a spiteful enemy to Solomon, Ver. 14. When Joab over-ran Idumea, he put all the males to death that were able to bear arms, Ver. 16. Adad, then a child, fled to Pharaoh, who protected him, and married him to Taphines, Ver. 18, 19.

Upon David's death, Adad desir'd leave to go back, Ver. 21.

Solomon was now declining.

Pharaoh gives Adad leave to return, who goes to Idumea, to stir up the people against Solomon, Ver. 22, 23. Adad finding no good to be done that way, goes for Syria.

* The Hebrew drachma was of the same weight with the Grecian and Roman, and its value was six pence three farthings and three fourths; six hundred therefore must amount to about seventeen pounds of English money.

Adad and Rezon master that part of Syria, 1 Kings xi. 24, 25.

Another conspiracy headed by Jeroboam, upon the encouragement of a prophecy, Ver. 26.

Solomon finding Jeroboam a promising youth, prefers him, Ver. 28.

The prophet Ahijah's discourse to him about the division of the kingdom, and his reigning over ten tribes, Ver. 29-39.

This prophetic prediction ran in his head. A plot laid to seize Jeroboam, and dispatch him; but he escapes, V. 40.

down at pleasure. Adad struck a league with this man; and with his assistance master'd that part of Syria, where he got himself to be declared king, and made so many inroads upon the land of the Israelites, that all things were in a confusion with blood and pillage, even while Solomon himself was yet living.

NOR were these affronts and indignities from a stranger all that the king suffered; for a more dangerous conspiracy was form'd against him at the same time, in his own kingdom, by Jeroboam, the son of Nebat; a man of a turbulent and ambitious spirit, and one who was possess'd with a notion that he had long since receiv'd from an old prophecy, of a strange part that he was to play in the overturning of the government. Jeroboam being left by his father very young, and under the tuition of his mother, Solomon took notice of him as he grew up towards man's estate, for a youth of promising parts, and made him overseer of his works, being at that time repairing and rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. He acquitted himself so well in that commission, that Solomon gave him the military command of the tribe of Joseph, as a consideration for his industry and service. As he was one day travelling out of Jerusalem about his business, the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, met him upon the way; and after the formality of a salute, took him aside, out of all sight and hearing, and there laid hold of the garment he had on, and rent it into twelve pieces, bidding him take ten of them to himself; for it was God's will and order that it should be so; "For he resolved, said the prophet, to tear the government from Solomon; and for his promise sake, to give the two contiguous tribes to the son of Solomon, and the other ten to you, as a just punishment for giving up himself to strange women, and to strange gods; wherefore since you see the ground of his rejection, let Solomon's miserable case be a warning to you, not to do the same things yourself that ruin'd him. Be just to all men; observe and protect the laws; imitate David's virtues of piety and religion, and you may promise yourself the comfort and enjoyment of David's reward."

JEROBOAM was not a little elevated with these words of the prophet; and being naturally of a very haughty and aspiring spirit, every little thing that gratify'd his ambition made him restless and unquiet. The prophetic prediction would not out of his head, and the first thing he did, after he came to the army, was to tamper with the people against their sovereign, and to set up for himself. But Solomon all this while was no stranger to the malice and practice of his designs; and there was a train laid to surprize him, and dispatch him; but the plot was discover'd, and Jeroboam escaped to Shishak, the king of Egypt, where he waited the death of Solomon, for a fair opportunity to revive his pretension.

CHAP. III.

The death of Solomon. Rehoboam discontents the people. Ten tribes fall off, and declare for Jeroboam, who seduces them to Idolatry. He officiates as high-priest. The prophet Jaddon reproves him. Jeroboam and Rehoboam do both forsake God.

SOLOMON, in fine, liv'd to a great age. He * reign'd eighty years, died at ninety four, and was buried at Jerusalem; the wisest and the richest prince that ever was heard of; and in all other respects the happiest, saving only the sin of his ungovernable passion for women, and of those dotages that he was led into, in his declining state, by their arts; of which misdemeanors, and the mischiefs that afterwards accrued to the Hebrews, I shall say more hereafter.

SOLOMON being now dead, and Rehoboam his son (by Naama an Ammonitish woman) succeeding in course to the throne, some of the grandees sent immediately into Egypt, to inform Jeroboam how matters stood, and to recal him. He came presently, upon notice, to Sichem; and Rehoboam came thither also, proposing to himself the calling of an assembly, and so to enter upon the government by the common declaration and consent of the people. Upon this occasion divers of the princes and leading men, together with Jeroboam himself, went to Rehoboam, and made him a discourse, by the way of advice and respect, how his father had laid too heavy burthens upon his subjects, and that they were in hopes they should find him easier; for it was his own interest and security so to be, and rather to make himself belov'd than fear'd. They recommended this humbly to his thought, and Rehoboam took three days time to consider of it. The delay of his answer gave them some jealousy what would be the result, especially in a case (as they understood it) so easy, and so necessary to be resolv'd immediately, and so well becoming the years and circumstances of a young prince to appear courteous and obliging in. But they were not, however, quite out of hope yet, since he had not given them an absolute and peremptory repulse; but, till he had considered of it, only for a short time suspended his answer.

WHILE this was a doing, Rehoboam advises with his father's friends and counsellors what answer to return them, who being both well affected to the publick, and well seen in the humour and disposition of the common people, advised him by all means to treat them with courtesy and condescension; for he would gain much more upon them by a popular freedom, they told him, than by standing stiff upon his points, in the formalities of majesty and state; there being no such charm upon the hearts of the people, as graciousness and humility in the prince. Nothing could have been said more to the purpose in general, or more especially to his purpose in particular, having a kingdom in his eye. But his under-

Solomon's reign, life, death, and burial, Ver. 42, 43.

Rehoboam succeeds him, ibid.

Jeroboam has notice in Egypt of Solomon's death,

2 Chron. x. 2.

He comes from thence to Sichem, and Rehoboam comes thither also, Ver. 1-3.

Some great men, with Jeroboam, advise Rehoboam not to bear so hard upon his people as his father did.

He takes three days time to consider of it, Ver. 5.

He consults his father's friends and counsellors, who advise him to gentleness and moderation, Ver. 6, 7.

* The account Josephus here gives us of Solomon's age and reign is most certainly false, as having the addition of forty years, not warranted by any authority of Scripture, which tells us that he came to the crown very young, and that he reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel but forty years. See 1 Kings xi. 42. and 2 Chron. ix. 30.

standing was taken away by a judicial infatuation, to such a degree, that he rejected their counsel, call'd a cabal to him of his own humour and years, told them what had pass'd, and demanded their opinion upon the whole affair. They took the point into debate, and whether for want of experience and foresight, or that God had blinded them, they came all to this agreement upon the question. Rehoboam was to tell them, "That since they complain'd of his predecessor, they should find his little finger heavier than his father's loins. If they thought themselves ill used formerly, they must expect to have him use greater severity towards them now; and that if his father had chastised them with whips, he himself was resolved to chastise them with scorpions." The king was so delighted with the mistaken majesty and dignity of this proud affronting answer, that upon the third day, when the people were gather'd together in the greatest anxiety imaginable, betwixt hope and fear of the doom they were to receive, some fancying one thing, some another, the king appear'd, and passing over the opinion of his father's counsellors, gave the people for answer, the very syllables that the young men had put in his mouth, the providence of God having so order'd it, that the prophecy of the prophet Ahijah might be fulfilled. These words were so many blows to them, and no less terrible in the hearing, than the dreadful things they threaten'd would have been in the execution; insomuch, that they all cried out in a rage, as with one voice, "What have we to do with the house of David? let him take to himself the temple that his father built." And the uproar look'd like a prologue to a general revolt. The sedition was so outrageous, that Adoram, one of the king's officers in the treasury, being sent out to pacify them by laying the blame upon the intemperance of some hot-headed young men, the people ston'd him to death, without so much as hearing him. Rehoboam look'd upon the malice of this violence to be levell'd at himself rather than against his officer; and he was much in the right; so that he presently mounted his chariot in a fright, and in a hurry posted away to Jerusalem, to get out of the reach of the mutineers. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, all as one man, stuck to him, and proclaim'd him for their king; but all the rest of the people went over to Jeroboam, and from that day forward would have nothing to do with the house of David. Rehoboam had so great an indignation at the thought of this revolt, that he summon'd a full convention of the two tribes that stood firm to their allegiance, and drew out one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers upon the muster, proposing to himself, with this body of men, to reduce the other ten tribes to their duty by force. While he was preparing for this enterprize, he was admonished by a prophet from God not to engage himself in a civil war, especially where the desertion was in some measure the work of a divine direction.

WE shall now in the first place give some account of the actions of Jeroboam, the king of the Israelites, and proceed from thence to the history of Rehoboam, and the two tribes, according to the order of the narration.

JEROBOAM built himself a palace at Sichem, which he made his place of residence; and for variety sake, he built another at Penuel. This was a little before the feast of tabernacles, which was the thing that put these thoughts into his head. "If, says he, I shall now suffer the people to go up to Jerusalem, and leave them at liberty for the celebration of that festival, they'll be so taken with the shews and ceremonies of the place, and of the religion, that they'll be in danger of changing their minds, perhaps, and of re-turning to their old king again, as well as to their old way; which may lead to the extreme hazard, even of my life as well as of my government." Now for prevention sake, he bethought himself of this expedient: He caused to be made two golden calves, and two temples to be built; the one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, which is a town situate at the head of the Lesser Jordan. These images were consecrated in both places, and indicting an assembly of the ten tribes under his command, he made a discourse to them to this purpose:

"I NEED not tell you, my countrymen, that God is every where, and not confin'd to any certain place; but wherever we are, he hears our prayers, and accepts our worship, in one place as well as in another; and therefore I am not at all of opinion for your going up to Jerusalem at this time, to a people that hate you. 'Tis a long tedious journey, and all this only for the sake of religion. He that built that temple was but a man, as every one here is; and the golden calves that I have provided for you, the one in Bethel, the other in Dan, are consecrated as well as that temple, and brought so much nearer you, on purpose for the convenience of your worship, where you may pay your duty to God in such manner as best pleases him. As for priests and Levites, I shall make such a provision for you, that you shall have no want, either of the tribe of Levi, or of the race of Aaron. Let him that has a mind to enter into the sacerdotal function, initiate himself into the priesthood by the sacrifice of a calf and a ram, according to the institution of Aaron, who was the first of that order, and only so qualified." This was Jeroboam's way of seducing the multitude into an Apostasy from the laws of their God, and of their country; and he himself, consequently, the capital cause and author of all those calamities that afterwards befel the Hebrews; as foreign wars, routs, captivity, and the like; of which hereafter in their due time and place.

THE festival of the seventh month was now drawing on, and Jeroboam took up a resolution to worship the same way at Bethel that the two tribes did at Jerusalem. There was an altar erected before the golden calf: he himself personated the high-priest, and went up with his own priests after the manner of the temple-worship. But as he was preparing to put fire to the offering in the sight of all the people, there came a prophet from Jerusalem in that very point of time, whose name was Jadon. He was sent by God, and being advanc'd into the middle of the crowd, he address'd himself in the king's hearing to the altar, in words to this purpose: "Altar, al-

Jeroboam builds him two palaces, 1 Kings xii. 25.

He deliberates upon the danger of letting the people go up to worship at Jerusalem, Ver. 26, 27.

He builds two temples, and sets up two golden calves, Ver. 28.

He consecrates the temples and the images. Jeroboam's plausible way of seducing the multitude.

A false prophet that Jeroboam favoured hearing: Jadon had done, and that he would return'd, lows him immediately overtake him, Ver. 13, 14.

He finds himself resting himself under oak, and invites him to a collation, ibid.

Jadon excites himself; for he was forbidden either to eat or drink in the city, V. 16. The false prophet tells him that he came from God to invite him, Ver. 18.

Jadon's prophecy address'd to the altar, foretelling the end of false prophets and seducers, 1 Kings xiii. 2.

Jadon's authority confirm'd by miracles, Ver. 5.

The withering of Jeroboam's arm, Ver. 4.

The wither'd hand restor'd, Ver. 6.

A false prophet that was Jeroboam's favourite, hearing what Jadon had done, and that he was return'd, follows him immediately to overtake him, Ver. 13, 14.

He finds him resting himself under an oak, and invites him to a collation, ibid.

Jadon excuses himself; for he was forbidden either to eat or drink in that city, V. 16, 17. The false prophet tells him that he came from God to invite him, Ver. 18.

tar, says he, thus saith the Lord, there shall arise one out of the house of Judah, whose name shall be Josiah; who upon thee shall put to death the false prophets, seducers, and impostors of those times, and upon thee shall burn their bones; and to the end that no creature may doubt the truth of this prediction, the authority of it shall be now confirmed by a prodigy. The altar shall fall to pieces, and the fat of the sacrifices upon it shall be spilt upon the ground." The king was so inflam'd upon these words of the prophet, that he lifted up his hand against him, and commanded aloud that some body should lay hold of him; but his arm was immediately so benumb'd and blasted, that it was like a dead limb, and he could not draw it back again. The altar fell to pieces, as was presag'd, and the fat of the sacrifices was thrown upon the ground, as the prophet had foretold. The king, finding by what spirit the man spoke, and that he was no counterfeit, besought him to pray to God on his behalf for the restoring of his wither'd arm; which being done, and the miracle wrought, Jeroboam thankfully acknowledg'd the benefit of the cure, and earnestly press'd the prophet to stay dinner with him, who excused himself upon an injunction that God had laid upon him, not so much as to taste either bread or wine in that city, nor to return the same way he came. This reserve and sobriety of the prophet made the king give more heed to what he said, than otherwise he should have done; so that he grew very uneasy upon it in his forebodings concerning himself.

THERE was in that town a certain false prophet, that was much in Jeroboam's good graces; not for the truth, (for he was a downright impostor,) but for the uttering of such prophecies as he knew were pleasing to his master, and subservient to his interest. This man was old and crazy; and as he lay at this instant dozing upon his bed, his sons brought him news of a famous prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and what wonders he had done; with the story of Jeroboam's wither'd arm, and the recovery of it at the prophet's intercession to God for him, and how he was now gone back again, and which way he went. The fame of this stranger created such a jealousy in the old man's head, for fear lest he should be supplanted in his master's favour, that he presently order'd his sons to saddle his ass, which was immediately done, and the man mounted, and posted away with all imaginable expedition to seek after the strange prophet. He follow'd him step by step, till he came up to him at length as he was resting himself under the shadow of a large spreading oak. After the formality of the first salute, the false prophet fell to expostulating with the other, why he would not be so kind as to call at his house, and do him the honour to take a collation with him. The stranger told him it could not be; for God had positively forbidden him either to eat or drink in that city. Nay, says the other, I can absolve you in this point myself; for I am a prophet as well as you, and we are both servants to the same God; and it is by that God's express command that I am come hither now to invite you to dinner with me. Jadon gave credit to this false wretch, accepted of his invitation, and so went

along with him. While they were yet at dinner, and in the freedom of table-discourse, God appeared to Jadon, and told him that he would not only punish him for his disobedience, but the very manner of his punishment; which was, that he should be torn to pieces upon the way by a lion, and that his body should not be buried in the sepulchre of his forefathers. It fell out accordingly, and perhaps God order'd it so, for the hardening of Jeroboam's heart, into a disbelief of Jadon, upon so remarkable a miscarriage; for in his way back to Jerusalem, a lion tore him off from his ass, and kill'd him; the ass untouch'd and standing still, the lion couching by the carcass, like a guard to both. The relation of this disaster being brought to the false prophet, by some travellers that pass'd that way, he appointed his sons to fetch the body into the city, which being done, he gave it a magnificent burial, charging his sons, whenever he died, to see his own body laid in the same monument; "For, said he, whatever this good man has spoken concerning the city, the altar, the priests, and the false prophets, it is all true. Now when I am dead, says he, and my bones deposited with his, I am safe; for who shall know his bones from mine?"

So soon as Jadon's funeral rites were well over, and the sons competently instructed, away goes their wicked father to Jeroboam; who finding him exceedingly disturb'd, ask'd him what he meant to trouble his head at that rate, for the words of a mad man? Well but, says the king, what do you think of the prodigy of the altar, and the miraculous loss and recovery of my arm? (telling him both the stories at length.) The man, says he, is certainly a man of God, and a true prophet, he could never do all this else. The other in the mean time did, in short, all he could to disguise the truth with plausible glosses and distinctions. As to the business of your hand, says he, 'tis very probable you had overwrought yourself, with carrying sacrifices to the altar. The very weariness made it numb at first, perhaps; but after a little rest, you see, it came to itself again. And so for the altar, it was new built; and not being thoroughly settled, it sunk under the weight of an insupportable burden of sacrifices that were laid upon it. And what was your holy man's end at last? Why he was kill'd by a lion; and here's not the least sign or token of a prophet all this while, that I can find, either in word, life, or death. The king was so poison'd and corrupted with the vanity and mockery of these loose insinuations, that from thence forward he had no longer any thought of God or goodness; but on the contrary, abandon'd himself wholly to the love, study, and practice of all manner of wickedness; and to such a degree too, that he did effectually bid defiance to all that was sacred, either in Heaven, or earth; making it his business to find out new sins, and in the event to outdo himself. But I shall pass now to Rehoboam, according to the order of the relation.

REHOBAM, being king all this while of the two tribes beforemention'd, built and fortified several strong and fair cities, as Bethlehem, Etan, Tekoa, Bethzar, Shoco, Adullam, Ipa, Maresha, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Ajalon, and Hebron, all in the tribe

Jadon goes with him, and God foretels him that a lion shall meet him by the way, and tear him to pieces, which fell out accordingly, Ver. 20-24.

The false prophet sends his sons for the body, and gives it a magnificent burial, Ver. 29-31.

The false prophet goes to Jeroboam, who tells him of the miracles Jadon had wrought.

The impostor shuffles them off, and ridicules them.

Jeroboam so abandon'd, that he never thought of God after, Ver. 33.

Rehoboam builds and fortifies several strong cities in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, Chron. of xi. 5-10.

These cities he garrisons and supplies with all manner of provisions, 2 Chron. xi. 11, 12. Priests, Levites, and laity come thronging to Jerusalem from all parts to worship, Ver. 13-17.

Rehoboam's wives and children, Ver. 18, &c.

A dissolute prince makes a licentious people, 2 Chron. xii. 1.

of Judah, beside other towns, no less considerable, in the lot of Benjamin, which he provided with good garrisons and governors, and with corn, oil, and other necessities in abundance, for their maintenance and defence; beside many thousands of shields and lances. While Rehoboam continued at Jerusalem, there came up from all parts, great numbers of priests and Levites, and so many of the laity too, as made any conscience of their ways, to worship there, quitting their countries to attend the duties of their religion. They were all sick of Jeroboam's tyranny, and to see themselves forc'd to the worshipping of his calves, to the dishonour of the true God. The discontent, in fine, was so great, that in three years time the power and interest of Rehoboam was mightily increas'd. This king's first wife was his kinswoman, by whom he had three children, and he afterwards married Maacah, the daughter of Thamar, who was the daughter of Absalom, by whom he had Abiah, and she was a-kin to him too. He had several wives beside, and children by them, but none so dear to him as Maacah. He had eighteen wives legitimate, and thirty concubines, by whom he had eight and twenty sons, and sixty daughters. But Abiah the son of Maacah was the person he design'd for his successor, committing his treasure and strong holds all to his trust. But it fell out to be with Rehoboam, as it fares commonly with other mortals; prosperity puff'd him up, and in time ruin'd him; for the greater he grew in the world, the more liberty he took to be wicked; and he did not only condemn God and his holy commandments himself, but made his people as wicked too, out of a kind of reverence to his example. It is but according to the nature of human affairs, for subjects to be deprav'd by the exemplary ill manners of their superiors; for the virtue, or the iniquity of the governor is, generally speaking, some sort of rule for the people to walk by; and it has the reputation of a kind of political virtue, to imitate the very vices of rulers. Not to do as they do, is tacitly to condemn their doings; as it happen'd under Rehoboam, where the people were wicked and licentious, for fear of displeasing the king.

CHAP. IV.

Shishak king of Egypt lays siege to Jerusalem. King Rehoboam meanly gives it up, and the temple is pillaged. Rehoboam dies, and Abias his son succeeds him. Jeroboam is foretold by the prophet Achias, of the utter ruin of himself and his whole family.

GOD avenged himself upon Rehoboam by the hand of Shishak the king of Egypt, not by Sesostris, as Herodotus mistakes the matter. This same Shishak, in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, marched against him with a vast army. They reckon'd twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot; the soldiers being most of them Africans and Ethiopians. With this army Shishak broke in upon the He-

brews, and took into his protection several of their strong towns, that render'd on their own accord. In all which places he left garrisons, and marched afterwards directly up to Jerusalem, where Rehoboam and his people were block'd up in the town. The king in this streight betook himself to prayers and supplications for victory over his enemies, but could not prevail for an answer to his satisfaction; and thereupon Sameas the prophet told him, for his greater terror, that God threaten'd to forsake all those that forsake him first; which frightened them all into an acknowledgment of their wickedness, and of God's just judgment upon them for their apostasy and disobedience. Being now brought to the uttermost extremity of despair, the prophet told the king once again, that God was pleas'd so far to accept of their humiliation and repentance, that they should not be utterly destroy'd and cut off, but only deliver'd up in subjection and slavery to the Egyptians, that they may learn upon experience, whether it be better to serve God or man. In this panick dread Rehoboam deliver'd up Jerusalem to Shishak, upon certain conditions, but without any regard to faith, or honour, he broke his articles, pillag'd the temple, took away all the plate and treasure, as well God's as the king's; gold and silver to an inestimable value, without leaving so much as one grain behind him. He carried away the golden shields and bucklers that Solomon had caus'd to be made, with the golden quivers that David took from the king of Sophena, and dedicated to the adorning of the temple. After which Shishak went back again with a prodigious booty. * Herodotus of Halicarnassus takes notice of this expedition, only mistaking the name, where he speaks of the king of Egypt's march thorough several other countries, and of subduing the Palestine-Syria without striking a stroke. Now this can only be understood of the conquest of our country by the Egyptians; for he tells of several pillars erected and left there, with the images of men cut upon them, with the privy parts of women, as an emblamatical way of stigmatizing the men for giving up their country without a blow. Now this Rehoboam was undoubtedly our king that gave up all for the asking. He says likewise, that the Ethiopians took up the custom of circumcising from the Egyptians. Now it is agreed on all hands, that the Philistines, and the Palestine-Syrians had it from thence; and it is as clear, that there are no other people in Palestine-Syria circumcised but ourselves. But of this every man has the freedom of his own thought.

AFTER the departure of Shishak into Egypt, Rehoboam repair'd the loss of the golden shields and bucklers, with the same number of brass, and committed the care of them to his proper officers and guards; and so he led his life in a private quiet way, without any considerable adventure, or undertaking, his fear being a continual check upon him, in regard of the continual feuds betwixt Jeroboam and himself. He liv'd seven and fifty years; seventeen of them in a station of sovereign power. He was a man, weak and arrogant, and lost himself, his government, and his reputation, by refusing wise counsel, when it was given

The king in his distress has recourse to prayers for victory. The prophet tells him, as he had forsaken God, God would forsake him, Ver. 6.

Rehoboam delivers up Jerusalem to Shishak, and Shishak breaks his articles, and carries away pillage to an inestimable value, Ver. 9.

Herodotus Halicarnassus makes mention of this expedition.

* Lib. II. c. ciii-cvi.

Rehoboam was buried at Jerusalem, and his son Abias succeeded him, 2 Chron. xii. 16. Jeroboam was a worker of iniquity, setting up altars in the high places, and making priests of the scum of the people, 1 Kings xiii. 33.

him. He was buried at Jerusalem among the kings. His son * Abias succeeded him, in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes.

AND now we have spoken of the end of this king, it remains in the next place that we shew what became of Jeroboam. He was a worker of iniquity out of all bounds and measure. He was every day setting up and multiplying altars in the high places, and appointing priests to officiate out of the dregs of the people; which indignities and affronts, God, in his righteous judgment, avenged upon himself and his family. It happen'd at that time, that † Obimes, his son, fell sick, and he bad his wife put herself into the disguise of a private person, and go to ‡ Achias the prophet, being a man fill'd with the spirit of prediction, and the person who told him formerly, that he himself should come to be king. "Go you," says he, to this prophet, and ask him if the "boy shall recover or no." She dress'd herself according to her husband's order, and so went to Shilo, where Achias at that time liv'd. As she was upon the way toward the house, a voice from Heaven spoke to the prophet, (who was now dim-sighted with age,) and inform'd him that the wife of Jeroboam was then coming to him; told him likewise her business, what questions she would ask him, and what he should answer. Upon her coming to the door in the dress of an ordinary guest, the prophet call'd to her by the name of Jeroboam's wife. "Come in, says he, and never disguise yourself for the matter; for he that told me who you are, and put the words in my mouth that I am to say to you, is not to be impos'd upon. Go therefore to your husband from me, and tell him, that thus saith the Lord God; As it was I that rais'd thee out of a low condition to the dignity of a throne; and cutting off the family of David from the kingdom, gave it to thee; so, on the other hand, in return for all these bounties and benefits, thou hast now most ungratefully cast off him that exalted thee, and set up gods of thine own fancy, and of the founders making, in preference to the creator of Heaven and earth, and in contempt of my majesty and power; wherefore I will now forthwith expunge thee and thy family out of the roll of mankind, give your carcasses to the dogs, and to the fowls of the air, and set up another king over my people that shall not leave one living man of the house of Jeroboam upon the face of the earth; and the very multitude shall not escape the stroke of divine justice neither; for they shall be exterminated out of the good land they were possessed of, and driven away, and dispersed beyond Euphrates, for being wicked after their king's example, in adoring his gods, to the contempt of me and my commandments. Make haste therefore to your husband, and tell him as I have told you; and for what concerns your child, you shall find it dead when you come back; for the very moment you enter the city he shall breath his last. He shall be lamented, and buried with the solemnity of a publick mourning, as the only person of Jeroboam's family that had any

"thing of good in him." The woman hasten'd away in a fright, upon what she had heard; and miserably bewailing the loss of her son all the way she pass'd, went straight to her husband; and the more haste she made, the sooner the child died; for being come to her journey's end, she found the child dead, as the prophet foretold her, and so gave her husband an account at length of the dismal story she had in charge from the prophet.

CHAP. V.

Abias the king of Judah gets a victory over Jeroboam king of Israel. Abias dies, and leaves Asa his successor. The death of Jeroboam. Nadab his son succeeds him. Baasha kills Nadab, and extirpates the whole race of Jeroboam.

JEROBOAM, in defiance of all these judgments, made great levies still, and marched out with an army against Abias the son of Rehoboam, who was then king of the two tribes in the right of his father; making little doubt of his success against a prince of so little experience, either in government or arms. But Abias was so far from being terrified at this preparation, that beyond all expectation from a person of his years, he presently drew together an army out of the two tribes, and advanced with it toward Jeroboam, in a certain place they called the || Mount Samaron; and there encamping himself, he made ready for a battle. He had in his army four hundred thousand men, and Jeroboam double the number. As the two armies were both drawn up, and ready to engage, Abias advanced to a little eminence upon a rising ground, and from thence held up his hand to obtain a silence and an attention to what he had to say; which was presently allow'd him, and the sum of his discourse was this:

"Good people, says he, you cannot be ignorant of God's promises, that this kingdom should be continued to David and his posterity for many ages. Now this being the very case, I cannot but wonder to see my father deserted, and Jeroboam, his subject, advanced into his place, and you yourselves in arms against the divine right of a government settled by God himself; and not content with that neither, unless you can force the rightful heir out of the small remainder that is left him, when Jeroboam hath already by violence and usurpation engrossed the greater part of the kingdom to himself. But he is not long to enjoy the fruit of his wickedness; for God will call him to a severe account for his iniquities, and put an end to this course of rapine and oppression, which he himself is so far from doing, that he makes it his daily business to continue and enflame a most impious sedition; and what was the true ground and reason now at last of this defection? My father never did you any injury, only by the advice of evil counsel, Jeroboam himself being in the bottom of it, he had the misfortune to give you an answer express'd in terms too harsh; upon which you all, in a great rage, abandoned

Jeroboam draws out an army against Abias, 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

Abias advances with an army to Mount Samaron, and prepares for a battle, Ver. 3;

Abias addresses himself in a speech to the Hebrews, Ver. 4-12.

Jeroboam's violence and usurpation, ibid.

* Scrip. Abijah and Abijam.

† Scrip. Abijah.

‡ Scrip. Achijah.

|| Scrip. Mount Zemarim.

Rehoboam's
want of years
and expe-
rience,
2 Chron. xiii.
12.

Reflections
upon the
golden calves,
altars, and
high-places,
ibid.

In this inter-
im Jerobo-
am sends a
detachment
to fall upon
the king's
rear, Ver. 13.

The priests
found a
charge, fall
on, and give
the enemy an
absolute rout.

Five hundred
thousand men
kill'd upon
the place,
and their
strong towns
taken, Ver. 14.
Abias dies,
and his son
Afa succeeds
to the go-
vernment,
2 Chron. xiv.
1.

" your duty not only to my father, but to
" God himself, and to his laws, and all things
" that are sacred. You should have weighed
" matters with allowances for human frailty;
" you should have consider'd that my father
" was a young man, and one that did not set
" up for an orator; you should have consider'd
" him again as the son of Solomon too, your
" royal patron and benefactor. Now all this
" together might have aton'd, methinks, for
" a few unguarded expressions; and it would
" have been but reason, to have born a little
" with the son, for the father's sake. But
" these are thoughts never came near your
" heart, I perceive; nor truly are they ever
" like to do, if a person may be allowed to
" judge by the army that is advancing against
" us. And what is it you have to trust to at
" last? If in your golden calves, your al-
" tars, and your high-places, 'tis not your re-
" ligious that you depend upon, but your wick-
" edness; besides that you have the laws of
" God and man to contend withal. Piety and
" justice will have the better of you in the
" conclusion; and you do manifestly fight
" against both in this cause, in fighting against
" us who have constantly asserted the worship
" and the reverence that we owe to the true
" God; not a god of wood, or stone, or the
" imposture of a wicked king upon a credu-
" lous multitude, but God the maker of all
" things, and of all things that are made, the
" beginning and the end; wherefore let me
" advise you to repent of your past sins and
" follies, and to betake yourselves to sounder
" counsels for the future; or if you must needs
" be contending, let it be for the defence of,
" and not in opposition to those laws that have
" made you so great and happy."

WHILE Abias was upon his harangue, Je-
roboam privately sent a detachment to attack
the king's rear, who came upon them so un-
expectedly, that his people were not a little
startled at the surprize, till he himself encour-
aged them, and bad them cast themselves up-
on God; for the cause, he told them, was his,
who was not to be over-reach'd by stratagem
or policy. These words of the king dissipated
their fears, and inspired them with courage
and resolution; whereupon, having first invoc'd
the assistance of God Almighty, the priests
founded the charge; at which, with a mighty
shout, they attack'd the enemy, and push'd
them so vigorously, that with the help of God,
they put them to a total, absolute rout, and
made such a slaughter, as cannot be parallel'd
in any history, either Grecian or Barbarian.
There were five hundred thousand men slain
upon the place; a victory never to be forgot-
ten: their strongest towns taken and plunder'd;
Bethel, and Ithen, with their dependencies.
After this blow, Jeroboam was so broken, that
he was never able to make any farther attempt
so long as Abias was living, who died not long
after in the third year of his reign, and was
buried at Jerusalem, in the sepulchre of his
ancestors. He left two and twenty sons be-
hind him, and sixteen daughters, which he had
all by fourteen women. Afa his son succeeded
him, whose mother's name was Maacha; and
under his government the Israelites enjoy'd a
ten years peace.

* The Scripture, 2 Chron. xiv. 8. says, two hundred and fourscore thousand that bare shields and drew bows.
† Scrip. Zerah.

THIS is all that we find written of Abias; Jeroboam
and after him died Jeroboam, the king of the
ten tribes, in the second year of the reign of
Afa, and the two and twentieth of his own.
His son Nadab succeeded him, and liv'd in a
kind of competition for prophaneness and im-
piety, with the character of his father, and
reigned only two years; in which time he led
out an army against Gabathon, a city of the
Philistines, being possess'd with an opinion that
he might take it by a siege; but in the mean
time he was cut off by the treachery of a fa-
miliar friend, whose name was Baasha, the son
of Machel, who seiz'd upon the government,
and destroy'd the whole family; which made
good the words of the prophet, "That the
" dogs should eat him of Jeroboam's stock
" that died in the city, and that the fowls of
" the air should eat him that died in the field."
This was the end of Jeroboam and his family;
and the judgment was just upon them for their
impious apostasy.

The end of
Jeroboam
and his fami-
ly, V. 27-28.

CHAP. VI.

*Afa the king of Judea was an excellent person.
He gave a very great overthrow to Zareus the
king of Ethiopia. The king of Damascus joins
against Baasha the king of Israel, who is mur-
der'd by Creon; and Elah, his son and suc-
cessor, assassinated by Zimri.*

AFA, the king of Jerusalem, was a man
so conscientiously strict, both in his re-
ligion, and in his morals, that he led a life,
in word, thought, and deed, in a most scrupu-
lous conformity to the laws of God and na-
ture. He rectified all that he found amiss in
his government, purg'd his dominions from all
extravagant lusts and foreign abominations.
He had a select body of men armed with lances
and shields, to the number of three hundred
thousand of the tribe of Judah; and of the
tribe of Benjamin he had two hundred and
fifty thousand with bows and bucklers. In
the tenth year of his reign, † Zareus, a king
of Ethiopia, marched against him with an ar-
my of nine hundred thousand foot, one hun-
dred thousand horse, and three hundred cha-
riots. When he was advanc'd as far as Marc-
sa, a city in the dependency of Judah, Afa
went out to meet him, and rang'd his army
not far from the city, in a certain valley cal-
led Saphatha. Upon the sight of so prodig-
ious a multitude of men, Afa called out to
God for his assistance, and that he would vouch-
safe to prosper his arms, and give him victory
over so formidable an enemy; for it was whol-
ly in a dependence upon his divine goodness
that he had now undertaken this enterprize;
concluding with an ejaculation, that he wholly
resign'd himself to his blessed pleasure, whose
power was more than sufficient to supply the
want either of strength or number. Upon
this prayer of Afa's, God was pleas'd to en-
courage him with a token and assurance of
victory.

IN this confidence Afa charg'd the enemy,
and with so great bravery, that with a mighty
slaughter, and a total rout, he pursued them
to the plain of Gerar; and there quitting the

pursuit,

Afa
Jeru
2 Ch
15.
Aza
them
their
2 Ch
2-7.
A di
upon
bless
obed
and
ger o
ing i
of re
ibid.

Baash
of the
lites,
Nada
the g
ment,
reign
years,
xv. 27

Gimon
proph
nounc
struct
Baash
his ra
1 Kin
1-4.

Baash
fible a
den'd.

Afa returns to
Jerusalem,
2 Chron. xiv.

15.
Azariah stops
them upon
their march,
2 Chron. xv.

2-7.
A discourse
upon the
blessings of
obedience,
and the dan-
ger of fault-
ing in matters
of religion,
ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

purfuit, he took and rifled Gerar itself, and likewise the enemy's camp, with a vast booty in gold, camels, flocks, and herds. Upon gaining this mighty victory, through the goodness of divine providence, the king returned with his army to Jerusalem, laden with the spoil. As they were upon the way, not far from the place, the prophet Azariah call'd to them to make a stand, and then told them as follows: "God hath been pleased, says he, to bless you with this glorious victory, in consideration of your justice, your piety, and your obedience to his will and commandments; and if you go on as you have begun, you may expect the same providential advantages and successes in all your affairs for the time to come. But if ever you depart from the precepts of your religion, you will find in all respects the clear contrary; and that the time will come, wherein there shall not be a true prophet among you, nor a priest answerable to the dignity of his function. Your cities shall be laid level with the ground; your nation scatter'd like vagabonds over the earth, without any seat or habitation that they can call their own; wherefore, says he, let me advise you while you have time, to apply yourselves to the study and practice of virtue; and finally, to join with thanksgiving in the acknowledgment and enjoyment of the blessings of God's favour." These words of the prophet were a great rejoicing to the hearts, both of king and people, who thereupon made it their express business, publick and private, one and all, to keep their religion sacred and inviolate, in the observance of the laws; in order to which end, the king had his commissioners every where up and down through his dominions, to attend that care and duty.

Baasha, king
of the Israel-
lites, kill'd
Nadab, seiz'd
the govern-
ment, and
reign'd four
years, 1 Kings
xv. 27, 28.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

THIS was the posture of Afa's affairs, the king of the two tribes. I shall now return to Baasha, the king of the Israelites; who, when he had kill'd Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, seiz'd the kingdom to his own use. This prince reign'd four years, and his palace was in Tarsish; a man, that for all sorts of lewdness and impiety, went beyond either Jeroboam or his son; a tyrannical oppressor of his people, and of a stubborn and contumacious spirit toward God himself; insomuch, that the word of the Lord came to * Gimon the prophet, commanding him to tell Baasha, "That God had fully determin'd to root out him and his family from off the earth, as he had done Jeroboam before him, for his ingratitude to that power and goodness that rais'd him to the throne, and for his tyranny and impiety in the exercise of his government, without any regard to righteousness or justice; two virtues that are, above all others, the most acceptable to God, and profitable to the people; telling him farther, that since he thought fit to make Jeroboam his example for all manner of iniquity, it was but reasonable to have him as exemplary in his misery and punishment." Baasha, after all these frightful denouncings, obstinately stood his ground, as if it had been a point of honour to affront his maker; and as if the prophet had rather promised him a reward for his

wickedness, that threaten'd him with the stroke of so dreadful a vengeance; so that he went on still, heaping sins upon sins, and strove every day to be worse than other, without any care or thought how to avert the judgment, and reconcile himself to God; nay, without the least motion or disposition toward amendment or repentance. In the conclusion, he march'd with an army to Ramath, a place of some note, and a matter of some † forty furlongs from Jerusalem. He took it, and fortified it, with an intent to make it the seat of the war, as a commodious station for the advantage of making inroads into the dominions of Afa. Now Afa was not without some apprehension of the tendency of his design; and computing with himself how great a danger the neighbourhood of so powerful an army might bring upon his country, he sent ambassadors presently to the king of Damascus, with money and presents, inviting him over to his alliance, out of a respect to the former friendship that had been betwixt those two families.

This king very willingly receiv'd the money and presents; broke off with Baasha, and enter'd into a league with Afa; sending an army some short time after, into the territory of Baasha; fell upon his towns and strong holds in that hurry; burning some, and rifling others, as Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen. Upon the news of this incursion, the king of the Israelites quitted Ramath, and went back to look to himself nearer home; but Afa erected two strong towns there out of the materials that Baasha left behind him; calling the one Gaba, and the other Maspha. This was the last of Baasha's military adventures; for he was cut off by Creon, and buried in the city of Arsan, his son Elah succeeding him; he himself being afterwards treacherously slain by Zimri, the master of one division of his horse, in the second year of his reign, as he was drinking with Ofa, the steward of his house; a troop of horse breaking in upon him, in the absence of his guards and officers, who were then abroad at the siege of Gabathon, a city of the Philistines.

He marches
against Ra-
math, takes
and fortifies
it, 1 Kings xv.
17.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

CHAP. VII.

Zimri murders Elah the king of Israel; and the army chuses Omri king. He sets fire to the palace, and burns himself with it. Abab succeeds to Omri, a wicked prince. Elias foretels his ruin. Jehu anointed king of Israel; and Hazael king of Syria. Naboth ston'd at the instigation of Jezabel.

ZIMRI, after this exploit, advanced himself from master of the horse, to the throne; and according to the prediction of Gimon, totally extinguished the whole race of Baasha; which was utterly rooted out for their wickedness, after the method of the destruction that befel Jeroboam. The news of the king's death coming to Gabathon when the army was before the town, and that Zimri, the assassin, had taken the government to himself, the army presently chose Omri, the captain of the guards, for their king, who raises the siege,

A league be-
twixt Afa and
the king of
Damascus,
who invades
Baasha's
country, Ver.
19, 20.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

* Scrip. Jehu, the son of Hanani.

† Forty furlongs, according to the measure of the ancients, amounted to just five miles, and were about four of English measure.

The army chuses Omri for their king, who takes Tirzah, 1 Kings xvi. 16. Zimri sets fire to the palace, and burns it over his own head, Ver. 18. Two factions, Ver. 21. Omri reign'd twelve years, Ver. 23. Samareon from Samer, Ver. 24.

Omri died at Samaria. Ahab his son succeeded him, Ver. 28.

Aha reigned forty one years, and his son Jehoshaphat came on next, 2 Chron. xvi. 23, 14 xvii. 1.

Ahab ruled twenty two years. His abode at Samaria, 1 Kings xvi. 29. A punctual imitator of Jeroboam, Ver. 33. Ahab takes to wife Jezabel, the daughter of Ithobal, Ver. 31. A woman of an impetuous, enterprising temper.

Jezabel has priests for her idol-worship.

and immediately goes away to Tirzah, and takes it by storm. Zimri finding the city without a guard, withdraws himself into a private apartment in the palace; sets fire to it, and burns himself and the house together: this was in the seventh day of his reign. All things were now in a confusion, and the people immediately divided into two factions; the one was for Thaman, and the other for Omri; but the latter carried it; for Thaman was slain, and Omri had the whole government to himself. This was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Aha; and Omri govern'd twelve years, six at Tirzah, and the rest at Marcon, which the Greeks call Samaria. He gave it the name of Samareon, from Samar, the man's name that sold the mountain whereupon it was built. He differ'd little from the former kings, but in the degree of being still worse; for they all made it their business to alienate the people's hearts from the love and service of God, by the repeated practices of daily wickedness; wherefore God in his wrath made use of them successively for the destruction of one another, till, in the end, the whole race was extinct. This prince died at Samaria, and Ahab his son reigned in his stead. In the course of this resolution we are given to understand how the wisdom and providence of God interposes in human affairs, in showering down blessings upon the righteous, and in the utter extirpation of the wicked; for the kings of the Israelites were in a short time cut off, with their whole families, by the hands of one another; only Aha the king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, liv'd happily, and in the favour of God, to a great age, in consideration of his piety and justice; and after a reign of one and forty years, departed this life with comfort. His son Jehoshaphat, that he had by Abida, succeeding him, and no less a successor to his father's virtues, than to his government, proposing to himself the holiness and the bravery of David for his example; as shall be shewn afterwards in its proper place.

AHAB, the king of the Israelites, fix'd his residence at Samaria, where he ruled two and twenty years without any innovation in the government, saving only where he made things worse than he found them. He was a faithful imitator of the worst of his predecessors in the worst of things, and most particularly of Jeroboam; not only in the worshipping of his golden calves, but in the multiplying and superadding of other heinous offences. He took to wife * Jezabel, the daughter of † Ithobal, then king of Tyre and Sidon, who drew him over to the idolatry of worshipping her country gods. She was a woman of a rash enterprising temper; and of so impetuous and ungovernable a spirit, that she had the confidence to erect a ‡ temple to Bel, the God of the Tyrians; to plant groves for superstition, of all sorts of trees, and to appoint her priests and false prophets expressly for that idolatrous service. Now these were a sort of people that the king was well enough pleas'd to have about him, being a man violently bent upon any daring or malicious wickedness, beyond all the kings his predecessors. There came to Ahab, about that time, a certain prophet, who was a Tishbite, and born in the city of Gilead.

His message was to tell the king, that from the time of his going away, there should not be one drop of rain, or so much as the least sign of a dew in that province, till he came back again; confirming his prediction with a strong asseveration that it should be so. So soon as he had deliver'd his errand, he went away to the southward, till he came to a torrent, where he might supply himself with water, and there he stopp'd for the present; the ravens, time after time, bringing him a supply of meat. The drought continuing and encreasing, the channel was dried up; whereupon God warned the prophet to remove to || Sareptha, which is a town betwixt Tyre and Sidon; a voice from Heaven foretelling him, that he should find a widow woman there that would feed and provide for him. He follow'd his order, and being come almost to the end of his journey, he espied a poor woman gathering of sticks, not far from the port, which woman he understood by a divine impulse, was to be his nurse; so he called to her to give him a little water to drink; and as she was going to fetch it, he spoke to her again to bring him a little bread too. The woman solemnly protested to him, that she had nothing in the house, but one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that she was now getting a few sticks for a fire to bake a cake of it for herself and her son; and when that was eaten, they must even starve; for she had not one bit more in the world. "Well, says the prophet, good woman, go thy ways with a good heart, and hope for better things, and bring me a piece of it when it is ready; for I do assure thee, that when we have all eaten our fill, thy barrel shall never be without meal, nor thy cruise without oil, till God shall send rain upon the earth." The woman did as the prophet bad her, and found his words to be true; for they had all three sustenance sufficient, and the provision was still recruited again as it wasted, till this miserable drought was over. Menander speaks of it in the history of Ithobal, a king of the Tyrians. "In his time, says he, there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that lasted from the month of Hyperberetæus, till the same month again next year. There were prayers indeed put up for the averting of the judgment, which were follow'd with mighty claps of thunder. This prince built Bo- trys in Phœnicia, and Auzates in Africa." This was undoubtedly the drought under Ahab; for it was in his reign that Ithobal was king of Tyre, as Menander has it in his commentaries.

AT, or about this time, the woman's son of the house fell desperately sick; and the mother, in a passionate extravagance of raging and exclaiming for the loss of her boy, laid the blame upon the prophet. "This man," says she, that I have entertain'd, hath discover'd my sins, and now brought this judgment upon me." The child being absolutely given over for dead, the prophet bad the woman comfort herself, and deliver up her son into his arms, with an assurance that he would suddenly restore him to her alive again. He took him up, and carried him into his chamber, laid him upon his bed, and

A prophet with a message to Ahab, that they should have rain till he came back, 1 Kings xvii. 1.

Elias fed by ravens, Ver. 6.

The widow of Sareptha, Ver. 10.

She relieves the prophet, without waiting her store, Ver. 15. Menander mentions this drought.

The prophet
raises a dead
child, 1 Kings
xvii. 22.

The prophet
sent to tell
Ahab there
shall be rain
suddenly,
1 Kings xviii.
1.

Ahab sends
Obadiah to
find out grass,
Ver. 5.

* Scrip. Eli-
ah.

Obadiah
meets Elias,
Ver. 7.
Elias bids
Obadiah tell
the king that
he is coming,
Ver. 8.

Ahab re-
proaches
Elias, as the
occasion of
this famine,
Ver. 17.

offer'd up a prayer to God for him. "Lord," says he, this will look like an ill requital to my preserver, to have her son taken from her while I am in the family. Be pleased in thy infinite goodness to restore this innocent creature to life again." God was pleased upon the prophet's supplication, beyond all thoughts or expectation, to restore the child to life again, that the poor woman might not have any misfortune to complain of while the prophet was in the family. The child, upon this prayer, was reviv'd, and the woman with great thankfulness to the prophet, found herself now fully convinc'd, she said, that he was authoriz'd and directed by the spirit of God.

THE prophet, a while after this, by the commandment of God, was sent to Ahab, to tell him that there should suddenly be rain. The famine was now so pinching all over the country, and so general a scarcity of all necessities for life, that not only the people were ready to starve for want of bread, but the very cattle also, and other animals upon the point of perishing, for want of food and forage; so parching was the drought every where. In this distress the king sent for Obadiah, the overseer of his stables and grounds, to come to him, and to search every where about the brooks and rivers for grass for his horses and herds; charging him by all means to get * Elias the prophet to him, whom they had been looking up and down for, but could not find him; so the king walk'd on, and bad his overseer to follow him; and when they had gone a while together, the king struck off into one way, and Obadiah into another. This Obadiah was a very good and holy man; and at the time when queen Jezabel was in the heat of her bloody persecution against the prophet, he concealed and protected a hundred of them in caves, and fed them with bread and water. The king and Obadiah were no sooner parted, but the latter met Elias upon the way; and finding who he was, by his answer to the question, he did him reverence. The prophet, after a while, desired Obadiah to go to the king, and tell him that he was coming. "Why what have I done," says Obadiah, to be sent of such an errand, to a person that is at this time looking after you to put you to death? "And there is no torment you are not to expect whenever he catches you. But what now, when I go to the king, if the spirit that governs you as it pleases, should carry you another way, and when you are not to be found, my head lies at stake to answer for you? Pray be not so indifferent in a case where my life is in so much danger. You may assure yourself, I do not want affection for your party, that ran the risque of preserving a hundred of your prophets from the rage of Jezabel, and to this day maintain them in caves upon my own account." "Well, says the prophet, fear nothing; but go to the king, upon my solemn oath, and promise that I will come to him." So soon as Ahab understood that Elias was there, he mended his pace, and in haste and indignation, advancing toward him, call'd out; "Are you," says he, at this day the troubler of Israel? "Are you the occasion of this drought and famine?" Elias told him, with liberty and assurance, that it was Ahab himself, and his

family, and their bringing in of foreign and false gods, and the suppressing of the true religion, that was the cause of all their misery.

"Pray, says the prophet, will you give order for all the people to meet in a congregation upon Mount Carmel, and let your own and your wife's prophets be there also, (expressing the very number of them.) Summon likewise the prophets of your groves, who are about four hundred, more or less." The king summoned them, and they met accordingly; Elias standing in the middle of the throng, and calling out to them after this manner: "How long, says he, will you stand wavering betwixt two opinions. If you believe ours to be the true and the only God, obey him, and keep his commandments; or if you are rather of opinion for the worshiping of strange gods, adhere to them only." The people making no answer to what he said, Elias went on, and proceeded to this challenge.

"If, says he, you have a mind to be certainly assured which worship is the right, here do I stand, a single prophet on the one side, to defend the cause against the four hundred on the other. I will take an ox and lay it upon a pile of wood, without putting any fire to it; let them do the same thing, and call upon their gods to set their pile in a flame. By this means you will be able to distinguish the true from the false." The people were well enough pleased with the experiment proposed, and Elias bad Ahab's prophets take an ox, as is said before, and call upon their gods by their names, giving them the precedency of being the first to offer up the sacrifice. When they had prayed, and call'd a good while, and without any effect, Elias turn'd their superstition to ridicule, and bad them cry out louder; for their gods might possibly be upon a journey, or asleep, perhaps. At this rate they went on, with outcries and exclamations, from morning till noon, cutting and lancing their bodies, after the custom of their way of worshipping, and all to no manner of purpose. Now when it came to the other's turn to sacrifice, and these phanatical priests were ordered to retire, Elias spoke to the multitude to draw nearer, and to view every where if they could find any fire that was secretly convey'd there. Upon their coming up, Elias took twelve stones to answer the number of the twelve tribes of Israel, and erected an altar out of them, cutting a deep ditch about it. The wood was fitted, and laid upon the altar; the sacrifice upon the pile, and four vessels of spring-water cast upon the altar; so that it ran off, and fill'd the trenches. When every thing was ready, Elias call'd upon God, and besought him to shew his power now for the conviction of a mistaken and unbelieving people. While the words were yet between his lips, there fell a fire, as from Heaven, down upon the altar, that in the sight of the people consum'd the sacrifice, and dried up all the water about the altar, and in the ditch. The Israelites, upon this prodigy, fell prostrate upon the ground, and agreed in the adoration of one deity; confessing him to be the great and only true God; and for the rest, they look'd upon them to be only the vain imaginations of weak men. The four hundred prophets were taken, and put to death by the command of Elias, who then bad the

Elias charges it upon Ahab himself, and his family, Ver. 18.

Elias directs a meeting upon Mount Carmel, and all Ahab's prophets to be there present, Ver. 19. The prophets meet accordingly, to the number of about four hundred, Ver. 20.

Elias puts the cause to an issue, Ver. 21.

The whole multitude give it for Elias, Ver. 39.

Elias orders the four hundred prophets to be put to death, Ver. 40.

king to go to dinner, without troubling himself any farther.

WHEN the king was gone, Elias went up to the top of Carmel, where he sat down upon the ground, and laying his head upon his knees, order'd his servant to get up to a rock toward the sea, and look about him, if he could see ever a cloud. He went up again and again, but still saw nothing; at last, after the seventh time, looking about him, he said he saw something blackish in the air, about the bigness of a man's foot. So soon as Elias heard that, he sent away immediately to Ahab, to make haste to the city; for he would be taken in a very great shower else; and by the time he was come to the city of Jezreel, the whole air was dark and overcast, and there fell immediately a very heavy rain. The prophet, in the mean time, by the special assistance of God, ran before Ahab's chariot, till he came to Jezreel.

Jezabel threatens Elias for the death of her prophets, 1 Kings xix. 2. Elias flies to Beersheba, Ver. 3.

WHEN it came to the ear of Jezabel, the wife of Ahab, what wonders Elias had done, and how he had kill'd all her prophets, she sent him threatening messages, that his life should answer for theirs. Elias, upon these menaces, fled to Beersheba, which is in the farthest part of Judea, and bordering upon Idumea; in which place he left his servant, and so went away into the wilderness, where he laid himself down, as a man weary of life, and calling for death. "Lord, says he, I am not better than those that are gone before me; and I find no temptations left me to the desire of longer life." So he laid himself down under a tree, and there fell asleep, till some body waken'd him, he knew not how, nor for what; and upon raising himself, he found meat and drink set before him, which he fed heartily upon, and in the strength of that refreshment he went forward to Mount Sinai, the place where, according to our tradition, God deliver'd the law to Moses. There was a large convenient cave there, which he enter'd into, with some thought of taking it up for his habitation. While he was there, the question was put to him, how he came to leave the city, and wander thus in the desert. He heard the voice distinctly, but whence it came he knew not. His answer was, that upon the killing of the false prophets, and preaching the doctrine to the people of only one God, and that God only to be worshipped, the queen for this crime threaten'd to have him put to death. He was commanded after this, by the same voice, to quit the cavern the next day, and receive his instructions how to govern himself for the future. The day following, he came out from his retreat; and immediately upon it, there was a great earthquake, and after the earthquake, the appearance in the air of a blazing fire, which fire was follow'd with a little pause of silence, and after that a still voice, bidding him fear nothing, for his enemies should not prevail against him; and so commanded him back again, by the way of Damascus, and there to anoint Hazael king of

Elias commanded to anoint Hazael king of Aram, Jehu king of Israel, and in his own room to anoint the prophet Elisha, Ver. 16.

* 1 Kings xix. 15. 'tis, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria.

† Scrip. Jezreel.

‡ In 1 Kings xxi. 21. there is mention made of no more than two witnesses.

the stroke of divine justice; and those that escaped the sword of Jehu, to fall by that of Hazael. Upon these words Elias presently returned according to his order, and found Elisha the son of Shaphat plowing, in company of others, with twelve yoke of oxen. He went to him, and casting his cloak over him, Elisha immediately began to prophesy, quitted his oxen, and presented himself to follow him; only desiring to take leave of his father and mother before he departed for good and all. This was granted him, and upon his return from his parents, he became thenceforward a disciple and companion to Elias; which shall suffice at present for the state of his affairs.

Elias returns, and finds Elisha at plow, Ver. 19.

Elisha begins to prophesy; leaves his oxen, and becomes a disciple of Elias, Ver. 20.

It happen'd that one Naboth of † Azar had a vineyard near the palace of Ahab, the king of Samaria, which lay contiguous to the king's grounds. Ahab had a mighty mind to take this parcel of land into his own gardens, and so was often soliciting Naboth to let him have it, either in exchange for some equivalent in another place, or otherwise for a sum of money. Naboth excused himself, that it being his inheritance, and in so particular a manner the gift of providence, he prefer'd it to any other the king could bestow upon him, and that he did not care to part with it, either for money or otherwise. This disappointment upon another man's estate, was as grievous to Ahab, as if he had lost his own; insomuch, that he fell sad and sick upon it; refusing to bathe as he was accusom'd to do, and forsaking his meat. Jezabel, upon this change, became very solicitous and inquisitive to know the true reason of so wonderful an alteration, that her husband should all on a sudden leave off bathing as he used to do, and forsake his meat; so that upon her importunity, he told her the story of Naboth, and how brutally and saucily he had behav'd himself. "I gave him, says Ahab, the most courteous words in the world, and in truth treated him, even below the majesty of a king; for which civility, in fine, all I got was, to be put off at last with a flat denial." The queen, on the other side, bad him be of good cheer, and give himself no farther uneasiness upon that account; for she would undertake to effect the matter herself, and make Naboth severely suffer for the affront he was guilty of. Hereupon she wrote letters in Ahab's name to the elders and chief men of Jezreel, to this purpose: "That they should proclaim a fast, call an assembly, and assign Naboth, upon account of his extraction, a place there among the principal men of the people; that they should have three ‡ witnesses ready, who would swear any thing, to give evidence against him, for speaking blasphemy against God and the king; upon which testimony he should stand convict, and receive sentence to be ston'd to death by the people." Every thing was done according to the queen's direction, and Naboth convict, sentenc'd, and ston'd to death. Jezabel instantly upon the news of this success, went to the king, and told him, that Naboth's work was now done, and that he might take possession of the vineyard when he pleased, without putting himself to the expence of paying for it. Ahab was so

The story of Naboth's vineyard, 1 Kings xxi. Ahab hath a mind to it, and Naboth will not part with it, Ver. 2, 3.

Ahab tells his wife the whole business, Ver. 6.

Jezabel undertakes it, Ver. 7.

An assembly called, Ver. 8-12.

Three witnesses swear blasphemy against him. Naboth convict, sentenc'd, and ston'd, V. 13.

overjoy'd

overjoy'd at what Jezabel told him, that the first thing he did was to take a journey to his new purchase: but God sent Elias to him in his wrath, to charge him with the murder of the true owner of that vineyard, and the iniquity of his usurping upon the possession. When Ahab saw the prophet coming toward him, he went to him with a voluntary confession in his mouth, and a tender of any satisfaction the prophet should require. This he did to prevent the other's taxing him with the fact. Elias told him, by the direction, and in the name of God, "That where the dogs "licked the blood of Naboth, they should "also lick the blood of Ahab and Jezabel; "and that his whole race should be rooted "out for this flagitious cruelty, in taking away "the life of an innocent man by calumny and "subornation." These words of the prophet brought Ahab to the sense of a true and sincere repentance. He mortified himself in sackcloth and fasting, going bare-foot, and giving all manifestation of a hearty sorrow for his sins; so that God sent the prophet once again to him with another message; and to let him know, that in regard of his penitence and humiliation, the judgment denounced should not be executed in his days, but in the days of his son it should all come to pass. Upon these words the prophet went his way.

The prophet's prediction of what should befall Ahab and his family, V. 17--24.

Ahab's true repentance repites the vengeance till the days of his son, Ver. 27, &c.

C H A P. VIII.

Adad besieges Ahab in Samaria, and is beaten off. He is worsted again the next year, and flies to Ahab for mercy; who treats him kindly, and dismisses him, which the prophet reproves him for.

Adad, with thirty two confederate kings, makes war upon Ahab, 1 Kings xx. 1.

Ahab keeps to his strong holds, and Samaria the chief, ibid.

Adad sits down before Samaria, ibid. and sends Ahab a summons, V. 2, 3.

Ahab's answer, Ver. 4. Adad sends a second embassy, Ver. 5, 6.

WHILE matters went thus with Ahab, Adad the king of Syria and Damascus levied a powerful army out of his whole kingdom; and being joined by two and thirty confederate kings beyond the Euphrates, he marched with this mighty force against Ahab, who did not think it reasonable, upon so vast an odds of number, to venture a battle in the plain field; but chose rather to draw his military men out of the open country into strong holds, and fortified towns, and to keep themselves upon the defensive. He himself made choice of Samaria for his capital, which he resolved to make good. The place was strong by situation, good walls, and good works about it, and a good garrison to defend it. The Syrian brought his army before it, and began in form to make his attacks, sending a herald to Ahab at the same time, for licence to dispatch ambassadors to him, with instructions to propose what he should demand. This was granted, and the ambassadors sent, and received; having a commission, as they said, to tell him, that his treasure, his wives, and his children, were all at Adad's mercy; and that if he would acknowledge as much, and permit the other to take what he thought fit out of them, he would instantly quit the siege, and withdraw his army. Ahab sent the ambassadors back with this answer; that he himself, and all he had was at their master's service. The Syrian, after this demand and return, sent yet another embassy; which was, that upon sending his officers and servants to him next morn-

ing, they should have free liberty to search all his own lodgings, with the houses and apartments of all his relations and domesticks, and to take away with them whatever they should think worth the while; and for the remainder, Ahab might keep it to himself.

This message was the less troublesome to Ahab, because it gave him a fair occasion of calling a council, and furnish'd him with matter for a very plausible and seasonable debate.

"Look you friends, says he, I have had two proposals sent me from Adad; the former for an acknowledgment that myself, my wives, and children, are all at his mercy; and upon the terms of such a confession, he was to raise the siege. Now all this I yielded to, as I would part with any thing of my own interest for the sake of the publick peace, and the common good of my people; but they are now come up to insist upon a general search and rifle, out of a mere captious humour to pick a quarrel with us; and nothing less, they say, will do. They began at first with my own particular concerns, out of an opinion I would have stuck there: but I am now to deliver up my country and my people also, which they know I will never do; and so that must be the quarrel of a war. But I am ready and resolv'd at last to do only what you shall advise me to." The council cried out upon the insolency of this Barbarian, with all the contempt imaginable, and gave their voices unanimously for a downright war; so the ambassadors were sent away with this answer;

"That the king would yet agree to their first demands; but that for the security and honour of the citizens, he would never consent to the latter." Adad was so enraged at this answer, that he sent a third embassy, which was much more peremptory and menacing than the former. "Tell their king," says Adad, that he values himself upon the strength and security of his walls; but that I will, before he is aware, cast up works that shall over-top them; and that it will be but every foldier a handful of earth to do his business;" giving to understand the incredible number of his people. To which Ahab replied, "That men of honour were to dispute with their swords, not with their tongues." Adad happen'd to be at supper with his two and thirty confederate kings, upon the ambassador's arrival with this answer; and he gave orders in the same moment for the siege and the works; and for the doing of every thing, in fine, that might conduce to the taking of the town. Ahab, in the mean while, and his party, were as much dispirited and hopeless as men could well be, till a certain prophet came to him, and dispersed his fears with an assurance from God, that he should prevail against that prodigious army. Ahab was now desirous to know by what hands this victory should be obtain'd.

"By the sons, says he, of the nobility, and you yourself at the head of them, to conduct them, and give your orders." So the king call'd them together to the number of two hundred and thirty two; and Ahab having information that the Syrian was in the height of his cups and luxury, the gates were thrown open of a sudden, and these young heroes made a sally. The information of this

Ahab calls a council upon it, Ver. 7.

Adad's propositions rejected, Ver. 9.

Adad sends a third summons, Ver. 10.

Ahab returns him a more contemptuous answer, Ver. 11.

Adad gives orders for pressing the town, Ver. 12.

Ahab assured by a prophet from God of a glorious victory, V. 13.

was

was no sooner brought to Adad, but he forthwith sent out a party toward them with orders, that whether they came to fight or to treat, they should bring them bound to him. Ahab in the mean time had the rest of his army in readiness within the walls, to issue out upon occasion. These great officers first engag'd with the guards, kill'd a great many of them, and pursued the rest up to their tents.

Ahab gives the Syrians a total rout, Ver. 21.

When the king of Israel found that they succeeded thus far so well, he issued out with the remainder of the army, and made a furious charge upon the Syrians; took them at unawares, and routed them without any difficulty, having only men in drink, and without arms, to deal withal; so that they were forced to run for their lives, Adad himself escaping with difficulty, by the swiftness of his horse.

A great slaughter, and a mighty booty, *ibid.*

They had, in short, the chase of them a great way, killing those they overtook; and so with a mighty rich booty of gold, silver, and rich equipages that they took in the tents, and the very chariots and horses of Adad, they march'd back again to the city. The prophet

The prophet cautions Ahab to provide for another encounter next spring, V. 22. Both sides prepare accordingly, Ver. 23-25.

however advised the king after all this, to have an army in readiness to take the field next spring; for Adad would give him occasion for it; so Ahab prepares vigorously for it on the one hand, and Adad calls his friends together on the other, with the remains of his broken army, to advise how to manage it. Adad's friends were against his fighting any more in the mountains; for the Israelites God, they said, was the God of the mountains; but if they had fought upon the plains, the Israelites would have been worsted. They gave counsel also for the discharging of the confederate princes from any further personal service and attendance; only their troops to stay, and be supplied with good officers at the head of them; and in the mean time, their commanders might be levying recruits of horse and foot to fill up their broken companies. The king was well enough pleased with this advice, and so applied himself to his preparations. In the beginning of the spring he march'd his army against the Hebrews, and pitch'd his camp in a large plain, not far from the city of Apheca. Ahab in the mean time, with his troops, advanced and drew up just over-against him, though by many thousands inferior to the number of the Syrians. While they were facing one another, the prophet came to the Hebrews, with an assurance from God, that they should be victorious, and that the enemies should find the God of the mountains to be the God of the vallies also. The armies continued for six days in the same station without moving; and upon the seventh they advanc'd on both sides in a line, and join'd battle. It was hard fought at first; but when the Syrians found that they were not able to stand the shock any longer, they turn'd their backs immediately, and every man shifted for himself, in a direct rout, with the Hebrews close at their heels. Betwixt those, in fine, that were slain upon the pursuit, and those that perish'd by misadventure in the confusion of their flight, by their own chariots and men, some torn to pieces, others trampled upon, and trod to death, the overthrow was very great. Those that got into Apheca, the only place they had to fly to, were not many, considering so mighty a body of men; and of them about seven and

Adad encamps upon a large plain near Apheca, and Ahab over-against him, Ver. 26.

The armies face one another for six days, and fight, Ver. 29.

The Syrians utterly routed on the seventh, *ibid.*

twenty thousand were buried under the ruins of the walls, besides a matter of a hundred thousand that were slain in the battle. ADAD, with some of his trustiest officers and servants, got into a cave, and hid himself, where some of those about him extolling the natural humanity and good nature of the Hebrews, upon the issue, advised their master to cast himself at Ahab's feet for mercy, in confidence that upon such an application and submission, it would not be refused him. The king agreed to try the experiment, and thereupon a certain number of his train were immediately dress'd up in the habit of suppliants and captives, cloathed in sackcloth, with halters about their necks, according to the custom of the country in such cases, and sent to Ahab with a commission to tell him, that Adad was his prisoner, and would ever own himself so to be; and that they came in his name only to implore his grace toward him for the saving of his life. "Well, says Ahab, I am glad he is safe; and you may assure him, that he shall be as welcome to me, as if he were my own brother."

Seven and twenty thousand buried under the ruins of Apheca, and about an hundred thousand slain in the battle, Ver. 30.

Adad, with some officers, lie hid in a cellar, *ibid.* Commissioners sent to Ahab in sackcloth and halters, V. 31.

Adad begs his life, and Ahab grants it, Ver. 33.

THE messengers, upon the solemnity of a sacred oath that no violence should be offer'd to his person, went away presently to their master in the cellar, and brought him out to the king of Israel, who was at that time in his chariot. So soon as the prisoner had made his obeisance, Ahab bow'd himself to receive him, taking him up to him with his right hand, and kissing him, giving him his faith and honour also for his absolute security and freedom. Adad, on the other side, returning as large acknowledgments, with repeated protestations, that this generosity and goodness should never be forgotten; and in the mean time, he said, he would restore again to the Hebrews all the cities and lands that had been taken from them, and that Ahab should be as free at Damascus, as ever the other's father had been at Samaria. Upon this they proceeded to the signing and sealing of a league, and the reciprocal interchange of oaths for the performance of covenants; and so Adad was dismiss'd, not without magnificent presents.

Ahab takes Adad into his chariot, and kisses him, *ib.*

Adad's acknowledgments, Ver. 34.

A league sign'd and seal'd betwixt them, *ibid.* Adad dismiss'd with magnificent presents.

AFTER this blow given to the Syrians, a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah, came to an Israelite, and bad him strike him over the head; telling him withal, that it was God's will to have it so; but the man refusing to do it, the prophet told him, he should pay dear for his disobedience; for he would come to be devour'd by a lion. This fell out accordingly; and the prophet, with the same words in his mouth, went afterwards to another, who immediately gave him a blow on the top of his head, that drew blood of him. Upon this he bound up his head, and went to the king with this story, that he was a soldier, and a certain officer had deliver'd him a prisoner to keep, who had made his escape, and he himself was now forc'd to fly for it, for fear the officer that committed him to his custody, should put him to extremities now for letting him go. Well, says Ahab, and he would serve you but right neither. Upon which words the prophet unbound his head, to give Ahab to understand that he that told him this story was Micaiah. He made use of this artful circumlocution to fasten the deeper impression upon him; telling him in the end, that God

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2 Chron. x
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Michaiah re-
proves Ahab
for letting
Adad go; and
tells him he
will be the
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ruin of his ar-
my, 1 Kings
xx. 42.
Ahab orders
Michaiah to
be impris-
on'd,
2 Chron. xviii.
25-27.

God would call him to a severe account, for letting go so impious and blasphemous a wretch as Adad, when he had him in his power; for the time will come, says the prophet, when this very Adad that you have now spar'd, shall be the death of you yourself, and the destruction of your army. Ahab was highly exasperated at this liberty of the prophet, and order'd him to be imprison'd; but he went home however with a heavy heart; for this dismal prediction gave him no small uneasiness.

CHAP. IX.

The piety, good fortune, and power of Jehoshaphat. His son Jehoram marries the daughter of the king of Israel, and joins in a war with Ahab against Adad.

2 Chron. xvii.

TO return now from the story of Ahab, and his affairs, to Jehoshaphat king of Jerusalem. This prince had not only enlarged his territory, and put garrisons into all the cities under his jurisdiction, but he had put men and governors into those also in the land of Ephraim, that his grandfather Abias had taken from Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes. This king never fail'd of God's blessing and protection in any of his undertakings; for he was a just and pious man, and not a day pass'd over his head, without doing some good thing or other that was acceptable to God. This integrity of his life and manners gave him a very high reputation among all the neighbouring kings, as appeared by the frequency and munificence of their presents, which not a little contributed to the advancing even of his fortune, as well as of his fame.

Jehoshaphat,
a pious
prince, Ver.
3, 4.

IN the third year of his reign, he called together the elders and the priests that were under his jurisdiction, and gave them orders to have commissioners sent from town to town, wherever he had to do, to attend the care of God's worship, and to see that Moses's laws might be duly executed and observed. This care of his for the preservation of their religion, was so great a satisfaction to all his subjects, that they were at strife among themselves, who should be foremost in the promoting of so excellent a work. And the princes every where about him all this while, had so great a reverence for him, that they liv'd in a fair understanding one with another, and an inviolate peace. The Philistines paid their ordinary tribute with punctual justice; and the Arabians their annuity of six hundred and thirty lambs, and the like number of kids. Jehoshaphat also fortified his great and strong towns, and kept in constant pay a well-disciplin'd army, to be ever in readiness upon occasion. Of the tribe of Judah there were three hundred thousand shield-bearers, under the command of Edra; two hundred thousand under Johanan; and of the tribe of Benjamin, two hundred thousand archers, under the same officers. There was another captain also, by name Ochobab, that commanded a hundred and eighty thousand men armed with bucklers; beside the soldiers that were dispersed into towns and garrisons. He married his son Jehoram, in fine, to Gotholia the daughter of Ahab, king of the ten tribes; and when he had an occasion to go to Samaria, he was most magnificently

received by Ahab; he, and all his military men about him, with corn, wine, flesh, and other provisions; and upon Ahab's entreaty, join'd with him in a war upon the king of Syria for the recovery of Ramath-Gilead, which had been taken, and was detained from him by that prince. Jehoshaphat having an army of his own, not inferior to the others, promis'd him his assistance, and sent for his troops from Jerusalem to Samaria, where both the kings went out of the town, and each of them sitting upon his throne apart, took a review of their forces, and paid the army. Jehoshaphat upon this occasion, was of opinion, if any of the prophets were to be got, to advise with them in this expedition against the Syrians, whether or no it might be a war at that time to be undertaken; for there had been a three years peace now betwixt those two kings, since the Syrian was taken prisoner, and set at liberty again.

Jehoshaphat
joins with
Ahab against
the king of
Syria,
2 Chron. xviii.

CHAP. X.

The prophets consulted about the war with Adad. Zedekiah tells Ahab that he shall be victorious. Michaiah the contrary. It comes to a battle, and Ahab the only man that falls in it; and Abaziah his son succeeds him in the government.

AHAB call'd his prophets together about him, to the number of about four hundred, and order'd them to enquire, whether or no they should be victorious in this war against Adad, and carry the city, which was the main point in question. The prophets were altogether for the war; for the Syrian, they said, should be overcome, and made a prisoner, as before. Jehoshaphat gave no credence to their words, but suspected them to be false prophets, asked Ahab what other prophets there were, that he might have recourse to, who made answer, that there was another indeed, (one Michaiah, the son of Imli,) but he hated the man; for he had prophesied ill success to his affairs, and given out that he was to lose his life in this action against the king of Syria; so that he had now put him in prison for his pains. But Jehoshaphat would needs have him sent for however; and an eunuch, one of the bed-chamber-waiters, was dispatch'd presently to fetch him. This messenger was telling Michaiah, as they were upon the way together, what the rest of the prophets said, and how they were all agreed upon it, that Ahab should be victorious. "Well," says the other, I must not prevaricate with him who made me; but by the grace of God, what message soever he shall think fit to put in my mouth, shall be most faithfully reported to the king." Upon the prophet's arrival, Ahab adjur'd him to speak the very truth of the matter, as he found it, without making it either more or less. "Why then," says Michaiah, I saw all Israel scatter'd and flying, and the Syrians pursuing them, as sheep that had no shepherd; by which representation God hath given to understand, that all the rest of the people shall return safe, and Ahab only fall in the battle." The king upon these words, turning to Jehoshaphat, "Well, says he, and do not you find it to be

Ahab consults
his prophets
about the war
with Adad,
Ver. 5.

Ahab's prophets promise
him victory,
and Adad a
second time a
prisoner, V. 6.

Jehoshaphat
sends for the
prophet Mi-
chaiah, Ver.
6-8.

Upon Mi-
chaiah's arri-
val, Ahab ad-
jures him to
speak the
truth, Ver. 13.
Michaiah an-
swers him by
an allusion,
Ver. 14.

Jehoshaphat
orders com-
missioners
from town to
town, to take
care of God's
worship, Ver.
7-9.

Jehoshaphat
highly ef-
teemed both
at home and
abroad, Ver.
10, 11.

Jehoshaphat's
army, Ver. 14, &c.

Jehoram, the
son of Jeho-
shaphat mar-
ries the
daughter of
Ahab,
2 Chron. xxi.
6.

"true now as I told you, that this man is my enemy?" "No, says Michaiah, the words that I deliver are according to the express direction and command of God; but you suffer yourself to be flatter'd by your false prophets into a war, upon the hope of victory, when you yourself are to fall in it." This firmness and resolution of the prophet made the king very uneasy.

Zedekiah a false prophet calls Michaiah an impostor.

ONE of the false prophets, whose name was Zedekiah, stepped out upon this occasion, and in contempt of Michaiah, advised the king not to give any heed to what the prating fellow said, for there was not one word of truth in it; and there needed no other proof of his being an impostor, than the prediction of Elias, who undoubtedly saw further into things to come than he did; for he had foretold, "That in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, (who was ston'd to death by his procurement,) in the field of Naboth, dogs should lick the king's blood also. Now this is a most palpable falsity, in contradiction to the prediction of a prophet of much greater authority than himself; for he will have it, that within the compass of three days, the king is to fall in the battle; but it shall be quickly seen, says the prophet, by what spirit this man speaks. I will now give him a box on the ear, and let my hand wither upon doing of it, as Jeroboam's did upon lifting up his hand against Jadon, when he would have had the prophet taken into custody, if what he delivers to you be from Heaven. I take it for granted that you have heard of the story." Upon the uttering of these words he struck the prophet; and Ahab finding that no judgment or mischief follow'd upon it, was harden'd in his resolution upon this war, by the strange force of a fatality, that made him give more credit to false prophets, than to true ones; and so disposed of causes, that they might be followed with suitable events. Zedekiah then made him horns of iron; and, says he, under the figure of these horns, is signified by God, the pushing, and the breaking of all Syria. Michaiah, on the other hand, telling the false prophet, that in a very short time he should be call'd to an account for the vanity and falsity of his pretensions, and be driven from one hiding-place to another to save himself. Ahab was so exasperated at this liberty, that he appointed * Achamon, the governor of the city, to take him into strict custody, and to feed him with only bread and water, till he should return.

It comes to a battle, Ver. 29.

THE two kings, upon this, advanced with their troops toward Ramath, and the king of Syria hearing of it, went out to meet them. It was agreed upon betwixt them, that Ahab should put himself that day into the disguise

of a private habit, and the king of Jerusalem Ahab in a disguise, *ibid.* appear in his royal robes, the better to evade the dint of the prophet's presage. But a providential fatality found out the king, though without any distinguishing marks about him of his regality; for Adad gave a strict charge to his officers and commanders to fight, neither with small nor great, but with the king of Israel. The Syrians, upon the first push, seeing Jehoshaphat at the head of the army, immediately press upon him, taking him for Ahab; but when they found their error, they went off, and left him. They kept the field from morning till night, the one flying, and the other pursuing, but not one drop of blood spilt all this while; they only hunting after Ahab, and still not finding him. But, in the end, one of Adad's domesticks, Aman by name, drew an arrow at a venture, that struck the king through the joints of his armour into his very lungs. Ahab was willing to keep it private, for fear of discouraging his men; and so spoke to his charioteer to carry him a little out of the army, for he was mortally wounded. He kept his chariot, however, till about sun-setting, though in great pain and torment, and then betwixt agony and weakness with the loss of blood, he expir'd; and the night coming on, the Syrians withdrew to their tents; and so soon as ever they were advertised by a herald of Ahab's death, the camp broke up, and every man departed to his own home.

Jehoshaphat taken for Ahab, V. 31

Ahab receives his death's wound by a chance arrow, Ver. 33.

Upon Ahab's death the camp breaks up, 1 Kings xxii. 36.

THE king's body was carried to Samaria, and there interr'd; and upon washing the blood off from the chariot in a fountain near hand, the prediction of Elias was verified; for the dogs licked up the blood, and the place was afterwards made use of for common women to bathe in. He died at Ramath, according to the prophecy of Michaiah; so that for the greater honour and authority of the revelation, the presages of both the prophets were made good, to the eternal shame and confusion of fawning and time-serving impostors, that square all their judgments to their profit; and instead of telling us from God what we are to believe and do, give us effectually to understand what we are not to believe or do. Upon this occasion I cannot but reflect upon the insuperable necessity of our fate, which is not in this world to be avoided, even though it should be foreknown. But we suffer ourselves to be egg'd on with vain and foolish hopes, till we are hamper'd irrecoverably in the snare. This was the ruin of Ahab; he would not believe those who told him the unpleasant truth of things, but lost his life by a fatal credulity toward those who betray'd and humour'd him. This was his end, and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead.

Ahab was flatter'd and humour'd out of his life; and Ahaziah his son succeeded him, Ver. 40.

Jehu r. Jehoshaphat for siding with Ahab, 2 Chron. 2.

Upon Jehoshaphat's pentance God pardoned him.

He settled religion, statutes, and magistrates, 4, 5.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK IX.

From the Year of the World 3048 to 3224.

CHAP. I.

Jehoshaphat gets a great victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians. The wickedness and death of Abaziah, as Elias had foretold it. Jehoram his brother succeeds him, who with the assistance of Jehoshaphat, and the king of Idumea, overthrows the king of the Moabites. The death of Jehoshaphat.

Jehu rebukes
Jehoshaphat
for siding
with Ahab,
2 Chron. xix.
2.



Upon Jeho-
shaphat's re-
pentance,
God pardons
him.

He settles re-
ligion, con-
stitutes ma-
gistrates, Ver.
4, 5.

UPON Jehoshaphat's return to Jerusalem, after his joining with Ahab against Adad, the prophet Jehu met him, and gave him a rebuke for espousing the quarrel of so impious and flagitious a wretch as Ahab. He told him how highly he had offended God in that alliance; but yet that he was graciously pleased, for the good that was in him, to pass over what he had done amiss, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies. Upon this admonition, the king reconcil'd himself to God by prayers and sacrifices, appointed a general visitation through all his dominions, with orders for instructing the people in the laws of Moses, and in the religion of their forefathers. He also appointed magistrates in all their great towns and places, giving them charge to administer justice to all men indifferently, to the poor as well as to the rich, without any respect to profit, favour, or affection; and, in fine, to discharge their duties, as in the sight of an all-seeing God that

knew the very thoughts of their hearts. When he had taken care for the establishment of good order and manners in the several cities of the two tribes, he return'd to Jerusalem, where he constituted judges out of the most considerable of the priests and Levites, enjoining them, by the way of precaution, to do justice impartially to all the people; or if there should arise any controversies of more weight than ordinary in any of their neighbour-cities, that they should be brought to them for judgment, that they should not pass sentence, without all possible care and consideration; for it would be a most scandalous and dishonourable thing not to do punctual and accurate justice in a city where God had establish'd his temple; and the king, his palace. He chose the chief magistrates out of the number of his own friends; as Amariah the priest, and * Zebediah, of the house of Judah.

It was at this time, that the Moabites and Ammonites made war upon Jehoshaphat, assisted with a mighty army of auxiliary Arabians, and encamped at Engedi, a city near the lake of Asphaltites, about three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem, and a place famous

He appoints
Amaziah for
holy matters,
and Zebediah
for civil, Ver.
11.

The Moa-
biters, Ammo-
nites, &c.
make war up-
on Jeho-
shaphat,
2 Chron. xx. 1,

* Wherein 'tis to be observed, that Amariah was constituted a judge in ecclesiastical affairs, and Zedekiah a judge in civil affairs; of which see Selden de Synedr. Hebr. Lib. II. c. viii. p. 244, 245. Ed. Amstel.

Jehoshaphat calls an assembly, and prays before the temple for a blessing upon his arms, 2 Chron. xx. 6-12.

for balsam and palm-trees. When Jehoshaphat understood that they had pass'd the lake, and broken into his country, he was not a little startled at the surprize, and presently order'd an assembly to be call'd; and then standing before the temple, he betook himself to prayers, for God's blessing upon his arms against so powerful an invader; which was but according to the form and practice of our forefathers, upon the first institution of that holy place; who, whenever they found themselves in danger of being over-run by a foreign enemy, caused all the people to meet in a full congregation to implore God's assistance toward the repelling of that violence, and for the maintenance of that inheritance which the Lord in his infinite bounty had bestow'd upon them, and their enemies would take away by force. Jehoshaphat mingled his prayers with tears, and the joint supplications of the whole multitude, with their wives and children, went along with them.

A prophet starts up in the middle of their devotions, Ver. 14, 15.

As they were in the fervour of their devotions, there started up a certain prophet in the middle of them, whose name was Jahaziel, crying out to the people, that God had heard their prayers, and would fight their battle, in favour of the religion they profess'd; appointing them, upon this, to be in readiness the next day to march towards their enemies, whom they should find encamped betwixt Jerusalem and Engedi, at a certain ascent, known by the name of Sis, which in Hebrew is as much as an eminence; telling them farther, that they should not need to strike a stroke, but only to stand looking on, as unconcerned spectators of an action wherein God would fight for them. After this declaration, both king and people fell prostrate upon their faces; gave thanks, and worshipped; the Levites in the mean while accompanying their hymns with musical instruments.

Victory promis'd them without striking a stroke, Ver. 16, 17.

The king, early next morning, went into the desert, under the city of Tekoa, where he admonished the multitude to put their trust in God according to the prediction of the prophet, and that there was no need of ranging themselves in form of battle, but only to set the priests with their trumpets in the first line, and the Levites with their singers, and so to move cheerfully forward, with musick and thanksgiving, as upon a day of victory, or deliverance from a common enemy. They were all highly satisfied with the king's advice, and soon after they put it in execution; for God struck the Ammonites and their allies with such a panick terror and consternation, that falling foul upon one another, the outrage was so furious against their own people, that of so many thousands of soldiers, there was not one man left alive. When Jehoshaphat came to take a view of the valley where the enemy was encamped, he found it all cover'd with dead bodies; never so easy and so absolute a victory gain'd without either sweat or blood; so that Jehoshaphat, in a transport of joy for so unexpected a blessing, gave his soldiers the pillage of the camp, and the spoil of the dead, which was so prodigious great, that it cost them full three days to carry off the booty.

A victory obtain'd without blood, Ver. 22, 23.

The booty so great, that it cost three days to carry it off, Ver. 25.

On the fourth day all the people gather'd together in a deep craggy valley, called the valley of Beracha, where they praised and blessed God for all the works of his power

and mercy. From hence it was that the valley took its name, which is as much as to say, the valley of blessings; and it is so called to this very day. The king led his army from thence to Jerusalem, where he pass'd several days in sacrifice and feasting. The fame of this miraculous victory possess'd all foreign princes and nations wherever it came, with such a reverence for the sanctity and piety of Jehoshaphat, that they look'd upon him as a person for whom God had a peculiar kindness, and kept up the same opinion of him to his dying day. But he was yet a friend all this while to the son of Ahab, king of Israel, and went shares with him in the setting out of ships for the traffick of Pontus and Thrace. But the design miscarried, to their very great expence and damage; for the vessels were not of a make and size for those seas; so that, in short, what with one thing and another, whether through ill conduct or foul weather, they were all cast away, and so the project fell to the ground, and was never afterwards revived. Let this suffice for the history of Jehoshaphat.

This action mightily advances the reputation of Jehoshaphat, Ver. 27-29.

Jehoshaphat a constant friend to Ahaziah, Ver. 35, 36.

AHAZIAH, the son of Ahab, and the king of Israel, had his royal palace in Samaria. He was a very wicked and prophane man, and one that altogether adher'd to the principles of his father and mother; beside a certain emulation that he had to out-sin Jeroboam himself, the capital seducer of Israel. In the second year of his reign, the king of the Moabites revolted, and absolutely refused to be any longer subject to the tribute he had formerly paid to his father. It happen'd that Ahaziah had a terrible fall down stairs one day, as he was passing from an upper chamber, that endanger'd his life. He was very ill upon it, and sent to the god of the people of Accaron*, or the fly (as they call'd him) to know whether he should live or die. Upon this occasion the God of the Hebrews commanded the prophet Elias to go presently and meet the messengers, and to ask them whether the Israelites had not a God of their own; and if so, there was no need of consulting a strange god in the case; and therefore they had e'en best go back to the king, and tell him that he should not recover. The messengers immediately took their errand from Elias, and with all expedition hasten'd with it to the king, who was in great admiration at the quickness of their return; and enquiring farther into the matter, they told him of a man they met, who bad them go no farther, and withal charging them to tell their king in the name of the God of the Israelites, that his illness was mortal. The king was very earnest and particular with them to describe the man; so they told him, he was a hairy man, with a leathern girdle about him. By this description the king presently concluded this person to be Elias, and so dispatch'd away an officer with fifty soldiers to take him into custody. The commander found him upon the top of a mountain; and so call'd him down to go along with him to the king; for that was his order, he said; and if he would not go by fair means, he would make him go by foul. Elias told him, that to shew him the difference betwixt a true prophet and a false, he would now convince him by a prodigy, that he was no impostor. "If I am a man of God, says he, let fire come down

Ahaziah had his palace in Samaria, 2 Kings i. 2.

Ahaziah the very image of Jeroboam, and seducer of Israel.

Ahaziah being in danger of his life by a fall, sends to consult the god Accaron about his recovery, ibid. * Scrip. Ekron.

Elias meets the messenger, and bids him tell the king he shall die, Ver. 3, 4.

The king sends an officer to seize Elias, Ver. 9.

Elias calls for fire from Heaven to consume the officer, Ver. 10.

A second fiercer fer the fam rand, a froy'd the fam ner, 2 K i 11, 1 A third fier wa Ver. 13

Elias go along w him,

and tells king tha illness w his death Ver. 15

Ahaziah without and leav kingdom his broth Jehoram impious prince, 17.

Elias is slated lil Enoch, 2 Kings

No acco of Elias death. Jehoram solves to war upo king of Moabite 2 Kings 6-8.

Jehosh joins wi him, an detakes the king Idumea,

A second officer sent on the same errand, and destroyed after the same manner, 2 Kings i. 11, 12. A third officer was sent, Ver. 13.

Elias goes along with him,

and tells the king that this illness will be his death, Ver. 15, 16.

Ahaziah dies without issue, and leaves the kingdom to his brother Jehoram, an impious prince, Ver. 17.

Elias is translated like Enoch, 2 Kings ii. 11.

No account of Elias's death.

Jehoram resolves to make war upon the king of the Moabites, 2 Kings iii. 6-8.

Jehoshaphat joins with him, and undertakes for the king of Idumea, V. 9.

“from Heaven, and devour thee and thy family.” Upon which prayer a fire descended, and consumed them all. The tidings of this dreadful judgment came no sooner to the king's ear, but in a rage he sent another officer, with the same number of men, and upon the same errand. The captain said the same things over again, used the same menaces, and they were all destroyed after the same manner. After this the king sent yet again a third officer with his party. Now the man being a person of candour and civility, when he came up to Elias, he saluted him with respect. “I need not tell you, says he, that I am under command; that I come upon this errand unwillingly, as they did likewise who came before me; wherefore I beseech you be pleased out of pity to me, and my soldiers about me, to come down willingly, and follow us to the king.” Elias was so much moved with the modesty and good-nature of the man, that he went down and followed him. When they had brought him into the king's presence, the spirit of God came upon him, and he freely told the king, “Thus saith the Lord; since you have an opinion of me that I am no God, nor able to foretell what will be the issue of your distemper; and that you have rather chosen to send to the god of the people of Accaron for your satisfaction, know for certain that it will be your death.”

In some short time this prophecy was fulfilled; and Ahaziah dying without issue, Jehoram his brother reigned in his stead; a man no way inferior to Ahab for a vicious and irreligious course of life; for he delivered himself up wholly to strange gods, to the scandal and dishonour of the religion of his forefathers, though otherwise a man of industry, and well enough qualified for business.

It was in his time that Elias was taken away from the conversation of men, and no manner of account given what became of him even to this day; but he left Elisha, his disciple, behind him, of whom we have spoken already. We find in holy writ the same thing attested of Enoch before the flood, as well as of Elias here, and that they were both taken away; but no mention made of the death of either of them.

UPON Jehoram's coming to the throne after his brother, he resolved to make war upon Mesha the king of the Moabites, for refusing to pay the yearly tribute of two hundred thousand unhorned sheep, upon the account of what was formerly paid to his father Ahab; wherefore he began with levying an army at home, and after that solicited the assistance of Jehoshaphat (upon the account of his having maintained an alliance with his father) to join with him, who not only promised for himself, but undertook likewise to engage the king of Idumea, having some tie upon him, in the party. When Jehoram came to understand how well he was like to be seconded, he went forthwith to Jerusalem, where he was splendidly received and treated by the king of the place. Being there in council, the ways and method of the expedition were taken into debate, and 'twas agreed by common consent for the army to steer their course through the desert of Idumea, where the enemy would be least aware of the design. The three kings, that is to say, of Jerusalem, Israel, and Idumea, put themselves

upon their march, according to the resolution of the council; and when they had wandered up and down for the space of seven days, they fell into great distress for want of water, both for man and beast, till they were all within a very little of the uttermost extremity of despair. Jehoram especially, who called out to God in an expostulatory way of impatience, “What have these three kings done, says he, to be delivered up captives to the king of the Moabites, without the hazard of a battle?” Jehoshaphat, on the other hand, as became a pious man, spoke comfortable words to Jehoram, advising him to enquire, if there were ever a prophet in the army to ask counsel of God what was to be done under their circumstances. A servant within hearing, told them that he had seen Elisha the son of Shaphat there, the disciple of Elias; and upon this information, the three kings, at the persuasion of Jehoshaphat, went and found him out. When they came to his tent, which was a little out of the camp, they asked him what would become of the army; Jehoram especially, with a great deal of earnestness. Why, says Elisha to him, you should have gone to your father's and mother's prophets for satisfaction, without troubling other people; they would have resolved you right no doubt. Jehoram importuned him still, intreating and praying for an answer, if it were but for the saving of so many men's lives that were ready to perish. Elisha swore solemnly to Jehoram, that if it were not for the sake of Jehoshaphat, who was a good and a pious man, he should have had no answer from him at all. And upon this he ordered a musician to be called, and as he was singing, the spirit of God came upon the prophet, who spoke to the kings to make several ditches in the channels of the torrent. “And, says Elisha, you shall see them all flowing with water, without either wind or rain; water sufficient for yourselves and your cattle, to all manner of purposes. Beside that, henceforward you shall never feel any more drought; and this is not all neither; for God will bless you yet further still, for by his grace and help you shall overcome your enemies, and scatter them, and ruin their plantations; lay their country waste, and dam up their rivers and their fountains.” The next day before sunrise, after these words of the prophet, there came down from Idumea, three days journey from the place, an impetuous torrent upon a mighty fall of rain, so that there was no longer any want of drink, either for horse or man. WHEN the king of Moab understood that these three kings were advancing against him by the way of the wilderness, he raised all the force he was able to make, to meet them upon the borders, for fear of any inroad upon him by surprise. The two armies were by this time not far from the land of Moab, when the rising sun striking upon the torrent, made the water look so red, that the Moabites took it for blood, vainly imagining, that the three kings had fallen to destroying one another in a rage for want of water, and that this torrent was a stream of their blood. In this confidence they went to their king only for permission to rifle the enemy's camp, taking it for granted, that it was all abandoned. Upon their application, they obtained leave to break

The three kings of Jerusalem, Israel, and Idumea, march toward the desert of Idumea, and are in great distress for want of water, Ver. 9, 10.

They ask Elisha, the disciple of Elias, what will become of the army, Ver. 12-19.

Elisha promises them water and victory, ibid.

Water supplied by a violent torrent, Ver. 20. These kings being upon their march, the king of Moab advances to meet them, Ver. 21.

The Moabites take the water of the torrent for blood, Ver. 22, 23.

The Moabites scatter'd and cut to pieces,

and their country laid waste, 2 Kings iii. 25, &c.

The king of Moab sacrifices his son. The kings relent upon this horrid spectacle, and break up the siege, *ibid.*

The death, age, and burial of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem, 1 Kings xxii. 30, and 2 Chron. xx. 31.

in upon the enemy's pillage, and so in confusion and out of order, with great precipitation advanced to the enemy's camp, as if there needed no more to the gaining of the booty, than the taking of it up; but they quickly found their mistake to their cost; for they were set upon on all hands in the attempt; part killed, and the rest so scatter'd, that they had much ado to make their way home again. The kings, in the mean while, made an incursion into the land of the Moabites, destroy'd their towns and cities, drove away all their cattle, and cover'd all the turf with the sand and gravel of the torrent; cut down the best of their woods and trees, dam'd up the springs and fountains, and levell'd their walls to the ground; nay, the king himself was forc'd to take sanctuary in a town, where he was afterward besieged; and in such danger of losing it by an assault, that he attempted a sally with seven hundred horse upon the enemy's weakest quarter, to break through their body; but failing in his attempt, he was forc'd into the town again, where he enter'd upon the most horrid barbarous action that the uttermost distress or despair could put a man upon. He took his eldest son, the next heir to the government, and sacrific'd him to God upon the walls, in the view of the enemy's army. The kings reflecting upon the force of an abandon'd desperation, together with the vicissitude of human affairs, and considering it were their own case too, were soften'd to such a degree of compassion, that they broke up the siege upon it, and every man returned to his own home. Jehoshaphat was at ease after this expedition, but he did not long outlive it. He died at Jerusalem in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign; and he had in that city a most magnificent burial, such a one as might become the imitator of David.

CHAP. II.

Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat succeeds his father. Elisha works miracles. Adad besieges Jehoram in Samaria. The miraculous raising of the siege. Hazael strangles Adad, and usurps the kingdoms of Syria and Damascus. The execrable impieties of Jehoram, and the dreadful judgment that Elisha denounces against him.

Jehoram, the eldest son of Jehoshaphat, succeeds his father, 2 Chron. xxi. 1.

Obadiah shelter'd an hundred prophets against the outrage of Jezabel, 1 Kings xviii. 13.

JEHOSHAPHAT left behind him several sons; and Jehoram the eldest of them, by his father's appointment, succeeded him in the kingdom. He bore the same name with his mother's brother the king of Israel, and the son of Ahab, who was then but newly return'd to Samaria from the war with the Moabites, and brought Elisha with him. The holy scriptures make mention of several memorable passages of that prophet, which I shall account well worth the taking notice of in this history. The wife of Obadiah, Ahab's steward, applied herself to Elisha, and told him, that he was no stranger to the outrageous violence of Jezabel against the prophets, and how her husband conceal'd and preserv'd a hundred of them from destruction, and took up money upon his own credit to feed them while they were in the cave; but that her husband being now dead, the creditors threaten'd

to make slaves of her and her children for the debt; wherefore she entreated him for her husband's sake to procure her some present relief; so the prophet ask'd her what she had in the house, who said she had nothing at all, but a little oil in a cruise. The prophet then bad her go borrow as many empty pots, or vessels, of her neighbours, as she could get, and keep her chamber-door shut, and put oil into all those vessels; for God would fill them all. The widow did as she was order'd; and after the distributing of the oil, she came back again to the prophet, and gave him a particular account of what she had done, who advis'd her to sell the oil, and discharge the debts; for there would be somewhat remaining, after satisfaction given to the creditors, for the relief of her children. By this means she deliver'd herself from a troublesome obligation.

THE prophet one time having got notice of a conspiracy against the life of Jehoram, and that Adad had treacherously planted an ambush to surprize him, he gave the king intelligence of it, with a caution to have a care of such a certain place, where the Syrians had laid a plot to entrap him. This precaution kept the king from going a hunting, and disappointed the plot. But Adad was in such a rage when he found his malicious contrivance defeated, that he fell to storming and railing at his own domesticks, for a company of traitors, threatening them with no less than death itself, for discovering a design that no other persons were privy to but themselves. Some body made answer, that he had no need to accuse his own friends and domesticks of treason, or suspect any of the party he had sent to intercept the enemy, had betray'd his counsels, so long as he had Elisha for a spy upon him, that lay perpetually prying into his ways and actions, on his master's behalf; and he had the faculty of diving into the most secret of his designs. The king presently sent his scouts abroad to enquire after Elisha, and to learn where he was; and word was brought him, that he might be found at Dothan. Upon this intelligence he immediately dispatch'd away horsemen and chariots to apprehend him. They went and beset the town by night, so that there was no passing, either out or in; and early the next morning, a servant of the prophet's ran trembling to his master to tell him the news, how the town was begirt with a body of the enemy that were come to take him. Elisha bad him have a good heart, and fear nothing; for his trust and confidence was in the goodness and power of an overruling providence; and so he prayed to God for some special token of his presence and protection, that might confirm his servant in a fearless resignation to his holy will and pleasure. The prophet's prayers were heard, and there appeared forthwith, in the sight of the servant, a multitude of horses and chariots round about Elisha, as a guard upon his person. The consideration of this succour, as the servant understood it to be, put him out of all fear of any further danger for his master.

AFTER this vision the prophet pray'd once again that God would cast a mist before the eyes of these people, and strike them with such a blindness, that they might not see him, so as to discern him from another man. Upon the granting of this request also, Elisha cast himself

Elisha precautions Jehoram of a plot upon him by Adad, and saves his life, 2 Kings vi. 8, 9, 10.

Elisha is beset in Dothan, 1 Kings vi. 13, 14.

Upon Elisha's prayer a band of armed men are seen in the air, as a guard upon his person, Ver. 17.

Upon Elisha's second prayer, Adad's soldiers are struck blind, Ver. 18.

Adad besieges Samaria, bringing great misery, 25.

The soldiers ask Elisha himself where to find Elisha, 2 Kings i. 19.

Elisha leads them into Samaria, *ibid.*

Upon Elisha's third prayer, the Syrians are restored to their fight, and find themselves in the hands of their enemies, Ver. 20.

Jehoram, by Elisha's advice, leaves the soldiers at liberty, V. 23.

Adad lays siege to Samaria, and brings it to great extremity, Ver. 24, 25.

self into the middle of their troops, and so went from one to another, asking them for what, or for whom they fought. They told him, for Elisha the prophet. Well, says Elisha, do but follow me to the place where he is, and you shall have him; so these men that were blinded in their understanding, as well as in their eyes, went after him without any difficulty or scruple, till at last he brought them into Samaria. Upon their entrance into the city, the prophet bad Jehoram cause the gates to be shut, and the Syrians to be surrounded. Elisha, upon this occasion, offer'd up a third prayer; which was, that God would restore the Syrians to their fight again; whereupon the Syrians eyes were open'd; and to their great astonishment and admiration, they found themselves coop'd up in an enemy's town, in the hands, and intirely at the mercy of their adversaries.

WHILE the Syrians were at a stand upon this unaccountable surprize, and at their wits end what to do next, the king propos'd to the prophet the putting of them all to death, which he absolutely oppos'd, as a way of proceeding that would not stand with his honour and justice; and only to be allow'd of in cases where men are overcome in battle. But these were people, he told him, that were guilty of no act of hostility upon his country, and only brought thither by the will and power of God, without any malicious intention, or but so much as the bare knowledge of what they did; and therefore the prophet gave his opinion for the treating of them with hospitality and respect; and after such a generous refreshment, leaving them to their own freedom.

Jehoram took the prophet's advice, gave them a splendid and a liberal entertainment, and so sent them back again, unhurt and safe, to their master. They gave the king, at their return, so particular an account of this wonderful story, that his conscience was struck, upon the hearing of it, with a conviction, that the hand of God was manifestly in this prodigy, and that what the prophet deliver'd in the name of God, was no other than the dictate of a divine inspiration. So that after this time, Adad never enter'd into any secret practice against the king of Israel; but resolv'd, however, to make open war upon him, in confidence of his greater strength and numbers.

UPON the taking of this resolution, Adad rais'd a mighty army, and march'd with his whole force against Jehoram; who finding himself too weak to venture his all upon the push of a field-battle, kept himself within the walls of Samaria, where he had good works and defences to trust to. It was a strong place, and Adad in some doubt whether to attempt it by assault, or by famine; but, however, siege was laid to the town, and the garrison reduc'd to so miserable a scarcity of provisions, that an ass's head was sold for * fourscore pieces of silver, and a † pint and an half of pigeon's dung

(for seasoning) for ‡ five pieces. There was nothing the king feared so much in this extremity, as lest some body or other should betray the place to the enemy, under the force and necessity of an insupportable famine; so that Jehoram every day visited the walls and the guards himself; took care that no spies should enter privately into the town, and had a vigilant eye upon all motions and under-hand practices whatsoever.

As the king was attending his business, there came a woman crying to him for help; and Jehoram supposing she had come to beg of him, turn'd her off with a kind of an angry rebuke; "I have no barns nor wine-presses, says he, and what have I left me to supply your wants?" The woman told him she did not come to beg his meat, but to implore his justice, and to desire that he would do her right in a controversy betwixt herself and another woman. The king ask'd her what it was, and she told him; "Sir, says she, a certain neighbour of mine, and myself, that were ready to die for want of food, came to an agreement betwixt ourselves, having each of us a little male child, to eat our children by turns, barely to keep life and soul together. Mine was kill'd and dress'd yesterday, and she had her part of it; and now I should have my part of her child, she breaks her word with me, and has hid him." Jehoram, in a raging passion of grief and horror, rent his garment, raving and crying out, that he never knew what it was to be perfectly miserable, till that instant; and all this might have been prevented, says he, for a word speaking, if the prophet would but have interceded with God for me, on my behalf; but, says he, I'll have his blood for it; and in that heat dispatch'd away an officer to cut off his head, who in the same moment set forward upon that commission.

THIS outrageous displeasure of the king's was no secret to Elisha, who told his disciples as he was sitting with them at home, that Jehoram, that son of a murderer, had sent an officer, who was then upon his way, to take off his head; wherefore, says he, do you watch and observe him; and when he comes near the house, be you sure to shut the door upon him, only to put him to a little stand till the king himself shall come up, who hath now chang'd his mind, and is hastening after as fast as may be to prevent mischief. They watch'd as they were directed; shut the door upon the men when they came, and kept them out till Jehoram appeared himself, who made all the haste that was possible, for fear of being too late to countermand the execution of the order, and to save the life of the prophet.

UPON the king's coming to Elisha, he fell to reproaching of him, that he could have the heart to see him and his people in so many extremities of distress, without putting up one prayer to God for their relief. The prophet

Two women covenant to eat their children by turns, Ver. 28, 29.

Jehoram imputes this misery to Elisha's not interceding for them; V. 31.

Jehoram gives order to cut off Elisha's head, *ib.*

Jehoram changes his mind, Ver. 32.

The king goes to Elisha, *ibid.*

* The pieces here meant were Drachmæ; and the Hebrew Drachma was equivalent to the Roman Denarius, which according to Dom Calmet, and the best authors, weigh'd two penny weights, six grains, and three fourths, and was in value, six pence three farthings, and three eighths; fourscore therefore must weigh nine ounces, two penny weights, and twelve grains, and in value amount to two pounds, five shillings, and seven pence half penny, English money.

† The word we have here translated a pint and an half, is, in the original *ἑξάρη*, and the same as the Roman Sextarius, which, according to the best authors, approach'd nearest to that quantity of our measure.

‡ Five Drachmæ weigh'd eleven penny weights, nine grains and an half, and were in value worth two shillings and ten pence, seven eighths.

Elisha pro-
mises him re-
lief in twenty
four hours, 2.
Kings vii. 1.

Ver. 2.

gave him for answer, this promise and assurance, that by the same hour the next day Samaria should be so abundantly stored with all sorts of necessaries for life, that a * measure of fine flour should be sold publicly in the market for † one shekel, and two measures of barley at the same rate. The king and his court made no doubt at all of the truth of his predictions, having had so many proofs of their authority and credit: So that they comforted themselves upon the presage, as if it had been a thing already done, and made their present difficulties easy to them in the hope of what was to come; but a certain favourite, and an officer of the King, who commanded a third part of his army, told the prophet, as the king was leaning upon him, in a familiar way, "Elisha, (says he) a body may as well believe, that it shall rain flour and barley from heaven, as what you have now foretold; for it seems to me incredible, even to the degree of an impossibility." Well, says the prophet, make no question of it; for you shall see it: But you shall only see it, without enjoying it: Which prediction was made good.

It was a custom among the Samaritans, that no leprous persons should be suffer'd to live within the walls of the city; and at this time there were four lepers who had their habitations without the gates. The famine in the city was so extreme, that there was no provision to be expected from thence: so that whether they went back into the town, or staid where they were, they had certain death before them the one way as well as the other. Upon this deliberation, they took up a resolution of casting themselves upon the enemy. If they spar'd them, they should live; or if they put them to death, it would be a gentler way of dispatch. They agreed all four in this opinion, as the best expedient they had before them, and so slipt away by night into the enemy's camp; in which very point of time it pleased God to possess the Syrians with a panick terror upon the imaginary noise of horses and armed men breaking in upon them; and in the strength of this fancy and apprehension, they all ran in a great consternation to Adad, and told him that Jehoram's confederate kings of Egypt, and of the islands, were just at hand, and within hearing of the march of the army. Adad gave the more credit to the delusion, in regard that he himself labour'd under the same false imagination; so that in this unaccountable affright, the whole army broke up in confusion, and every man did what he could to shift for himself, leaving their horses, carriages, baggage, and their whole treasure in the camp, without any other care in the world than how to save their lives. When the lepers came up to the out-skirts of the Syrians camp, they found all things in a profound silence, and a vast plenty of all necessaries: advancing farther, and entering into every single tent, and finding them evacuated, they ate and drunk what they pleased, took as much gold and rich booty as they could carry away, without seeing so much as one person in the field. They load-

ed themselves four times, and buried their burdens in a hole they digg'd for that purpose without the camp. They might now reasonably conclude the enemy to be drawn off, and came upon this to blame themselves for not giving Jehoram and the citizens an account of this wonderful desertion, upon the first discovery of it. Wherefore they made all possible haste back to Samaria, calling aloud to the watch from under the walls, that the enemy had totally abandon'd their camp; and upon this intelligence, in the same instant sent by them to the king's guards, Jehoram presently called a great council upon it, of his friends and officers, and gave his own opinion, that he looked upon it as a stratagem to draw his people into an ambush under that pretence. They might, says he, perhaps despair of starving us, and so bethought themselves of this invention to surprize us; and if they could but draw us out to take possession of the booty, they might make an excursion upon us from their places of retirement, cut our men to pieces, and with great ease make themselves masters of the city; and therefore, says the king, I am for providing against treachery, and being the more wary still for this pretence, I cannot think they are fled away, and should be loth to venture the main chance upon the credit of this intelligence. One of the council stood up, and with great respect to the king's opinion, judg'd it to be the true reason of the case. But this notwithstanding, says he, it might be worth the while I conceive, to send out two horsemen upon the scout for discovery, as far as Jordan. If they should happen to be taken, it will serve for a warning to others, however, not to expose themselves too far; and then the loss of two men would not be very great, who in case they escape the sword, are in danger to die of the famine. The king was much of this counsellor's mind, and sent away his scouts immediately for intelligence; who returned soon after with this report: That they had been so far, without seeing so much as one enemy; but that they saw arms, and corn, and several bundles of things upon the way, that look'd as if the Syrians had thrown them down in order to make their flight the more expeditious. The king, upon this information, sent out his People to the plundering of Adad's Camp, where ‡ they found a wonderful rich booty, in gold, silver, Horses, and several sorts of Beasts; beside such an incredible provision of grain, that it look'd more like a dream than a truth: So vast a quantity, in short, that the people presently forgot their former scarcity in this superabundance; for two measures of barley were sold for one shekel, and a measure of flour at the same price too, according to the prediction of Elisha. Now this measure contains about an Italian bushel and a half: Only the officer before spoken of, that commanded the third part of the army, had no benefit by this relief, being posted at the gate by the king's command to keep the people in order, that they should not crowd one another to death upon the folly they were to make. He himself was trodden to death in the throng.

Intelligence
given to Sa-
maria, of this
desertion;
Ver. 10, 11.

Scouts sent
out for disco-
very, confirm
the report,
Ver. 12-15.

The pillage
of the Syrians
camp is ineffi-
mable, V. 16.

The Syrians
abandon'd
their camp in
a panick ter-
ror, V. 5-7.

* The word here translated measure, is in the original *סֵא*, the same as the Hebrew Seah; it was the third part of an epha, and contained something more than 20 English wine pints.

† A shekel, as we have before observ'd, was not worth above two shillings and seven pence English money

‡ See Cotelerius's notes upon the second volume of his *Monumenta Eccles.* page 578.

This was a judgment that befel him for his unbelief, in giving so little heed to what Elisha foretold.

Adad escapes to Damascus.

ADAD was by this time gotten back safe to Damascus; and when he came to understand that all these alarms of chariots and horsemen that had given such an irreparable rout to him and his army, were, in truth, only judicial impressions of affright and terror, without any other foundation, he look'd upon it as a declaration from Heaven against him; and the anxiety of that thought brought upon him a dangerous sickness of body. Elisha went then toward Damascus; and Adad being informed where he was, sent Hazael, his particular and trusty friend, with a compliment and magnificent presents, to meet him, and to enquire likewise of the prophet, whether the king should out-live this disease or not, and what would be the issue of it. Hazael took forty camels, and loaded them with the choicest curiosities that either the court or the country afforded, advanced with them toward Elisha; and meeting him upon the way, saluted him with great reverence, in the name, and by the order of king Adad; telling him, that he had in his commission to offer him those presents, and likewise to advise with him about his disease, whether or no he might hope for any relief. The prophet told Hazael, that the king was to die; but charged him to say nothing of it to the king. This went to the heart of Hazael, and Elisha fell upon that into an extreme fit of weeping, in the contemplation of the miseries the people were to endure after the decease of Adad. Hazael ask'd the prophet what might be the cause of that excessive grief? "Why, says the prophet, I cannot forbear weeping to think of the calamities that you yourself are to bring upon the Israelites. You shall put the best of their men to the sword, burn their walled cities, dash their children to death against the stones, and rip up the children out of the bellies of their mothers." "Well," says Hazael, but how is it possible for me to compass all this mischief? "Why, says the prophet, it is declared to me by God, that you are to reign in Syria." And upon this discourse Hazael left him, and returned to his master, with an account that he should recover of his distemper. On the day following he made the king a visit; and taking his opportunity, strangled him with a wet cloth, and took possession of his palace and government. He was a man of great interest and reputation with the people of Syria and Damascus; insomuch, that to this day the memory of Adad, and of Hazael his successor, is celebrated among the Syrians with divine honours, not only for their bounty and generosity in general, but in particular for the pompous magnificence of the temples they erected at Damascus, and the care they took for the honour and ornament of the city. Their images, in fine, are carried about in a daily procession, as in an ostentation of their antiquity; whereas, in truth, they were not of above eleven hundred years standing from their original.

Adad falls sick, 2 Kings viii. 7.

Hazael consults Elisha about Adad's disease, who tells him he shall die, but bids him tell his master otherwise, Ver. 9, 10.

Elisha foretells the miserable fate of the Israelites, the death of Adad, and the promotion of Hazael, Ver. 12, 13.

Hazael strangles Adad, and takes possession of his palace, Ver. 15.

again in a state of peace. But Jehoram's name-sake, (I mean Jehoram the king of Judah,) of whom I have spoken already, was no sooner enter'd upon the sovereignty, but for a while come to his reign, he began with the slaughter of his brothers, and of his father's friends; and briefly, with such outrages, as if he had been upon a competition with the worst of former kings, which should be the wickedest; having also at his elbow his wife Gotholiah, the daughter of Ahab, an excellent instructress to all impious purposes, and the instrument of his idolatrous defection from the true worship, to the service of strange gods. Now though God would most certainly stand firm to the promise he made to king David, that he would never utterly extinguish the whole race, Jehoram did all he could yet to provoke a total extirpation, by a lewd daily course of fresh impieties and abominations. Idumea at this time revolted from Jehoram, and they made way to their apostasy by the murder of their king, who had ever been faithful to Jehoshaphat, and by setting up another in his place. Upon the first impression of this affront, the king made a speedy incursion by night, with a good body of horse and charioteers, into the enemy's quarters. But they were forc'd to content themselves with burning and making a little havock upon the borders; and so falling off again, without daring to attempt any farther progress into the country. This expedition was so far from striking any sort of terror or apprehension into the deserters, that, on the contrary, it serv'd for an encouragement to others to follow the example of their leaders, and to shake off their yoke likewise; Libnah rebelling also at the same time. Such, in short, was the madness and folly of Jehoram, that he forc'd the Israelites up to the groves and high places upon the mountains, and there to worship false gods. He went on for some time in the defiance and contempt of law and religion, and all that could be sacred either in Heaven or earth, till in the end there came a menacing letter from the prophet Elisha to him to this effect: "That since he had audaciously and wilfully set himself up against the practice and example of his forefathers, and espoused the impious superstition of the Israelites; and not resting there neither, had likewise debauch'd the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, from the religion of their country, into the paganish superstitions of idolatry, in making gods of images, after the example of Ahab's violence upon his people to force them into these abominations." After the doing of all this, and the polluting his hands in the blood of his own brothers, and other good and righteous men, this judgment was denounced against him in the aforesaid letter; "That his family and his people should fall into the hands of a merciless enemy, that should spare neither women nor children; that he himself should be tormented with a lingering pain in the guts, till his bowels, by little and little, should rot, and fall out." This was to be his miserable condition, that should bring him at last, though too late, to a sense and a sight of his wickedness. This, in short, was the substance of the writing that was deliver'd to Jehoram in the name of Elisha.

The abominable wickedness of Jehoram the king of Judah, 2 Chron. xxi. 4-6.

The Idumeans fall off from Jehoram, Ver. 8.

The profigate impiety of Jehoram, Ver. 11.

Elisha denounces dreadful judgments to befall Jehoram, Ver. 12.

CHAP. III.

The Arabians break in upon Jehoram. His miserable end. Abaziah his son succeeds him.

Jehoram's country ravaged by the Arabians, 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

He dies of a plague in the guts, Ver. 19.

Ahaziah succeeds him, 2 Chron. xxii. 1.

SOME short time after this, an army of Arabians from the borders of Ethiopia, together with a medley of other Barbarians, broke in upon the kingdom of Jehoram, ravaged the country, rifled the palace, put the king's wives to the sword, and all his children, one only excepted, Ahaziah by name, who very narrowly escaped the fury of the enemy. The king, after this publick calamity, fell into a disease, according to what the prophet foretold him; which was such a kind of plague in the guts, that all people looked upon it as a just judgment of God upon him in his displeasure; his bowels dropping daily out of his belly before his own eyes. The people insulted over the carcass, and drew inferences from the exemplary manner of his punishment, to the degree of his wickedness, and that the wrath of God was upon him. They would neither vouchsafe him a royal funeral, nor a place in his father's monument. He lived forty years, and reigned eight; and the people of Judah placed Ahaziah upon the throne of his father.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram besieges Ramoth, receives a wound, and retires to Jezreel. Jehu carries on the siege. Jehu anointed king of Israel, with a command to extirpate the family of Ahab. He marches directly to Jezreel, where Jehoram and his nephew Ahaziah were at that time together.

Jehoram besieges Ramoth-Gilead, and leaves it to Jehu, Ver. 5, 6.

Jehu takes it by assault.

Jehu anointed king, with order to root out the house of Ahab, 2 Kings ix. 6.

JEHORAM, the king of the Israelites, was in hope, after the death of Adad, that he might recover Ramoth of Gilead; and in that prospect he levied a great army, and sat down before it. At the siege he received a wound with an arrow from the bow of a Syrian. It was not mortal; but yet, such as it was, he was obliged to withdraw to the city of Jezreel for the conveniencies of the cure, leaving his whole army behind him at the siege of Ramoth, under the command of Jehu, the son of Amasis, who took the town by force. Jehoram proposed upon his recovery, to make war upon the Syrians; and in the mean time Elisha sent one of his disciples with holy oil to Ramoth, there to anoint and declare Jehu king, and to do it in the name of God, and by his authority and order. The prophet gave him some other things in charge also, and commanded him to be as expeditious as he could, and without making any person privy to his journey. When he came to the town, he found Jehu sitting with the head officers of the army, as was foretold him by Elisha; so he went up to him, and gave him to understand, that he desir'd to have a short conference with him in private. Jehu rose up presently, and the messenger follow'd him into his apartment. So the young man took out the oil, and poured it on his head; telling him, that God had chosen him king for the destruction of the house of Ahab, and to revenge the blood of the prophets, which against all right and reason was spilt by Jezabel; and that as Je-

roboam the son of Nebat, and after him the family of Baasha, were utterly rooted out, and destroy'd for their wickedness; so there should be no remainder left of the wicked stock of Ahab. So soon as he had spoken these words, he convey'd himself out of the apartment in haste, and with all imaginable privacy, that no body should see him; Jehu returning forthwith to his place among the commanders. The officers had a great mind to know what that young man's business was; for he look'd, they said, as if he were not right in his wits. Why you are not much out in your conjecture, says Jehu, for he did speak effectually the words of a mad man. This suspension did but make the officers more and more inquisitive what it was he came about; so Jehu told them in plain terms, that he came to him with a message from God to pronounce him king. At the hearing of these words, the commanders took every man his cloak, and laid them one upon another for Jehu to sit down upon, instead of a throne; and when he had taken his place, they all saluted him king, with acclamations, benedictions, and the sound of horns and trumpets, to congratulate his accession to the throne. Jehoram was now under the surgeon's hands at Jezreel for the wound he had received at the siege of Ramoth; and his sister's son Ahaziah was there at the same time too, to visit him as he lay sick of his wounds; so that Jehu took this opportunity of marching with his army to Jezreel, where he might surprize them both at once; precautioning his soldiers, as a proof of their fidelity to him, neither directly nor indirectly to give Jehoram any knowledge or intimation of the matter.

Jehu is saluted king, with acclamations and benedictions, Ver. 13.

CHAP. V.

Jehu kills Jehoram and Ahaziah with his own hand.

THE soldiers executed their orders with great cheerfulness, possessing themselves of all the passes and avenues to the town, and keeping so strict a guard upon them, that it was morally impossible to convey any intelligence into the place without discovery. While this was a doing, Jehu mounts his chariot, and with a party of choice men advances in all haste toward the city. The king had a scout abroad to observe what people passed that way, and his scout finding Jehu at the head of the troops, posted away immediately to Jehoram, with the tidings of a body of horse upon their march. The king upon this dispatch'd away an horseman out of hand, with instructions to go up towards the party, and learn who they were. The messenger went, and did according to his instructions, inquiring also into the state of the army; for the king, he said, had a mind to know. Do not you trouble your head, says Jehu, with the business of the army, but fall off into the rear, and march along with them. The man did so, and the scout presently gave the king notice of it, that his messenger had join'd the troops. Jehoram, upon this, sent once again yet with the same instructions, and with the very same success; when receiving no satisfaction upon the main, he took his chariot himself, and Ahaziah the king of Judah along with

Jehu cast from down the p. Ver.

The Jezab. flesh, foreto Ver. 3

Jehoram and Ahaziah meet him in the field of Naboth, 2 Kings ix. 21.

Jehu strikes Jehoram dead with an arrow, and orders the carcass to be cast out into the field, according to the prediction, Ver. 25, 26.

The death of Ahaziah at Megiddo, Ver. 27.

with him, (who, as I before observed, being his kinsman, was come there to visit him; so they went out together to meet Jehu, who moved very leisurely, and coming into the field of Naboth, Jehoram asked Jehu how matters went in his army; the other answering with a bitter reflection upon the whoredoms and witchcraft of his mother. This gave Jehoram to mistrust, that that was no place for him to stay in: so he told Ahaziah that he was betray'd; and as he was driving away to make his escape, Jehu shot him thro' the heart with an arrow, so that he dropp'd from his chariot, and soon after commanded Bidkar, the captain of a third part of the army, to take the carcass, and cast it out into the field of Naboth, calling to mind what the prophet Elijah had formerly said to his father Ahab; to wit, that he and his family were to perish in that place; which he himself had heard as he was sitting in a chariot behind Ahab; and every thing fell out accordingly. Upon the death of Jehoram, Ahaziah apprehending his own life also to be in danger, turn'd off his chariot into a by-way, where he thought Jehu would not find him; but following him however to a certain bank, he wounded him with an arrow, which made him presently leave his chariot, and take horse to save himself by flight. He got off to the city of Megiddo, where he lay a while for his cure, and not long after dy'd of his wound; from whence he was carried to Jerusalem, and there bury'd, after he had reign'd one year, and a wicked man by much than his father.

C H A P. VI.

Jehu orders Jezabel to be put to death; with Ahab's seventy sons, and all his relations; forty two persons of the blood of Ahaziah, and all the priests of the Tyrian Baal: The temple also to be destroyed, which Ahab erected to the honour of that idol.

AS Jehu came into Jezreel, Jezabel planted herself in a turret-window, set out gloriously with dress and ornament, to see his entry. As he was passing by, she let fall this ironical scoff upon him: "a hopeful servant, (says she) to kill his own master!" Jehu, both seeing the woman, and hearing the words, call'd out to her to know what she was, and bad her come down; but not coming immediately, he commanded the eunuchs that were then about her to cast her down headlong; which they did, and the walls were bloody with the dashing of the body in the fall. When she came to the ground, the horsemen rode over the carcass, and trampled her to death. After this, Jehu and his friends march'd forward to the palace to refresh themselves. When they had been there a while, Jehu order'd Jezabel's servants, out of respect to her quality, to see their mistress bury'd; for, says he, she was a king's daughter: But when they came to look for the body, there was nothing to be found but a piece of the skull, the palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet; the dogs having eaten up all the rest. This providence gave Jehu more and more veneration still for the divine spirit of Elijah, who had foretold, "that dogs should eat the flesh of Jezabel in the field of Jezreel."

Jezabel is cast down from a window upon the pavement, Ver. 33.

The dogs eat Jezabel's flesh, as was foretold, Ver. 36.

AHAB had seventy sons, and all at this time in Samaria, where they were brought up: So Jehu wrote thither two letters, one to their governors, and the other to the magistrates of the place, wherein he gave to understand, that being well provided of horses, men, arms, chariots, and other necessaries for war, beside fortify'd towns and strong holds, they should do well to make choice of one of the finest, and the bravest young men they could pick out of the whole race of Ahab, for their king, under whose conduct they might revenge the death of their lord and master. He writ to them in this stile, only to feel their pulse, and to try how they stood affected to his interest. The persons to whom these letters were address'd, read them over and over with great care and consideration; and agreeing upon the main, that it would not be safe, under their circumstances, to oppose a power that had already been too hard for two great kings, the answer they resolv'd upon was only in the way of a politick and civil excuse, to let him know that they neither did nor would own any other lord and master than himself, and that they were to all purposes at his devotion. Jehu wrote them word back again that if they favour'd his interest, they should forthwith send him the heads of all Ahab's sons, as a token and testimony of their readiness to serve him. The magistrates and the young mens tutors confer'd together about it; and without any scruple of tenderness or compassion, agreed among themselves to cut off all their heads, and send them in baskets to Jezreel. The king and his friends were together at supper when the news was brought him that the heads were come: so he order'd them to be laid in two heaps before the gate, on each side one; and the next morning going out to view them, addressing himself to the people, "I had a hand (says he) in the death of my master; but whose doing is all this?" His business was to satisfy the people that all this rigour upon the house of Ahab was not only according to the will of God, but answerable to what God himself had foretold by the mouth of the prophet. He destroy'd as many, in short, of the family of Ahab as he could find, and returned afterward to Samaria. Falling into company upon the way with several of the kindred of Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, he asked them whither they were going? They answer'd, that they were going to pay their duty to Jehoram and king Ahaziah, having heard nothing as yet of their death by the hand of Jehu. There were two and forty of them in number, and Jehu caus'd them all to be slain. He happen'd afterward to meet with Jonadab, a particular friend of his, and a very good and just man; who, after the first salutation, highly commended him for his zeal in rooting out the race and family of wicked Ahab, according to the command and appointment of God. Jehu then invited him into his chariot, to go along with him to Samaria; telling him that he should now see he would spare no apostates, but put all the false priests and prophets to the sword, every man of them, that had seduced the people from the religion of their forefathers into the idolatrous worship of false gods; accounting it a glorious spectacle for a good man to see the wicked punish'd according to their deserts. Jonadab submit-

Ahab's seventy sons are put to death, Ver. 7.

Forty two of Ahaziah's relations are put to death, Ver. 14.

ted

A search made after Ahab's relations, 2 Kings x. 17. A project to destroy all the false priests and prophets at once, Ver. 19-23.

ted to the king's pleasure, and waited upon him in his chariot to the city. Jehu, as soon as they came thither, caused a strict search to be made for Ahab's relations, and put them all to death as fast as he found them; and being also resolv'd that none of Ahab's false prophets or profane priests should escape him, he circumvented them all by a stratagem. He appointed the people to meet in an assembly, telling them that if Ahab served Baal a little, Jehu should serve him twice as much, for he would worship double the number; and therefore he would have all the priests and prophets of Baal to be present, to a single man; for he had a great sacrifice to offer to the God of Ahab, whom they called Baal, and it should be death for any priest to absent himself. So he sent his messengers up and down all over Israel, to summon the priests up to Samaria at the appointed day. Upon their arrival they had vestments given them, which they put on. So Jehu took Jonadab with him into the house of Baal, where a strict search was made, that there might not be any person there present more than the servants of Baal; for Jehu would not suffer, he said, any profane intruder to intermix in that holy worship. When Jehu found that they were all Baalites, and just entering upon the ceremony, he had four-score men set ready at the door, that waited only the word of command to break in upon the apostates. Their orders were to put all the false prophets to the sword, and to vindicate the religion of their ancestors, under this condition and penalty, that whoever should spare the life of but any one of them, his life should answer for the other's. The word was given, and they executed their commission to the uttermost rigour. They slew them all to a man, set fire to the palace itself, and so purged the city of all its sacrilegious abominations. This Baal was the Syrians idol, to whom Ahab dedicated an altar, in Samaria, for the sake of Ithobal his father-in-law, king of Tyre and Sidon, and assign'd them priests and prophets, and other necessities appertaining to their religion. Now Jehu abolish'd the rites and ceremonies of this worship, but permitted the Israelites to go on still in the adoration of their golden calves. This severity of his against that impious generation was so far pleasing to him, that he signify'd to him by his prophet that his posterity should sit upon the throne of Israel to the fourth generation.

Baal's priests all cut off to a man, V. 25.

The Israelites still go on, worshipping their golden calves, V. 29.

CHAP. VII.

Athaliah meditates a revenge upon the house of David, for that of Ahab. Jehoiada the high-priest saves Joash, the son of Ahaziah king of Judah; sets him upon the throne, and causes Athaliah to be put to death.

Athaliah proposes to avenge herself upon the family of David, for the havock made in the family of her father Ahab, 2 Kings xi. 1, 2, 3.

WHEN Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab king of Israel, and the widow of Jehoram king of Judah, came to understand what havock Jehu had made in her father's wicked family, king Jehoram her brother assassinated, her son Ahaziah dead of his wound, and the whole stock upon the point of being utterly rooted out, she form'd a resolution of going the same way to work with the house

of David, and not to leave so much as one man alive of the family, to pretend afterward to the kingdom of Judah. This was her determination, and it was none of her fault that it was not executed: For of all the sons of Ahaziah, there was only one that escap'd; All Ahaziah's sons put to death, but Joash, and how he came to escape, ib. and the manner of his deliverance was this: Jehoshabab, the sister of Ahaziah, and the wife of Jehoiada the high-priest, coming into the palace, she found a male child of about a year old, whose name was Joash, among the dead bodies of the sons of Ahaziah, which the nurse it seems had hid there. She convey'd it away by stealth to her own lodgings, and so into the temple, where she conceal'd and took care of it, through the whole six years of Athaliah's reign over Jerusalem and the two tribes, and no one of her council all this while was privy to the secret but her own husband.

In the seventh year Jehoiada enter'd into an association with five captains, to force the government out of Athaliah's hand, and transfer it to the right heir; shewing them the child that was then present: So that their business was now only to interchange an oath of faith and secrecy, and so apply themselves to the execution of the design; which they did immediately, and not without great hope and confidence of success. The captains that Jehoiada had engaged in this enterprize, travell'd all over the country, with summons to the priests and Levites, and several of the principal men in their tribes, in the high-priest's name to go up to Jerusalem; where Jehoiada told them, that they were now call'd up for advice, about the common good of the people; and that he would lay the whole matter before them; but it must be kept private however; beside that the case requir'd not only secrecy, but help. Upon this he gave them their oath of secrecy, and then told them the whole story without any further scruple, shewing them the child likewise that he had taken into his care and preserv'd. "This child, (says he) is your king, and a branch of that family, which God hath both promised and foretold (as you know very well) shall never be wanting to supply the throne of David. Now it is my advice, that you divide yourselves into three bodies; one third to be upon the guard of the king in the temple; a second third to secure the passes and avenues that lead to it, and the remainder to guard the open gate that leads to the palace. As for those that have no arms, let them be in the temple, if they think fit; but no armed man to be admitted there, if he be not a priest." Jehoiada gave order also for a select number of priests and Levites to stand with their swords drawn, as a guard about the king's person, and to kill any man whatsoever, that should press into the temple with a weapon about him; and to secure the life and safety of the king, at what rate soever. They were all pleas'd with the advice and contrivance of the high-priest. So that the next thing to be done, was the putting the project in execution. Jehoiada, upon this, open'd a magazine of armour that David had long since stor'd up in the temple, delivering out lances, arrows, and what other military weapons were there deposited, to the centurions, priests, and Levites; who planted them-

Jehoiada joins with five captains to depose Athaliah, and set up Joash the right heir, V. 4-12.

The high-priest summons the priests, Levites, and the principals of the people up to Jerusalem.

Joash is presented to them as their king, ibid.

Orders given for the security of the temple, and the person of Joash, ibid.

Joash conducted to the temple, the palace, and a second time proclaimed king, Ver. 19.

Joash a prince so as Jehoiada liv'd, 2 Kings xii. 2.

Joash is produced, crowned, anointed, and pronounced king, with an universal joy and acclamation, 2 Kings xi. 12.

themselves as a guard upon the temple quite round it; and so strictly beset the doors, that not a person was let in that had no business there. The child was now produc'd with a royal crown upon his head, and being anointed with holy oil according to form, the high-priest pronounced him king; which solemnity was accompanied with innumerable acclamations, and wishes of happy life, and victory over all his enemies, by the universality of the people.

Athaliah in a rage, Ver. 13, 14.

Athaliah put to death by the command of Jehoiada, Ver. 16.

The people take an oath of fidelity to God and the king, Ver. 17.

The multitude demolish one of Baal's temples, V. 18.

God's worship re-established, ibid.

Joash conducted from the temple to the palace, and a second time proclaimed king, Ver. 19.

Joash a pious prince so long as Jehoiada liv'd, 2 Kings xii. 2.

THE clamour of this outcry and proclamation was a terrible surprize to Athaliah, who presently hasted away with her guards, from the palace to the temple, where she herself was admitted by the priest, but the soldiers that follow'd her were kept out by the guards that were posted there by Jehoida for that very purpose. So soon as Athaliah saw the child upon the throne, and with a royal crown upon his head, she tore her garments, and call'd out with a loud voice to kill that traitorous usurper. Jehoida, on the other side, commands the officers to seize that woman, and carry her away to the brook of Kidron, and there to put her to death; but the temple was not to be polluted with the blood of a force-reffs. Order was likewise given, that if any man should attempt a rescue, they should put him to death. They that had the charge of this commission, carried her out of the gate by the passage of the king's mules, and there dispatch'd her. So soon as this plot against Athaliah had taken effect, Jehoida call'd all the people and soldiers together, into the temple, and gave them an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king, for the safety and defence of his person, and the honour and preservation of his government. After this, the king himself took an oath of a religious reverence to God, and for the observance of those laws that Moses received from heaven, and transmitted to the people. In the next place the people hasted in great numbers to the house of Baal, a temple that Athaliah, together with her husband Jehoram, had erected, in contempt of the true God, and to curry favour with Ahab. This temple the multitude destroy'd from the very foundations, and kill'd Mattan, one of Baal's priests, who was then in waiting. But for the care of the holy temple, that was committed to the charge of the priests and Levites, according to the institution of David, Jehoida appointing two solemn sacrifices to be offer'd up every day, with incense, according to the direction of the law; appointing porters also out of the number of the Levites, for the keeping of the temple, that there might not any pollution get into it by stealth. When all things were thus disposed of, Joash was conducted out of the temple into the palace, by the captains, the governors, and all the people, where being placed a second time upon the throne, and received with repeated acclamations, the people gave themselves up for some days to mirth and feasting, and not a soul of them but was satisfied with the death of that wicked woman. Joash was seven years of age when he began to reign. His mother's name was Zibiah, of Beersheba. He was a most strict observer of the laws and religion of his country, so long as Jehoida

liv'd. When he came afterwards to years of maturity, he married two wives, with the approbation of the high-priest, and had children by them of both sexes. Let this suffice for the history of Joash, how he escaped the snares of Athaliah, and afterward succeeded to the government.

C H A P. VIII.

The death of Jehu. Joash succeeds him, who orders the temple of Jerusalem to be repair'd. The death of Jehoiada. The apostasy of Joash. Zachary ston'd to death. Hazael besieges Jerusalem. Joash delivers up all his treasure for the raising of the siege, and is slain by the friends of Zachary.

H A Z A E L, the king of Syria, made a bloody war upon the Israelites and their king, laying waste a great tract of land to the eastward beyond Jordan, particularly in the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasses, and so in Gilead and Batanea; not only burning and pillaging, but putting man, woman, and child to the sword also, wherever he came, without either mercy or quarter; and all this was done with little or no difficulty or opposition from Jehu neither, being a man that spent his whole time in a stupid contempt of God's religion and holy laws. He died, having reigned seven and twenty years over Israel, and was buried at Samaria, Jehoash his son succeeding him.

IN the days of Jehoram and Athaliah, and of their sons, the temple was gone quite to ruin for want of care and repairing; so that Joash the king of Jerusalem sent for Jehoiada the high-priest, to give him orders about it; which was, that he should send priests and Levites into all the quarters of his dominions, to charge every man at * half a silver shekel a head, toward repairing the breaches and decays of the temple. But notwithstanding this command, there was nothing done toward it at present; for Jehoiada very well knew, that the people would not at that time be over-forward to lay out money to such a use. But Joash afterward, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, finding the project of so good and needful a work to be totally forgotten and laid aside, he charged the high-priest and the Levites with the care of it once again; and not without blaming them, in some degree, for the former neglect of their duty. This put Jehoiada upon bethinking himself how the business might be brought about without any grievance to the people; and in the end he fix'd upon this expedient. There was a wooden chest provided, close wrought and lock'd, with a slit through the cover of it, to receive what pieces of money soever should be put into it. This was to be placed near the altar, and the people invited to shew their good-will upon this occasion toward the work in hand, in proportion to the zeal they had to the true religion and God's service. The whole multitude was so well pleased with this method and contrivance, that they brought in gold and silver in a kind of emulation who should contribute most. The

Hazael makes a sharp war upon the Israelites, 2 Kings x. 32, 33.

A tax toward repairing of the temple, but nothing done in it, 2 Chron. xxiv. 4, 5.

The high-priest finds out an expedient for a voluntary contribution, that does the work, Ver. 8-11.

* Viz. About one shilling and three pence half penny in our money.

chest was every day open'd, the money counted, and register'd by the clerk of the treasury, and then lock'd up again by the priest, who had the keeping of the key; and all this was done in the presence of the king.

Artists and materials provided, 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, 13, 14.

WHEN they had gotten treasure enough to begin withal, the king and the high-priest hir'd carpenters, masons, and other artificers; provided the largest and the choicest timbers that were to be gotten, and went in hand with the reparations, employing the overplus, (which was very considerable,) after the finishing of that work, upon cups, chalices, goblets, and other vessels for holy uses, over and above the oblation of daily sacrifices; and this order was exactly observ'd while Jehoiada liv'd; but in the hundred and thirtieth year of his age he died; a man of signal probity and justice, and so highly esteem'd of, as a friend to the house of David, that his body was deposited in the sepulchre of the kings. After

After Jehoiada's death, Joash falls off; the princes and ministers following his example, Ver. 17, 18.

his decease Joash fell off from his former zeal and care for religion, and the princes of the people quickly follow'd his example, to the degree of valuing themselves upon the contempt of holy things and duties. Upon this abominable apostasy, both of the king and of his ministers, God sent prophets to them to expostulate and reason the matter with them, and to convince them of their wickedness; but they were so reprobated and harden'd in their iniquity, that neither the example of their forefathers, and their families, that had been cut off and rooted out, for the same contempt, nor the threatenings of the prophets, wrought any thing upon them; but the king caused Zachariah, the son of the high-priest Jehoiada, to be ston'd to death in the very temple, without any regard to the merits and good counsels of his father. And what was his fault, but the exhorting of both king and people to repentance, and to the administration of equal justice; and not without a premonition of the grievous judgments that would befall them, if they persisted in their iniquity? Zachariah, with his last breath, appealed to God, both as his judge and as his witness, "That the crime he died for was only the giving of good advice, and being the son of a father that had deserved so well from Joash; and that the death he then suffer'd was but the reward of those services." It

Zachariah stoned to death, Ver. 21.

Divine vengeance overtakes Joash; Hazael destroys his country, and frights him into a composition for all his treasure, 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

was not long after this that divine vengeance overtook the king himself; for Hazael, the king of Syria, made an inroad into his country, plundered and destroy'd Gath, in the first place, and from thence marched to Jerusalem, where the king himself had taken sanctuary. Joash was so affrighted at the approach of the Syrians army, that he compounded for himself and the city, and deliver'd up all the treasure of the temple, as well what was dedicated to God, as the donatives of particular kings, as a bribe to Hazael, to purchase exemption from the danger that then threaten'd him, and security for the future; which he accepted of, being a prodigious sum of money, and so raised the siege upon it. Joash, after this, fell into a desperate fit of sickness, and the friends of Zachariah took their revenge upon him by surprize, for the murder of the son of the high-priest. He was buried at Jerusalem, at the age of forty seven years; but a man of so exemplary a wickedness, that

Joash falls sick, and is murder'd by the friends of Zachariah, 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

they would not allow him the honour of a sepulchre among the kings his predecessors.

C H A P. IX.

Amaziah succeeds Joash. Jehoahaz implores God's assistance against Hazael, and obtains it. His son Joash succeeds him. Elisha foretells the ruin of the Assyrians. The death of Hazael, and the government descends to his son Adad.

AMAZIAH succeeded Joash his father in the government of Judah, and in the one and twentieth year of Joash, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu enter'd upon the government of Israel in Samaria, and reigned seventeen years; not so much after the example of his father, as after that of the worst of his former predecessors, who liv'd in an open defiance of God and all goodness. The king of Syria, in the meantime had brought down his mighty power to the miserable pittance of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse to trust to, over-running several of his cities, and killing vast numbers of his people. This calamity of the Israelites was foretold by Elisha in his prediction to Hazael, when he told him that he should kill his lord, and possess himself of the government of Syria and Damascus. In this unhappy juncture, Jehoahaz had recourse to God by prayers and supplications, for deliverance from the power and oppression of Hazael. Upon which humiliation of his, that gracious God, who not only cherishes the innocent, but pardons the penitent, and chuses rather to correct and to reform the wicked, than to destroy them, was prevail'd upon to deliver him from the burden of a ruinous war, by a timely peace, and to restore his dominions to their former state of happiness and plenty.

Amaziah succeeds Joash to the kingdom of Judah, 2 Chron. xxv. 1.

Jehoahaz in the twenty first year of Joash, came to be king of Israel, 2 Kings xiii. 1.

The worst of kings, Ver. 2. Hazael makes good all the ill that Elisha had foretold of him, Ver. 3.

AFTER the death of Jehoahaz, Joash his son came to the government of Israel and Samaria, in the seven and thirtieth year of the reign of Joash, king of Judah, this king and the king of Jerusalem being both of a name. He held the government sixteen years; an excellent man, and intirely the reverse of his father in his way of life and conversation. The prophet Elisha was now far gone in years; and being at this time upon his last bed of sickness, Joash made him a visit in his extremity, and out of a tenderness to see the good man labouring in his agonies, burst out into tears and lamentations; treating him in the stile of the father, the defender and protector of his country; for so long as he liv'd, the people were secure, he said, against all their enemies, even without any need of arms, through the benefit and blessing of his prayers and predictions; but that whenever he was taken away, they should be left naked and defenceless, at the mercy of the Syrians and other enemies; and therefore, for his own part, he had infinitely rather leave the world with him, than stay in it without him.

Joash the son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel and Samaria, Ver. 9.

Elisha falls into his death sickness, and Joash makes him a very affectionate visit, Ver. 14.

THIS compassionate softness wrought so far upon the prophet, that to comfort the king, he call'd for a bow and arrows, laid his hand upon it, and bad him bend it and shoot. He shot thrice, and then gave over; so Elisha told him, that if he had let fly more shafts, he

Elisha tells him of three victories he shall obtain against the Syrians, 2 Kings xiii. 19. Elisha's death and character, Ver. 20.

A dead carcass reviv'd by the touch of Elisha's body, Ver. 21. The kingdom of Syria descends from Hazael to his son Adad, Ver. 24. Jeroboam succeeds Joash, 2 Kings xiv. 16.

he should have ruined and destroyed the whole kingdom of the Syrians; but since he gave it off at the third shot, he must content himself with three several victories over them; wherein he should recover the countries they had taken from his father. The king went his way upon these words; and the prophet expired soon after. He was a man celebrated for his justice, and without all dispute highly in God's favour, as appears by the history of the wonderful things he did, and the miracles that he wrought in abundance, as the account of them stands sacred upon the records of the Hebrews to this day. They gave him, in fine, a pompous and an honourable interment, answerable to the dignity and merit of so great a saint. It happen'd, after this, that a traveller was kill'd upon the way by thieves, and the body thrown into the prophet's monument; which, upon the bare touch of Elisha, was immediately reviv'd; so that both dead and living, this prophet wrought miracles.

HAZAEI was now dead, and the kingdom of Syria devolved by an hereditary right to his son Adad, who was overthrown by Joash in three battles; and all that country recover'd to the Israelites again, which his father had wrested from them, according to the prediction of Elisha. Upon the death of Joash, Jeroboam his son enter'd upon the government.

C H A P. X.

Amaziah defeats the Amalekites, Idumeans, and Gabilites. He apostatizes. Joash overcomes and takes him prisoner. He delivers up Jerusalem to save his life. He is kill'd by his own people, and his son Uzziah succeeds him.

Amaziah began his administration in the bringing the murderers of his father to justice, Ver. 5.

He made vast levies of his own people, and dealt with the kings of Israel for an hundred thousand mercenaries, but dismiss'd the Israelites, 2 Chron. xxv. 6.

IN the second year of Joash king of Israel, Amaziah came to the government of the tribe of Judah, in the city of Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoadan, a native of the place. He had a wonderful reverence for justice, even in the tenderness of his youth; and began his administration in revenging the death of his father upon the heads of those persons who had treacherously murder'd him, under a cloak of friendship. He brought the assassins all to publick justice, but spar'd their children, according to the laws prescribed by Moses, who thought it unreasonable to punish the children for the iniquity of the fathers. After this he made a levy in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, of the choicest young men that were to be found, of about twenty years of age, little over or under, and found the number to amount to three hundred thousand; all which he list'd, and set centurions over them. He treated with the king of the Israelites for one hundred thousand auxiliaries, at the rate of an * hundred talents of silver for the hire of them, and the money paid down, being fully determin'd to make war upon the Amalekites, the Edomites, and the Gabilites. He was just upon the point of marching against them, when a man of God advis'd him by all means to dismiss the Israelites; for they were a wicked generation, and would certainly be destroyed, together with those that join'd with them; beside that he

had a sufficient force of his own, with God's assistance, to overcome the enemy. The king having already parted with his money, was not a little troubled at the thought of losing both his pay and his men; but yet upon the prophet's instance to resign himself wholly to the will of God, under whose protection he should be sure to want nothing, he discharg'd his auxiliaries, with this compliment at the farewell, That he frankly bestow'd that treasure upon them as a bounty, which they had received only as a hire. Immediately upon parting with his mercenaries, he advanc'd with his own proper troops against the people above-mentioned, whom he overcame, and cut off ten thousand of them in one battle, and carried away ten thousand more to the top of a great rock, that over-looks Arabia, where they were all thrown down the precipice and destroy'd; and so Amaziah return'd home again with a great booty. But in the meantime the Israelitish mercenaries took it so heinously to be turn'd off after so slighting a manner, and without any colour of reason for it, that to revenge the affront of that contempt, they made an outrageous inroad into the king's country, laying all waste as far as Bethsemere; putting three thousand people to the sword, and carrying away a great number of their cattle.

AMAZIAH was so puffed up with the conceit of this victory, that he had no longer any veneration for that God who was the author of it, but went over from his worship to the idols of the Amalekites. The prophet, upon this, went to the king and told him, that he could not but wonder at his confiding in those powers, that were so far from being able to protect their servants, that they could not defend themselves, but were taken prisoners by the Hebrews, and carried away like slaves to Jerusalem, with the rest of the spoil. These words of the prophet highly provok'd the king's wrath, insomuch, that he bad him at his peril, not to meddle any further in a business that did not concern him. The prophet's answer was, that for the future he would be quiet; but assuring him withal, that God would take severe vengeance on him for this wicked and idolatrous innovation in religion.

AMAZIAH was so transported with vanity and insolence upon his late success, that without any regard to the hand of divine providence, he wrote an imperious letter some time after to Joash, the king of the Israelites, commanding him and his people to pay the same allegiance to him, which they had formerly render'd to his ancestors, David and Solomon; or in case of their refusal, to expect a decision of the cause by the sword; to which summons Joash returned this answer:

King Joash to king Amaziah, greeting.

IT happen'd once upon a time, betwixt Joash answers a cypress-tree and a thistle, upon Mount Libanus, that the thistle sent to the cypress, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife; whereupon a wild beast went and trod down the thistle. Make use of this example for your own instruction, and to moderate your ambition, without aspiring to

Amaziah gives the Amalekites a great overthrow, V. 11.

The mercenaries make an outrageous inroad into the king's country, V. 13. Amaziah, in the pride of his heart, goes over from the true God to idolatry, Ver. 14.

Amaziah writes an imperious letter to Joash, Ver. 17.

Joash answers it with the fable of the cypress and the thistle, Ver. 18.

* An hundred talents weigh'd eleven thousand, four hundred and six pounds, three ounces, and their value in silver was worth thirty four thousand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings, English money.

"things out of your reach. Have a care that this confidence and pride of yours for the overthrow of the Amalekites, do not betray you some time or other to the loss of your life and kingdom."

Amaziah takes the field in a rage; but at first fight of the enemy, his men run several ways without striking a blow, and leave Amaziah prisoner, 2 Chron. xxv. 21-23.

THIS answer to Amaziah was but so much oil to the flame, and made him ten times more furious and implacable than before; God in his justice giving him up, as may be reasonably supposed, to such a violent impotency of rage and passion, as would certainly expose him to the stroke of divine justice for his impiety. In this heat he took the field, and both armies were drawn up in form of battle. But no sooner were his men advanced within sight of the enemy, but they were instantly struck with so judicial a consternation and terror, that they turned their backs without striking a blow, and flying several ways, left Amaziah prisoner in the hands of his enemies, who refused to give him quarter upon any other terms, than that the citizens of Jerusalem should set open the gates, and receive him and his victorious army into the town; which, betwixt the pinch of necessity and the love of life, they were prevail'd upon to do; so that Joash enter'd the town in his triumphal chariot through a breach of three hundred cubits of wall that he had caused to be broken down, with his prisoner Amaziah marching before him; and this was the manner of his making himself master of the place. He made a seizure of all the holy plate and treasure, and of all the gold and silver likewise that he could find in the palace, carrying the whole spoil away with him; and then dismissing the king, he returned to Samaria: this calamity befel Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of Amaziah's reign. The people of Jerusalem, after this, enter'd into a conspiracy against him; so that he was forced to fly for safety to Lachish; but that would not serve his turn, for the assassins follow'd him thither, and there they murder'd him. His body was carried back to Jerusalem, where it was buried with a royal state: this was the miserable end he came to, for the neglect of God's worship, and his introducing innovations in religion. He died in the one and fiftieth year of his age, and twenty ninth of his reign, leaving his son Uzziah the successor to his government.

CHAP. XI.

The story of Jonas. The death of Jeroboam. His son Zachariah succeeds him. Uzziak's excellent qualities, conquests, and great care for Jerusalem; but his prosperity makes him forget God, and he is punish'd for it. His son Jotham succeeds him. Shallum kills Zachariah, and usurps the government. Menahem kills Shallum, and reigns ten years. Pekahiah his son succeeds him. Pekah murders him, and reigns in his place. Tiglath-Pileser makes war upon him. The virtues and good qualities of Jotham king of Judah. In his time Nahum the prophet foretels the destruction of Nineve, and the Assyrian empire.

Jeroboam, the son of Joash, made king in the 15th year of Amaziah, 2 Kings xiv. 16.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam, the son of Joash, was made king over Israel, and kept his court in Samaria, in the palace of his forefathers, for

the whole forty years of his reign. He was a prince impious to the highest degree, wholly abandon'd to idolatry; and so licentious, that he stuck at nothing, though never so wicked, that he had a mind to; and the judgments that his profligate course of life brought upon the Israelites, were almost innumerable. It was foretold of him by Jonas the prophet, that he should overcome the Syrians, and enlarge his territories as far as the city Hamath on the north, and the lake Asphaltites on the south, which were formerly the bounds of the land of Chanaan, according to the allotment of Joshua the general. Jeroboam was so elevated upon this prediction, that he took away from the Syrians all that tract of ground before spoken of, and annexed it to his own dominions; and therein made good the prediction of the prophet. Now in regard that I have strictly tied up myself to write the history of the Hebrews with exact truth and good faith, I must not pass over what I find recorded of this matter in holy writ.

"THE word of the Lord came unto Jonah, saying, Arise and go to Nineve, and there cry aloud to them, that that great kingdom is to be suddenly destroy'd; but Jonah, to avoid the danger of being an author of such tidings to them, thought it better to slip out of the way, (as if he could hide himself from God,) and so went aboard a vessel at Joppa, that was bound for Tarshish in Cilicia. While they were upon the way, there arose a violent tempest, that put the master, the mariners, and the pilot himself, all to their wits end for fear of being swallowed up. But it was observed, that while the crew were at their prayers, and labouring to keep the ship above water, Jonah was the only man that made no bustle, but lay flat upon his face in the hold, with his head cover'd, without doing as other people did. The wind still blew harder and harder; and the storm encreasing, the company took up a conceit, that this calamity had befallen them for the wickedness of some other of the people that they had aboard; and so they agreed among themselves to put it to the lot, who might be the man. They did so, and the lot fell upon the prophet. This put the crew upon enquiring what he was, and what might be his business. He told them that he was an Hebrew, and a prophet to the great God; but I am the man, says he, that has rais'd the storm, and you have no way left you to save yourselves and the vessel, but by casting me over board. They look'd upon it at first to be so barbarous and inhuman an impiety, to deliver up a stranger, and one that had put his life into their hands, to so certain and inevitable a destruction, that for a while they durst not resolve upon it; but in the end, partly by the extreme necessity of the case, (for the ship was upon the very point of sinking,) partly by the authority of the prophet, and partly by their own fear, they were prevail'd upon, and threw him into the sea; in which instant the storm ceas'd. The history says, that he was taken up by a whale, and after three days, cast up again, alive and unhurt, upon the shore of the Euxine Sea; from whence, after pardon obtain'd from Almighty God for his phus.

The prophet Jonas points at him, V. 25.

Jeroboam values himself wonderfully upon the prediction, Ver. 27, 28.

Jonah order'd to preach against Nineve; but ships himself another way, to avoid the commission, Jonah i. 1-3.

There rises a terrible tempest, Ver. 4.

Jonah is cast over board, and the storm ceases, Ver. 15.

A whale swallows him, and after three days casts him up again, Ver. 17, and ii. 10.

* Bochart in his Hieroz. Part II. lib. i. c. 19. shews this to be an error of Josephus.

Jonah goes to Nineve after this, and foretells the ruin of that empire, Jonah iii. 3.

Jeroboam's reign, 2 Kings xiv. 23, &c. Zachariah his son succeeds him, Ver. 29. Uzziah succeeds Amaziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 1.

He makes inroads upon the Philistines and Arabians, and brings the Ammonites under contribution, Ver. 6-8.

He rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem, and repairs the breaches, providing for the strength and ornament of the city, Ver. 9.

His militia, and mighty provisions, Ver. 12-15

His vanities and ambition take him off from his piety and zeal for God's worship, Ver. 16.

his disobedience, he went directly to Nineve, according to his order and commission; where when he was come, getting upon an eminence, where he might best be heard, he foretold them, that the empire of Asia was near an end; and so upon the publishing of this prophetic declaration, he went his way." This is what we find reported of him in the records of holy scripture.

BUT to return now to Jeroboam. After a prosperous reign of forty years, he was buried at Samaria; Zachariah his son succeeding him, as, as Uzziah succeeded Amaziah in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam, to the government of the two tribes at Jerusalem. His mother's name was Achia, a native of Jerusalem. He was a man naturally of great courtesy and justice; brave, provident, and industrious; made war upon the Philistines, and took Gath and Jamnia from them by assault, demolishing their walls; and he made another expedition also against the Arabians, who bordered upon Egypt, and built a town near the Red Sea, which he committed to the guard of a strong garrison. After this he subdued the Ammonites, and put them under contribution, reducing the whole country as far as the frontiers of Egypt, under his power; betaking himself in the end, to the care of the city. Where the walls were ruinous or decay'd, whether by age, or by the neglect of former governors, he rebuilt them anew, and repair'd that breach also, which the king of the Israelites had made, when Amaziah was his prisoner, at his triumphant entrance into the city. He erected also several towers of one hundred * and fifty cubits in height, and built castles and several strong forts for the security of the open country, beside a great many aqueducts, cisterns, and basins, for the relief of his herds and cattle, whereof the number was incredible, the country being naturally disposed for pasture. He was himself also a great lover of tillage, planting, gardening, nurseries, and all sorts of husbandry. As to military affairs, he had an army of three hundred and seventy thousand select men, under the command of two thousand brave and experienc'd officers; all well arm'd, with swords, bucklers, brazen corselets, bows, slings, and train'd up to the exercise of arms, and the drawing up of armies, after the most advantageous way of martial discipline. He had several machines and engines also for battery, and casting of stones and darts, beside grappling hooks, and other instruments of war. But his heart was so puffed up with the vanity of these preparations and designs, that the arrogance of his ambition for a transitory and an earthly glory, took him quite off from the thought of blessings everlasting, and from the duties of holiness and religion, in the worship and service of the Almighty; insomuch, that he falter'd in his integrity, after the example of his father, out of an impotency of mind, that was not able to bear up against the tide of a constant course of prosperity and success.

THE king, upon a solemn festival day, once dress'd himself in a sacerdotal habit, and went into the holy temple to offer up incense to the Lord upon the golden altar; but Azariah the high-priest, with a train of fourscore priests more along with him, rush'd into the temple, to the king, exclaiming against the wickedness of that usurpation, in breaking in upon an office belonging peculiarly to the priests of the race of Aaron, exclusive of all others; so that Azariah bad him immediately to depart, and not provoke the wrath of God with those indignities any longer. The king in a passion bad them be quiet without more ado, upon the peril of their lives; which menace was followed with a terrible earthquake, and the roof of the temple opening with the shock of it, there pass'd a beam of the sun through the cleft that struck directly upon the face of this sacrilegious prince, who in that very moment became a leper; and this prodigy was accompanied with another. There was a place at some small distance westward from the town, that they call'd Eroge; where, by the same earthquake, one half of a great mountain was torn from the other; and after it had rolled over and over, a matter † of four furlongs, it stopt in the conclusion upon the east side of a mountain over against it, having choak'd up the highway, and cover'd the king's gardens all over with rubbish ‡. When the priests found the king to be leprous, and that the Lord had smitten him, they admonish'd him to depart the city, as an unclean person, and not fit for common society. The shame of lying under such a calamity, had by this time in some measure humbled his pride; so that he submitted and obey'd; and when he had liv'd for some time a private life out of the city, Jotham his son taking upon him the administration of the government, his grief brought him at last to his grave, in the sixty eighth year of his age, and in the fifty second of his reign; and his body was laid in his gardens in a monument by itself.

ZACHARIAH, the king of the Israelites, and the son of Jeroboam: in the seventh month of his reign, was murder'd by the treachery of one of his own domesticks, Shallum by name, the son of Jabesh; who, upon the slaughter of Zachariah, took possession of the government. It was ill got, and he lost it as ill, on the thirtieth day after the seizing of it. Menahem had at that time the command of an army that was at || Thapsa; and upon the news of what had befallen Zachariah, he marched away presently with his troops to Samaria, where he fought and overthrew Shallum, put him to the sword, and afterward by his own authority took all the ensigns of royalty to himself, and exercised sovereign power. With this victorious army he marched to Thapsa; but the citizens shut their gates upon him, and refused to admit him, which put him into such a rage against them, as revolvers, that he laid waste the whole country thereabouts, and in

The king usurps the priest's office, Ver. 16-19. Azariah and the priests force into the temple upon him, and oppose him, ib.

A miraculous earthquake.

Uzziah becomes a leper, and the priests drive him out of the city, Ver. 20.

Jotham his son governs in the interim of his absence, and after his death succeeds him, Ver. 21. Zachariah murder'd by his own domesticks, in the seventh month of his reign, 2 Kings xv. 8-10. Shallum seizes the government, ibid. || Scrip. Tirzah.

* A cubit, as we've before observed, being near two and twenty inches, one hundred and fifty must amount to upwards of an hundred and eighty two English feet; that is, threescore yards and two feet.

† Viz. About half a mile.

‡ That Uzziah was stricken with a leprosy, we read in 2 Chron. xxvii. 19. but that the fact was accompanied with such dreadful, amazing, and miraculous circumstances as Josephus here relates, we find no where recorded in holy writ. Nor have we any stronger evidence to avouch the truth of the convulsive throws and agonies that nature is hereupon said to have suffer'd, than the word of a priest, in a case that very nearly concern'd the privilege of priesthood; a testimony too weak, I think, to sway the belief of any unbigotted, unprejudiced, and impartial, considerate thinker.

The taking of Tirzah by Menahem, and his barbarous cruelties, 2 Kings xv. 16.

Pul, the king of Assyria, threatens him with a war; but he purchases his peace, Ver. 19.

Menahem's death and burial, Ver. 22. Pekahiah succeeds him, and is slain by Pekah, who govern'd twenty years, Ver. 23-27.

Pekah oppressed by Tiglath-Pileser; and the Israelites carried away captive, Ver. 29.

Jotham a just and a pious prince, 2 Chron. xxvii. 2.

He repairs the temple and the city, and makes the Ammonites tributaries, Ver. 3-5.

The prophet Nahum foretels the destruction of Nineve and the Assyrian empire, Nahum ii. 8, &c.

the end took the town by assault, put them all to the sword, without sparing so much as a child, to the highest degree of cruelty that ever was heard of; for he exercised that merciless rigour and inhumanity upon his own countrymen, that would have been unpardonable, even toward the worst of Barbarians themselves; and his government was not much easier for the whole ten years of his reign over Israel. He was threaten'd, after this, with an invasion by Pul, the king of Assyria; but he durst not run the risque of a battle, and so came to a timely agreement with him, for the composition of a * thousand talents of silver, which he raised upon the people at fifty shekels a head. He died soon after, and was buried at Samaria, leaving Pekahiah, the next heir, to succeed him; who inherited the inhumanity and ill-nature of his father, as well as the government. But his time was short; for after two years reign, he was cut to pieces, together with several of his friends, at a publick feast, by the treasonous practice of Pekah, the son of Remaliah, one of his tribunes; who withal seized upon the government, and reigned a matter of twenty years; leaving it a question at last, whether he was more remarkable for his impiety to God, or for his injustice towards men?

In the days of this Pekah, Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, invaded the Israelites; and after the subduing of the land of Gilead, and the country beyond Jordan, together with that part of Galilee that lies next it, as also Cydida and Asora, he took the inhabitants prisoners, and carried them away into his own country; of which I have said sufficient in this place.

JOTHAM, the son of Uzziah, reigned in Jerusalem over the tribe of Judah, his mother a native of that city, and her name Jerushah; a prince famous and celebrated for all excellent qualities and virtues; a man exemplary for his reverence to God, for his justice to men, and for the care he took of the commonwealth; making it his business to keep all things in order, and to rectify what he found amiss. He repair'd the decays of the porches and galleries in the temple; made good the city walls, where they were falling to ruin; erected large and strong towers; brought the Ammonites under the contribution of a † hundred talents a year, ‡ thirty thousand chomers of wheat, and as many of barley, advancing the kingdom also to such a state, that the people were both happy at home, and formidable abroad.

In the reign of this prince, there appear'd a prophet, whose name was Nahum; and he foretold the destruction of Nineve, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire, in manner as follows: "The condition of Nineve, says he, shall be like that of a fish-pool, in a violent agitation of the waters before a great wind. The people shall fly away before the storm, in trouble and confusion; calling out one to another, hold, stay a little, and take your gold and your silver along with

you, and no body shall mind it; for their lives shall be much dearer to them than their treasure. They shall have desperate factions and divisions among themselves; weeping and wailing, with the knocking of their knees, and death in their faces. What will become of the habitation of the lions, and the dams of the lions whelps?" "Nineve, says the Lord, I will strike thee out from off the face of the earth, and put an end to the outrages of the wild beasts, that thou hast sent into the world." The prophet's predictions about Nineve were more at large; but the particulars are not necessary for my purpose, and would appear tedious, perhaps to the reader. Let it suffice that the prophecy was fulfilled a hundred and fifteen years after; and so I shall say no more of it.

C H A P. XII.

The death of Jotham. Abaz succeeds him. Rezin and Pekah make war upon him. Abaz overthrown by Pekah, with a prodigious slaughter.

JOTHAM departed this life in the one and fortieth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign; and Ahaz in the course of an hereditary right succeeded him. He was the most impious prince of all that ever sat upon that throne, both for his apostasy from the laws of his country, and for his idolatry, in imitation of the kings of Israel. He built altars in Jerusalem; sacrific'd to idols upon them, and his own son among the rest for a burnt-offering, after the manner of the Chanaanites; and a great many other things he did too, equally as bad as this. While Ahaz was in the course of these wicked extravagancies, Rezin the king of Damascus, and Pekah the king of the Israelites, being join'd in a league of amity and alliance, marched together, with united forces, up to Jerusalem, pressing it hard with repeated assaults, and lying a considerable time before it; but the place was so well fortified and defended, that they were forced to quit it in the conclusion. In the mean while the king of Syria possess'd himself of the city Elath by the Red Sea, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and introduced a colony of Syrians into their places. He possess'd himself, after this, of several castles and strong holds; did terrible execution upon the Jews, and so with a prodigious booty marched his army back again to Damascus.

WHEN the king of Jerusalem came to understand that the Syrians were gone away, he look'd upon himself to be a match for the king of Israel, and so drew out an army against him; but his wickedness was so great, that God in a just indignation gave the victory to his enemy, with the loss of a hundred and twenty thousand of his men. In the same battle, Zachariah, the general of the Israelites, kill'd Amia, the son of Ahaz, in a single encounter, and slew also Azica, the captain of

Jotham lived one and forty years, and reigned sixteen, his son Ahaz succeeding him, 2 Chron. xxvii. 8, 9. and xxviii. 1. An idolatrous and a bloody prince, V. 2-4.

The king of Syria makes terrible havoc among the Jews, and returns to Damascus, Ver. 6.

A battle betwixt the two kings of Jerusalem and Israel, wherein one hundred and twenty thousand are kill'd, beside prisoners of their own brethren, innumerable, 2 Chron. xxviii. 5-8.

* A thousand talents weigh'd one hundred, fourteen thousand, and sixty two pounds, six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to three hundred and forty two thousand, one hundred and eighty seven pounds, ten shillings, English money.

† We have adjust'd the weight and value of an hundred talents a little above, in page 249, which see.

‡ A chomer contained about six hundred and five English pints; thirty thousand chomers therefore must amount to eighteen millions, one hundred and fifty thousand English pints.

The prophet Obel reproves the Israelites for making slaves of their own tribes and relations, 2 Chron. xxviii. 9-11.

They call a council, Ver. 12, 13.

and discharge their prisoners, V. 14, 15.

Ahaz gains Tiglath-Pileser over to him, by vast promises and presents, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8.

He lays Syria waste, forces Damascus, puts Rezin to the sword, and transplants the inhabitants, Ver. 10.

the guards; taking Elkanah, the general of the Jews troops, prisoner; beside an infinite number of captives of both sexes, of the Benjamites, that they carried away, and so returned with the spoil to Samaria. There was at that time a prophet in Samaria, whose name was Obel*, who went out of the town to meet the army in their return before the walls, crying out to them with a loud voice, that they were not to look upon this victory as an advantage gain'd by their own virtue and valour, but as a judgment from heaven upon king Ahaz. The prophet therefore told them, they were to blame not to rest satisfied with the prosperous success of their undertaking, without making slaves of their kindred and relations of the two tribes; advising them by all means to set them at liberty, and send them home again, without offering any indignity to their persons, upon the peril of falling under God's displeasure, if they refused it. The Israelites, upon this admonition, call'd a council to deliberate what to do upon this occasion. The question being put, there stood up one Berechiah, a man of great authority in the assembly; who, with three more, declared themselves utterly against the bringing any of the prisoners into the town, for fear God's vengeance should fall upon all the rest. They had enough to answer for, in transgressions already past, that the prophet had denounced against, without any need of increasing the provocation, or the number. The soldiers were so far wrought upon by this consideration, that they gave their prisoners leave and liberty to go whither they would, and to take what they would along with them; whereupon the four persons aforesaid set them free of their bonds, appointed care to be taken of their bodies, furnish'd them with provisions for their journey, and so dismiss'd them safe back again; bearing them company themselves as far as beyond Jericho. And when they had brought them on their way within a little of Jerusalem, they returned to Samaria.

C H A P. XIII.

Tiglath-Pileser joins with Ahaz. They ravage Syria; kill Rezin king of Damascus, and take the place. The wickedness and death of Ahaz. Hezekiah succeeds him. Hosea murders Pekah, and seizes the kingdom. Salmanezer overthrows Hosea. Hezekiah restores God's worship, and overcomes the Philistines.

THIS last blow from the Israelites forced Ahaz to bethink himself of calling in assistance toward the carrying on of the war. So he sent an embassy to Tiglath-Pileser, the king of the Assyrians, with promises of great sums of money, and magnificent presents in hand, craving succours from him against the Israelites, and those of Syria and Damascus. This prince no sooner heard of the desire and proposal of Ahaz, but he march'd immediately to his aid, laying the country of Syria waste, taking Damascus by assault, and putting king Rezin to the sword. The people of Damascus he transplanted to the Upper Media, and supplied their places at Damascus, with colonies of his own people; and then he depopulated

a great part of the land of the Israelites, carrying away vast numbers of them prisoners. After the harassing of the Syrians at this rate, Ahaz took all the gold and silver out of the king's treasury, and that likewise out of the temple, with all the rich donatives and presents, and carried the whole mass along with him to Damascus; where, according to his agreement, he deliver'd all up to the king of Assyria, with acknowledgments for the favour of his relief, and so returned back again to Jerusalem. Now this king had so little sense, either of honour or of reason, that the mortal enmity betwixt him and the Syrians, did not hinder him yet from worshipping their gods, and joining in their ceremonies; vainly persuading himself that they would be propitious to his arms, in favour of his impious zeal in a false worship; and then when he was overcome, on the other hand, his business was to make friends of the gods of the Assyrians; so that no sort of idolatry came amiss to him, provided he might but keep clear of the reverence he owed to the true God, and to the religion and traditions of his ancestors. This apostasy was the cause that drew down the wrath and vengeance of God upon him. Nay, the contempt and aversion that he had for the honour and service of God, was so extravagant, that after he had robb'd and rifled the temple of all that was precious in it, he commanded the very doors to be kept shut too, out of pure spite to God and goodness, and to prevent the celebrating of any act or office of religious worship in that holy place. But at last, after a constant course and exercise of these outrageous impieties, he departed this life at thirty six years of age, and in the sixteenth of his reign, leaving his son Hezekiah his successor to the government. About this time Pekah king of Israel lost both his government and his life, by the treachery of a court-confident, whose name was Hosea, who enjoy'd the fruit of an impious violence and usurpation, for the space of nine years. He was one of the worst of men; and in his life and conversation he shewed not the least thought or belief of a God. Salmanezer, the king of the Assyrians, led an army against him, and being cast off by God, whom he himself had rejected and despised, he was easily overcome, and forc'd to submit to the terms of a tributary.

In the fourth † year of Hosea's reign, Hezekiah came to be king of Jerusalem. He was the son of Ahaz, by Abi, a native of that city; a person endowed with excellent intellects, and naturally a lover and practiser of piety and justice; for the first thing he did upon his coming to the throne, was to provide for the comfort of his people, in settling the main affair of religion and God's worship; to which end, he immediately summon'd a meeting of the priests and Levites, and treated them with a discourse, as it is reported, to this effect: "I shall not need to mind you of the many and the great calamities that have befallen you for the iniquities of my father, in not rendering to God the honour due to him, and for the madness of your being pre-vail'd upon to pay a divine adoration to his idols; wherefore being now taught by woeful experience, how dangerous a thing it is

Ahaz makes him a present for this exploit, of all the plate and treasure in the temple and palace, Ver. 8.

Ahaz shuts up the temple doors in very spite to God and his worship, 2 Chron. xxviii. 24.

The death, age, and reign of Ahaz, Ver. 1-27.

Hezekiah his son succeeds, 2 Chron. xxix. 1.

Hosea treacherously kills Pekah, 2 Kings xv. 30.

Salmanezer makes Hosea his tributary, 2 Kings xviii. 9-12.

Hezekiah king of Jerusalem in the fourth of Hosea, 2 Chron. xxx. 4-11.

* Scrip. Oded.

† In 2 Kings xviii. 1. 'tis said, he began his reign in the third year of Hosea.

"to prevaricate with the Almighty, it is my advice, that all past miscarriages may be forgotten, and that you purify and purge yourselves, together with the priests and Levites, from all your former pollutions; and after that preparation, that you set open the doors of that holy place; and when you shall have restor'd it to the state of its original purity and reverence, by consecrations, expiatory lustrations, and sacrifices in form, we may then promise ourselves that God will pardon our impieties, and prosper us in all our undertakings." The priests were so elevated and encouraged by this advice of the king's, that they presently open'd the temple, clear'd it of all prophane impurities and defilements, made ready their holy vessels, and laid their sacrifices upon the altar, according to the Jewish manner. The king, in the meantime, sent messengers through all his dominions to summon the people up to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread; which had been then a long time intermitted, through the impious neglect of former kings; exhorting and inviting the Israelites also to forsake the practice of their idolatrous superstitions, and return to the exercise of the true religion, and to the worship of the true God; promising them that they should have free leave and liberty to come and go, and to celebrate this festival in common with his own people. Hezekiah told them, that it was not for his own sake, but for theirs, that he gave them this invitation; and that they themselves should find the comfort of it, if they follow'd his counsel. But when the Israelites heard of the message, they were so far from giving any heed to it, that they had the messengers in derision, and treated the prophets contemptibly, for the good office of advising them to return to their duties, and foretelling them the miseries that should befall them, without a timely humiliation and repentance. And their outrage did not stop here neither; for they took several of them afterward, and put them to death*. At this rate they went on from one wickedness to another, and never gave over, till God in his wrath avenged himself upon them for their impiety, by delivering them up into the hands of their enemies, as will be seen in its proper place. But there were great numbers yet of the tribes of Manasses, Zabulon, and Issachar, that had their hearts touch'd with this premonition of the prophets, and who went in great numbers up to Hezekiah at Jerusalem, to worship.

The king summons up all his people to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, 2 Chron. xxx. 5-10.

The Israelites ridicule the message, *ibid.*

and put several of the prophets and messengers to death.

Hezekiah sacrifices for himself, 2 Chron. xxix. 20-24.

WHEN the multitude was there gather'd together, the king went up to the temple, together with the princes and the people, where he sacrificed for himself seven bulls, seven rams, and as many goats; and when he had first laid his hands upon the heads of the victims, both the king and the princes left the execution to the priests, who cut the throats of the sacrifices, and burnt them whole, the Levites standing in a ring about them, singing divine hymns, and accompanying their voices with musical instruments, in such manner as David had prescribed to them of old, the rest of the priests joining in the concert. When this was over, the king and the people cast themselves prostrate with their faces upon the ground,

and worshipped the Lord. He sacrificed after this, seventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; bestowing also six hundred bullocks, and three thousand other cattle, as a largess for the entertainment of the people; and when the priests had done their parts according to the customary method and order, the king himself made good cheer, and communicated with the people, joining together in praises and thanksgivings.

A donative over and above, 2 Chron. xxx. 24.

THE feast of unleavened bread was now coming on, and in the time of their preparations for the feast of the passover, they offer'd up a course of other sacrifices, for seven days successively, and the king bestow'd upon the people, out of his own bounty, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand of other cattle, over and above their own number; the princes likewise, after Hezekiah's example, superadding out of their own liberality, a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty of other beasts; in-somuch, that from the days of Solomon to this particular time, there was never such a solemnity known to be so splendidly celebrated.

Never such a solemnity since the days of Solomon, Ver. 26.

So soon as this festival was over, they made it their next work to purge the whole country, having first purified Jerusalem itself from the abomination of their idols. The king then appointed daily sacrifices, according to the law, to be supplied out of his own stores, and commanded the people to present the priests and Levites with their tenths and first fruits, that they might not be taken off by any common business from their attendance upon the altar. By this means they were abundantly furnished with all sorts of fruits and provisions. The king also ordered the building of granaries and store-houses, for the common use and service of themselves, their wives, and children, to be distributed in proportion to their shares; so that by these degrees, the ancient discipline came in some measure to be restor'd.

A thorough reformation, 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.

MATTERS being thus settled, the king made war upon the Philistines, and over-ran their country, subduing all their cities, from Gath to Gaza, which he added to his own territories. But the king of Assyria, in the meantime, sends a message to him to demand the tribute from him, which was formerly paid him by his father, with a menace, in case of refusal, to take his country from him; but Hezekiah did so absolutely depend upon the goodness of God, the conscience of his own innocence, and the veracity of the prophet Isaiah, from whom he was sure to be forewarned of the event of things, that he gave no heed at all to the menaces of the Assyrians. And so much for the story of this king.

The king over-runs the country of the Philistines, 2 Kings xviii. 8.

C H A P. XIV.

Salmanazer takes Samaria; destroys the kingdom of Israel; carries away Hosea, and all his people, prisoners; and plants the kingdom of Israel with a colony of Chuthites.

UPON intelligence given to Salmanazer king of Assyria, that the king of Israel was enter'd into a secret treaty with So, the king of Egypt, to join in an alliance against him, the Assyrian, in a furious indignation,

* The Scripture makes no mention of any of the king's messengers, or prophets, who were put to death on the account of this message.

Salmanazer takes Samaria by assault, in the ninth year of Hosea. Hosea a prisoner, and the people transplanted, 2 Kings xvii. 3-6. and xviii. 9-12.

The date of the transportation.

The revolt from Rehoboam was the rise of all this mischief.

See Menander in his annals.

presently marches with his army against Samaria. (This was in the seventh year of the reign of Hosea, and the city standing out against him.) In the third year of the siege, and in the ninth of the present king, he took it by assault, in the seventh year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Jerusalem. The loss of this place was the final ruin of the kingdom of Israel; the people were all transplanted into Media and Persia, and Hosea the king taken with them alive; while the king of Assyria brought others from thence in exchange, as far as Chuthah, a river of Persia, to re-people the land of the Israelites, and so to plant in Samaria, and up and down that country.

THIS transportation of the ten tribes from the place of their abode, fell out to be about nine hundred and forty seven years, from the coming of their forefathers out of the land of Egypt, to their taking possession of that land before, by force of arms; eight hundred years from the days of Joshua, and two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days after the revolt from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, to Jeroboam, of whom we have spoken heretofore. This was the miserable end of that stiff-necked people, that would neither be subject to laws, nor hearken to the voice and precautions of their prophets, though they foretold them, that their certain destruction was at hand, unless they departed immediately from their evil ways. Now the rise of all these calamities took its date from that seditious revolt from Rehoboam, in advancing a servant over the head of his master; who, in contempt of God, and his holy laws, drew the indignation of Heaven upon the people, by corrupting them into the practice of the same abominations, after his example. But the justice of God came home to him in his own person too in its due season.

THE king of Assyria, in fine, ravaged with his army, and domineer'd every where in Syria and Phœnicia. There is mention also made of his name in the history of the Tyrians; for in the reign of Elulæus, as Menander has it in his annals, (that were translated out of the Tyrian language into Greek,) he made war upon Tyre. His words are to this purpose: "This same Elulæus reigned thirty six years; and upon a revolt of the Gittæans, he sent a fleet thither, that reduced them to his obedience; and the king of the Assyrians sent out an army also against him, and invaded the whole country of Phœnicia; till upon the conclusion of a peace, he march'd with his troops back again. Some short time after this exploit, the cities of Sydon, Arce, Palæ-Tyros, and several other towns, went over from the Tyrians, to the Assyrian king; who taking it so heinously to

see the Tyrians the only people that disputed his authority and power, he dispatch'd a navy against them of sixty sail, and eight hundred rowers, under the conduct of the Phœnicians, which the Tyrians encounter'd, with only twelve vessels; broke the whole body, and took five hundred of the rowers prisoners. The success of this encounter gave them a wonderful reputation for their skill and ability in naval affairs. The king of Assyria, upon this affront, returns, and sets guards along the river, and upon all springs and aqueducts, to keep the Tyrians from water. The Tyrians labour'd under this distress for a matter of five years, when they were forced to relieve themselves from pits of their own digging."

THIS is what we find written of Salmanazer in the chronicles of the Tyrians. Now the new-comers in Samaria are called Chuthites, from a country of Persia of that name, and from the river Chuthah, from whence they had their original. There were five nations of them, and they brought as many of their own country gods along with them, highly provoking the true and the great God to indignation against them, for the worship they paid to these idols; so that they were visited with so * dreadful a plague, that the place was well nigh unpeopled with it; and finding no relief from any human means, they were advised by the oracle to have recourse to the worship of the great God; for their case was desperate and hopeless, without such an application. The people immediately upon this sent for commissioners to attend the king of Assyria with a petition, that he would be pleased to send them some of the priests that were carried away captives with the Israelites. This being granted, and the priests brought, as they desired, they had the law of Moses read, with an explication upon the practice, and the reason of their religion and discipline, which had so wonderful an effect upon them, that they gave themselves wholly up to the study and exercise of it; and soon after this the pestilence ceased. Now the † people of that country retain'd to this day the name of Cuthites, among the Hebrews; but the Greeks call them Samaritans. They are a people unfix'd and changeable in their opinions and inclinations, accommodating themselves to the present time and occasion. So long as the Jews are prosperous, we are all of a blood, they cry, and of the lineage of Joseph; but if they happen to fall under any affliction, or adversity, alas, say they, we have nothing to do with them, they are strangers to us: we came a great way off, they say, into that country, and the like. But of this in its proper place.

Of the Chuthites, and why so called, 2 Kings xvii. 24.

A dreadful plague among them for their idolatry, Ver. 25.

The oracle sends them to the great God for relief.

They petition the king of Assyria to have some of the captive priests sent them, Ver. 26. The priests instruct them in the law of Moses, V. 28.

The Chuthites still side with the strongest.

* See 2 Kings xvii. 26. and Bochart's Hieroz. lib. iii. c. 3. part. 1.

† See Vossius's epistle to Calvius, p. 394.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK X.

From the Year of the World 3224 to 3425.

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib enters Judah with a mighty army; conditions with Hezekiah for a sum of money to withdraw; receives the money, and breaks his articles. He carries the war into Egypt, and leaves the siege of Jerusalem to Rabshaketh. The prophet Isaiah promises Hezekiah assistance from Heaven.

Sennacherib makes war upon Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 13. He over-runs Judah and Benjamin, and advances toward Jerusalem, *ibid.*



Embassadors meet him, with offers of submission and tribute, Ver. 14. which he agrees to, with an oath to make them good.

The composition-money is paid, and the Assyrian breaks his articles, Ver. 14-17.

IN the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, Sennacherib the king of Assyria, marched against him with a powerful and well-appointed army; and having taken all the cities of Judah and Benjamin by assault, he was now ready to advance toward Jerusalem, when an embassy came to him with an offer of submission to his power, and of paying him tribute. Sennacherib gave the ambassadors audience, and resolved immediately to desist from the war, and to treat upon the king's terms, promising with the solemnity of an oath, that upon the receipt of * three hundred talents of silver, and † thirty of gold, he would depart with his army, without attempting any act of hostility against him. Hezekiah, upon this assurance, emptied all the treasuries, and sent him the money, in confidence of the enemy's departure according to his oath, and that he might reign afterward without any difficulty or danger. The Assy-

rian took the money, but broke his word; for he marched himself with his troops against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and left Rabshaketh lieutenant-general, with Tharata and Anacharis, as colleagues with him, to carry on the war against Jerusalem. Upon the drawing up of their army, they pitch'd their camp within sight of the walls of the town; and by a messenger summon'd Hezekiah out to a parley. Hezekiah was not willing to trust himself, and therefore sent out three of his particular friends to supply his place; that is to say, Eliakim, his deputy-governor; Sheb-nah and Joah, keepers of the records. Upon their coming out of the town, and presenting themselves before the officers of the Assyrian army, Rabshaketh, staring them in the face, bad them carry their master this message: "That the great king Sennacherib would fain know what confidence he valued himself upon, that he should dare to make any great difficulty of owning that great king for his master, and to refuse entrance to his army into the city? What, says Rabshaketh, does he flatter himself with hope of relief from Egypt, as if the Egyptians were in a

Rabshaketh demands a treaty, V. 18. Hezekiah sends out deputies, *ibid.*

Rabshaketh treats them with insolence and scorn, Ver. 19-25.

* Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thousand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred and two thousand, six hundred and fifty six pounds, five shillings.

† Thirty talents weighed three thousand four hundred and twenty one pounds, ten ounces, and ten penny weight, and their value in gold amounted to one hundred and sixty four thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds, English money.

"condition to cope with the army of my master? Why certainly he must be worse than mad, to imagine it, and to trust to a broken reed that will both deceive him, if he trusts to it, and run into his hand, and wound him, if he lays any stress upon it. But, says Rabshaketh, you are to inform your master, that this expedition is not attempted without God's holy will and direction, who will as certainly give the king of Assyria victory over Hezekiah and his subjects, as he hath already made him victorious over the Israelites." Rabshaketh deliver'd himself in Hebrew, being a language that he was well skill'd in; but Eliakim fearing the effect such a discourse, in a known tongue, might have upon the multitude, desir'd him rather, if he pleased, to speak Syriack. Now Rabshaketh very well understanding what the other was afraid of, rais'd his voice, and continued his discourse still in Hebrew, to this purpose: "Pray, says Rabshaketh, let your people hear, and understand the commands of my master; for it concerns them so to do, and to render themselves in season. It is the business, I know, both of yourselves and of your king, to seduce your people with vain and empty hopes of defending themselves by force; but if you have the courage to put it to a hazard, or any sort of pretence to beat off this army from your walls, I am ready to furnish you with two thousand horse, if you will only undertake to find riders to them. But, alas! you have not riders wherewithal to try the experiment. If it be so, why are you then so long a deliberating upon a thing you will be compell'd to do in the conclusion, especially in a case where you are safe, if you do it willingly, and run all the hazards in the world, if you stay to be driven to it upon constraint; as the weaker must of necessity yield at last to the stronger?"

THIS was all spoken in the hearing, as well of the people as of the deputies; and no sooner brought to the king's ear, but he immediately divested himself of his royal robes, and put on sackcloth, after the custom of the country, in token of his humiliation, casting himself prostrate upon the ground, and imploring the aid and favour of Almighty God, being utterly hopeless of any comfort elsewhere. He sent likewise some of his particular friends, together with others of the priesthood, to the prophet Isaiah, to desire him that he would intercede with the Lord, by prayers and sacrifices for the common safety, and for the abatement of the pride and power of the enemy, in compassion to his people. The prophet complied with the king's request, and succeeded so far in his mediation, that he was authorized by a divine revelation to bid the king and his friends be of good courage; for the enemy should be overcome without a battle, and abandon his design with loss and disgrace; that his stomach should be brought down, and that the hand of the Almighty should be upon him,

to his ruin; that Sennacherib himself should miscarry in his Egyptian expedition, and upon that disappointment go to his own home again, where he should fall by the sword.

It happened that at this very juncture of time, Hezekiah received letters from the king of Assyria, with insolent expostulations in them, what a fool he was to imagine any possibility, under his circumstances, of maintaining his liberty against the power of a prince who had already subjected so many warlike nations to his obedience, concluding with a menace, of putting man, woman, and child to the sword, if they did not, without delay, and of their own accord, set open their city gates, and give a free entrance to his army. Hezekiah did so absolutely depend upon the truth and power of God, that he laid no stress at all upon this insolent letter, but folded it up again, and laid it in the temple, betaking himself still to repeated prayers and supplications, for the safety of the city, till Isaiah returned with this answer: "That his petition was heard, and that the danger was over, for any harm the Assyrians should do them upon that undertaking. He told them likewise, that there were happier times at hand, wherein they should live in peace and security upon their own lands and possessions, without fear of an enemy." In process of time the king of Assyria finding all his attempts to be frustrated, and nothing to succeed with him, he withdrew his army, and went back again upon this occasion. He had spent a great deal of time before Pelusium; and at last when he had brought up his platforms within a little of the top of the walls, and was upon the very point almost of giving the assault, news was brought him, that * Tharices, king of Ethiopia, was upon his march, and approaching with a great enforcement to assist the Egyptians; and that he took his way through the desert, with a design to fall upon the Assyrians by surprize. Sennacherib was so alarm'd at this report, that he immediately drew off his army. † Herodotus calls this war of Sennacherib's against the king of Egypt, a war against the priest of Vulcan, as being both a king, and a priest of that false God. "Now this was the reason, says he, of Sennacherib's raising the siege of Pelusium. The king of Egypt, upon this occasion, call'd to his God for help; which being granted him, was fatal to the Arabian, by a mistake, writing Arabian for Assyrian. And, says he, in one night there came such troops of rats into the camp of the Assyrians, that they gnaw'd all their bow-strings to pieces, and made useless several other pieces of their arms, even to the disarming of the Assyrians, who, upon this disappointment, drew off from the town." Now Berosus, a Chaldean historian, speaks of this king Sennacherib, and how he reigned over the Assyrians, and made war upon all Asia and Egypt. ‡ His words are to this following effect.

Sennacherib's menacing summons to Hezekiah, Ver. 10-13.

Isaiah tells Hezekiah that his petition was granted, and no further danger of Sennacherib, V. 20-34.

Sennacherib draws off his army, upon the news of Tharices's march to assist the Egyptians, Ver. 9.

A judgment of rats.

Hezekiah humbles himself in sackcloth, 2 Kings xix. 1, 2.

The prophet Isaiah mediates to God for Hezekiah, and obtains an assurance of victory over his enemies, Ver. 6.

* See Rabshaketh.

† See Herodotus, p. 163. Ed. Steph. 1592. In the translation of this place we have followed Gelenius, both Epiphanius Scholasticus and the original Greek being corrupted, as is shewn by Jos. Scaliger, in his notes upon the fragments of Berosus, p. 45, 46. where he ingeniously supplies what is wanting.

‡ Scaliger fancies this to be an interpolation, and that the beginning of the following chapter is not Berosus's.

C H A P. II.

Sennacherib besieges Jerusalem. One hundred eighty five thousand of his men cut off by a judicial plague the first night. He quits the siege, and goes home again, where he is murder'd by two of his sons, in the temple of his idol.

A dreadful plague,
2 Kings xix.
35.

Sennacherib murder'd by two of his sons in the temple of his darling idol, Ver. 37.

* **SENNACHERIB**, at his return from the Egyptian war, found his army that he had left under the command of Rabshaketh almost quite destroy'd by a judicial pestilence, which swept away, in general officers, tribunes, and common soldiers, to the number of one hundred eighty five thousand men, the first night they sat down before the city. This dreadful mortality put Sennacherib in such a fright, partly as it was a stroke of divine vengeance, and partly for fear of the rest of his army, that he made all possible haste back again, by great marches, to his palace at Nineve; where, after a while, he was cut off by his two eldest sons, Adrameleck and † Sennar, in the very temple of Asarus, which was his darling idol. The people of the country, detesting the inhumanity of the action, banished them out of their dominions, whereupon they fled into Armenia, || Assarachod, the third son, succeeding to the government: and thus ended this expedition.

C H A P. III.

Hezekiah falls sick, and has fifteen years added to his life. A league betwixt him and Balad the king of Babylon; whereupon the prophet Isaiah foretels the Israelites captivity in Babylon, and the calamities that were to befall Hezekiah and his posterity. The death of Hezekiah.

Hezekiah falls desperately sick, 2 Kings xx. 1. Having no issue, he beseeches God to make him the father of a son before he dies.

HEZEKIAH being now deliver'd beyond all expectation from any farther apprehension of trouble or danger, and being likewise thoroughly convinced that it was the only and immediate hand of God that wrought his preservation, as well by the plague that destroy'd one part of the Assyrian army, as by the terror of that judgment that frighted away the rest; he, together with the people, offer'd up praises and thanksgivings for the mercies receiv'd; and while his thoughts were wholly taken up with the honour and worship of God, he was seized with so dangerous a distemper, that his physicians, and the rest of his friends despair'd of his life. In this distress, nothing so sensibly afflicted the king, as to consider, that upon his dying without issue, the succession of the family would be then at an end, and the kingdom left without a legitimate heir. The anxiety of this consideration lay so heavy upon his spirits, that he address'd himself to God with supplications and tears, only for the prolonging of his life till he might have a successor out of his own loins, and not to take him out of the number of the living, till he might be the father of a son, to keep him alive in his posterity. God took compassion of him, and the rather, because he was

not so much troubled for the loss of the advantages of a kingdom, as for the want of an heir of his own body to govern it. Upon this the prophet Isaiah was sent to him, with the comfortable assurance, that in three days his disease should leave him, and that he should live fifteen years longer yet, and the kingdom descend at last to his own son and heir. When the prophet had deliver'd this message to the king, according to his order, the disease was so desperate, and the news so surprizing, that Hezekiah could not persuade himself into a belief of it, without some prodigy of a token from Isaiah, in confirmation of his authority and commission, and that he was sent from God upon this errand. Now this is a common course, when we meet with difficulties out of the reach of hope and reason, to bring about, or to comprehend, to get the truth confirm'd to us by some extraordinary evidence. The prophet ask'd what sign or token would give him satisfaction. So he propounded that the shadow upon his dial might go ten degrees backward from the place where it then stood. The king, finding this miracle wrought, upon the prayers of the prophet, was restored presently to his health, and went immediately up to the temple, where he worshipped and paid his devotion.

The prophet Isaiah brings him word that his prayers were heard, Ver. 4-6.

The prophet confirms his assurance by a miracle, V. 11.

It was about this time that the Assyrian empire happen'd to be dissolv'd by the Medes, of which we shall speak elsewhere. But Balad, the king of Babylon, having sent ambassadors with presents to Hezekiah, invited him into a league of amity and alliance. Hezekiah receiv'd them with great courtesy; gave them a royal entertainment, and so shew'd them his treasure and his armoury, and whatever else he had that was magnificent and valuable, either in gold or precious stones, and in the end sent them back again well rewarded to their master. Upon this Isaiah came to him, and ask'd him who those men were, and whence they came? He told the prophet, that they were sent from the king of Babylon, and that he had shew'd them all the riches and curiosities of his palace, that they might gather from thence, how great a prince he was, and so possess their king upon better grounds, with the truth of the matter. "Know then," says the prophet to the king, that it "will not be long before this treasure of yours "shall be carried to Babylon; several of your "posterity shall be unmann'd, and serve the "court of Babylon in the quality of eunuchs. "This you will find to be a truth; for God "himself hath foretold it." This prediction pierced to the very soul of Hezekiah. "Well," says he, though I cannot but be much troubled at the thought of the misery that attends my family, yet since it is God's pleasure that it should be so, I have no more to beg from heaven, than that I may enjoy the "small remainder of my miserable life in "peace." Berosus takes notice also of this Balad, king of Babylon; but the prophet Isaiah who was so infallibly and miraculously inspir'd in all he said, and so certain of the truth of his predictions, committed all his prophecies to writing, and left them to posterity, for all men to judge of what he foretold, by the event; and this was not his business alone, but

The Medes dissolve the Assyrian empire. An embassy from the king of Babylon to Hezekiah, Ver. 12.

Isaiah foretels the captivity of Babylon, Ver. 16, 17, 18.

Berosus takes notice of this king of Babylon.

Isaiah commits his prophecies to writing.

* See Scaliger's notes upon the fragment of Berosus, p. 46. and Vorstius's Dissertar. Acad. 1.

† Scrip. Sharezer.

|| Scrip. Esar-haddon.

there were twelve more that did the same; and in all cases of event whatsoever, good or evil, the accomplishment and the prophecy agree exactly together. But we shall treat of this more particularly upon other occasions. Finally, when Hezekiah had survived in peace, according to what we have said already, he died in the five and fiftieth year of his life, and the nine and twentieth of his reign.

The death of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 21.

CHAP. IV.

Manasseh, the king of Judah, a wicked prince. The king of Babylon ravages his country, and takes him prisoner; but upon his conversion he is set at liberty. His life and death. Amon his son succeeds him, but is soon after cut off; and his son Josiah came next to the throne.

MANASSEH, the son of Hezekiah by * Achiba, a native of Jerusalem, succeeded his father in the government, but led a life directly contrary to the practices of his predecessor. He left no impiety unattempted, but made choice of all sorts of abominations that had brought so many heavy judgments upon the Israelites, for his imitation and example. He was so daring a libertine, as to prophane the holy temple itself, and consequently the whole city, and every corner of his dominions, with the tincture of the same iniquity and pollution. He began his reign with the contempt of God, and so proceeded to a barbarous and bloody persecution of holy and good men, dipping his hands in the blood of the very prophets themselves; infomuch, that hardly a day pass'd without putting some or other of them to death, so that the very streets of Jerusalem ran blood. The cry of these impious inhuman outrages called so loud to heaven for vengeance, that God was highly incensed at this audacious course of wickedness, and sent sundry prophets, one after another, both to the king and to the people, with cautions to them to repent in time of their neglect of God's worship, and to return to their duty, upon the peril of suffering the same calamities for the same sins that their brethren the Israelites had suffer'd before them; but these were discourses that they gave no credit too, till in the conclusion they found the menaces follow'd with effects, when it was too late to struggle with those miseries, which by a seasonable belief and consideration, might have been easily prevented. But upon their persisting in this train and habit of wickedness, God stirr'd up the king of Babylon and Chaldea, to make war upon them; who sent an army into Judea, that over-ran and destroy'd the whole country; surpriz'd Manasseh, and carried him away in the quality of a prisoner, every hour at mercy. This miserable prince came now by dear experience to be sensible of his fault; and upon that reflection earnestly besought God, only so far to soften the hearts of his enemies, as might move them to treat him with some sort of tenderness and humanity. God was not inexcusable, but in pity gave ear to his supplication; so that the king of Babylon, after some time, gave Manasseh his liberty, and restor'd him to his former government. Upon his arrival at Jerusalem, by the leave and clemency of the conqueror, he

did all the good that was possible, to atone for his former miscarriages, even to the utter effacing of them, being now quite another man in his inclination and manners, and wholly intent upon the advancement of religion; for he purged the city, and consecrated the temple afresh, making it his whole business to express his gratitude and reverence toward God, and to preserve himself in the blessing of his favour all the days of his life. He took care also, both by his example and his authority, to instruct the people in their duties, being conscious to himself, that his former male administration contributed not a little to the misfortunes of the publick. He caused an altar to be erected after the prescription and appointment of Moses, and offered daily sacrifices upon it. And when he had restor'd religion, and the discipline of it, to its original state and purity, he made it his business to fortify Jerusalem; repairing the old walls, and encompassing them with new ones. He built several high and strong towers, and furnished all the out-works with provisions of all sorts. He was, in fine, so much alter'd for the better, that from the instant of his return to God, to the day of his death, he was look'd upon to be one of the happiest of princes. He died at sixty seven years of age, in the five and fiftieth of his reign, and was buried in his own gardens. His son Amon, which he had by Emalsama of the city of Jabat, succeeded him in the government. This prince following the loose example of his father's youth, and indulging himself in the same wicked liberties, was quickly call'd to an account for his miscarriages, by some of his familiar friends and domesticks, who cut him off in the four and twentieth year of his life, and the second of his reign. The people brought the murderers to condign punishment, and laid his body in the monument of his father, delivering up the government to his son Josiah, who was at that time a youth of but eight years of age.

At his return to Jerusalem he does what he can to atone for what was past, Ver. 14-16. He purges the city, and consecrates the temple, ib.

He erects an altar, and offers daily sacrifices upon it, ibid.

The death of Manasseh, Ver. 20.

His son Amon succeeds him, ibid.

A libertine prince, V. 22.

and cut off in the second year of his reign, Ver. 24.

Josiah succeeds him, Ver. 25.

CHAP. V.

Josiah's zeal for the extirpation of idolatry, and the establishment of God's worship, after the example of king David.

THE mother of Josiah was born in Bethsatha, her name Jedida, and himself of a gracious and an excellent disposition, proposing the example of David for the rule and model of his whole life. In the twelfth year of his age, he gave an eminent instance of an innate piety and justice, in the reformation of the people from their erroneous persuasions concerning false Gods, and in the gaining of them over to reverence for the religion of their country. He repealed several of the ordinances of his forefathers; corrected whatever he found amiss, and applied as proper remedies, where the case required any such expedient, as the most mature and consummated wisdom and experience could have supplied. Where he found matters well, he kept them so, and lived in a conformity to what he approv'd; and all this he did, partly out of an inbred faculty of choice and judgment, and partly upon the admonition and advice of his council;

Josiah king of Judah proposeth David for his example, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 2, 3.

His zeal for God's worship, Ver. 4-7.

* Scrip. Hephzibah. Manasseh succeeds his father Hezekiah, 2 Kings xxi. 1. An idolatrous and an impious prince, Ver. 2-9.

His inhuman cruelty toward the prophets, Ver. 16.

Prophet sent after prophet to admonish, but all in vain, Ver. 10-15.

Judea overrun by the kings of Babylon and Chaldea, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Manasseh carried away prisoner to Babylon, ibid.

Upon his repentance and humiliation he is set at liberty, and restor'd, Ver. 12, 13.

council; for so long as he kept to the line of the law in the government of the commonwealth, and in the matter of divine worship, he was sure to be right, having so many examples before his eyes, among his apostate predecessors that had been cut off and destroy'd, only for breaking those measures; wherefore he caused all the groves to be cut down that were dedicated to false gods; their altars to be demolished, and all the donatives that had been consecrated by their ancestors to the honour of a false worship, to be taken away, and treated with derision; and this to be done, both in the city, and all over his dominions; by which means the people were drawn from the vanity of their superstitions, to a reverence for an exercise of the true religion, and to the use and custom of burnt-offerings, and other sacrifices upon the altar. He appointed also certain magistrates and commissioners, for the regulation of manners, and the ordering of matters in private cases, that no less care might be taken for the distributing of particular justice, than for the government of life itself. He likewise dispatch'd messengers throughout all his dominions, with orders to receive contributions of gold and silver toward the reparation of the temple, from those that were willing to advance the affair; but leaving all people at liberty, that they might have no cause of complaint. The money being collected and brought in, the care of the management and expence was committed to Amasiah, the governor of the city; Shaphan, the scribe; Joath, the recorder; and Helkiah, the high-priest; with orders immediately to enter upon the work, and to provide artificers, and all materials necessary for the reparation. And by this means was the temple repaired, and a lasting monument erected to posterity, of the king's piety and bounty.

JOSIAH, in the eighteenth year of his reign, order'd Hilkiah the priest to have the surpluse of the gold and silver that remain'd over and above the charge of the fabrick, to be cast into cups, chalices, goblets, and other vessels, for the use and service of the temple; giving order likewise, that all the gold and silver remaining still in the treasury, should be brought out, and applied to the same purposes. But the high-priest upon removing the gold, happen'd to discover the sacred books of Moses, as they were deposited in the temple, which he took out and gave to Shaphan to peruse; who, upon reading them over, went to the king, and told him, they had executed all his commands; but withal, that they had just now found the books of Moses, which he read over to Josiah. Upon the reading of these books, the king rent his garment, and calling some of his particular friends about him, with the scribe himself, and Hilkiah the high-priest, he sent them to the prophetess Huldah, the wife of Shallum, a man of great eminence and fame, to desire her intercession to God on their behalf, to implore his mercy for him and his people; for it was much to be fear'd that some heavy judgment would befall that people for their ancestors neglect and contempt of the laws of Moses, and lest they should be forced away from their native soil, to live like vagabonds, dispersed over the face of the earth, and end their days in misery, without obtaining such a reconciliation to God. The pro-

phetess upon the hearing of the king's orders and instructions, bad them return him this answer: "That the sentence was already pronounced, and not to be recall'd, upon any supplication or intercession whatsoever; that the people were to be banished their own country, and punish'd for their disobedience, with the loss of all the comforts of human life; and that this judgment was irrevocable, for their obstinacy in their superstitious impieties, notwithstanding so many earnest exhortations to a timely repentance, and the prophets menacing predictions of all these judgments to come upon them, if they went on in their wickedness." Now this unchangeable decree is to convince them by the event, that there is a just and an over-ruling God; and that the predictions which he deliver'd by the mouth of his prophets, are infallibly true, and the certain indications of his holy pleasure to mankind. "But, however, tell the king, says the prophetess, that out of a tenderness to his piety and goodness, God would be yet so gracious as not to bring this judgment upon the people in his days; but that the days of his death shall be the eve to their final destruction."

JOSIAH, upon the report of this answer from Huldah, sent messengers up and down to all the cities; commanding all the priests and Levites, and men of all ages and conditions, to come up to Jerusalem; and the first thing he did upon the meeting, was to read the holy books of Moses to them; after which, advancing himself upon a place higher than the rest, in the middle of the throng, he gave them an oath of obedience to the laws and precepts of Moses, and the observance of God's holy worship; which was taken by the whole multitude, and not without great alacrity, and an universal consent. This sacred oath was followed with sacrifices and prayers to God, for the grace of his favour and blessing. In the next place he laid a strict charge upon the high-priest to take a particular account of the plate and vessels in the temple, and to cast out so many of them as he should find to have been dedicated by any of his ancestors, to the worship of idols. There were a great many pieces of that kind, that were all reduced to dust, and the powder thrown into the air; all the priests being likewise put to death that were not of the stock of Aaron.

UPON the perfecting of this reformation in Jerusalem, the king took a progress through his whole dominion, where he destroy'd all the reliques of Jeroboam's superstition and idolatry, and burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the very altar that Jeroboam had set up, which we have said something of already, and of the prophet's intervening with a prediction, in the hearing of all the people, at the very time when Jeroboam was offering sacrifice, that one of the race of David, Josiah by name, was to do this, whose prediction had been made good by the event, three hundred sixty one years after the thing was foretold.

AND Josiah's zeal did not rest here neither; for he sent and went himself to several other Israelites that had made shift to escape the servitude and bondage of the Assyrians, to persuade them at last to forsake the superstitious vanities of foreign religions, and to cleave wholly

Huldah foretells the destruction of Jerusalem, Ver. 23-25.

Josiah calls a solemn assembly, and causes the law of Moses to be read, 2 Kings xxiii. 1, 2.

He renews the covenant with God, Ver. 3.

Josiah's care and zeal for a thorough reformation, Ver. 4-20.

1 Kings xiii.

Magistrates appointed for the regulation of manners and civil justice. c.

Voluntary contributions toward the repairing of the temple, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8. Josiah orders the disposing of the collections, V. 9-13.

and the providing of holy vessels.

The books of Moses found in the temple, Ver. 14.

and read over to the king, Ver. 18.

Josiah sends to consult the prophetess Huldah, V. 22.

wholly to the worship of the great God of their fathers, according to the rites and customs of their country, and him only to serve. And the king rested not here neither; but he caused a strict search to be made in all towns and villages for the discovery of any remainders of idolatrous practices, that might lie conceal'd, even to the very figures of the horses over the porch of the temple, that their forefathers had dedicated to the sun; and so for what other monuments soever, to which the ignorance of the common people had ever ascribed divine honour, Josiah caused them all to be taken away and destroy'd.

AFTER the purging of the whole nation in this manner, he conven'd all the people together to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, otherwise call'd the Passover, and gave the multitude out of his own store, thirty thousand young kids and lambs, and three thousand oxen. The heads of the priests contributed likewise to the priests upon the same occasion, two thousand six hundred lambs: And so the chief of the Levites gave to their tribe five thousand lambs, and five hundred bullocks: And this prodigious number of victims was offer'd up in sacrifice according to the laws of Moses. The priests had the conduct of the solemnity; and the precedence in their example to the people. Now from the time of Samuel the prophet, to that day, there had never been so solemn a festival; and the reason of it was this, that every thing was done according to the direction of the law, and the prescriptions of ancient custom. Josiah, after this blessed regulation, enjoy'd his government in peace, honour, and plenty: And we are now about to give the reader an account how he came to his end.

CHAP. VI.

Josiah opposes Pharaoh-Nechoh. An Egyptian kills him with an Arrow. His wicked son Jehoahaz comes after him; who is carry'd away prisoner into Egypt, where he dies: And Pharaoh sets up Eliakim in his place, by the name of Jehoiakim.

Pharaoh-Nechoh, king of Egypt, marched with a powerful army toward Euphrates, against the Medes and Babylonians, who had subverted the Assyrian empire, with a design to make himself master of Asia. When he had advanced as far as Mendes*, a town under the jurisdiction of Josiah, Josiah absolutely refused him any passage against the Medes through his country. Pharaoh upon this, sent a Herald, to give Josiah to understand, that he had no thought of any hostility toward him; nor any design, but to make an

hasty march of it toward Euphrates; desiring him withal, not to put him upon any necessity of making his way by force, which was a thing much beside his intention. This message of the Egyptian had so little effect upon Josiah, that he persisted in the denial of his passage; which look'd as if he had been driven upon this invincible obstinacy by the impulse of a fatality that improv'd this denial to his ruin. For as he was in the head of his army, and riding up and down to give orders from one wing to another, an Egyptian, with an arrow, quickly put an end to the eagerness he had for that war; for finding himself to be shot, and impatient of the pain, he commanded his army to retire; himself returning to Jerusalem, where he dy'd of the wound. He was bury'd with a magnificent solemnity, in the sepulchre of his ancestors, at nine and thirty years of age, and in the one and thirtieth year of his reign; the people mourning for him several days, with great anxiety of sorrow and lamentation. The prophet Jeremiah wrote a passionate elegy upon this occasion, which is yet extant at this day; the prophet plainly foretelling the approach of the Babylonian captivity, and the calamities also of our times; committing his predictions to writing for the information of posterity. And Jeremiah was not the only prophet neither, that foretold the miseries of this terrible revolution; but Ezekiel also left behind him in writing two books of prophetic presages upon this subject. These two prophets were both of the sacerdotal race: Jeremiah living at Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, to the time of the destruction of the temple and City: of which we shall speak farther in its proper place.

AFTER the death of Josiah (as is said already) his son Jehoahaz took the government upon him in the three and twentieth year of his age, and kept his court at Jerusalem. He was a man of an impious and immoral conversation, and his mother's name was Hamutal. The King of Egypt, upon his return from the war, sent for Jehoahaz to come to him to Hamath, a city of Syria, where he put him in fetters, and deliver'd up the government to Eliakim, his elder brother, by the same father: but changing his name for Jehoiakim, and imposing a tax upon the country, of a † hundred talents of silver, and ** one talent of gold; by which means Jehoiakim became his tributary. As for Jehoahaz, he carry'd him along with him into Egypt, where he ended this life, after he had reign'd three months and ten days. Jehoiakim's mother's name was Abuma †† of Raman. This prince had the character also of a spiteful, ill-natur'd man, without either reverence for God, or tenderness for man.

* Scrip. Megiddo.

† An hundred talents weighed eleven thousand, four hundred and six pounds, three ounces; and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings.

** A talent weighed a hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen penny weights; and its value in gold was five thousand, four hundred, seventy five pounds in English money.

†† Scrip. Zebudah.

The celebration of the passover at Jerusalem. 2Chron. xxxv. 1-19.

The death of Josiah. ibid.

The prophet Jeremiah writes an elegy upon Josiah, and foretells the Babylonian captivity, Ver. 25.

The prophet Ezekiel writes of it also. The time wherein Jeremiah liv'd.

Jehoahaz succeeds to the kingdom of Judah after his father Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 31.

Pharaoh deposes him, and sets up his brother Eliakim, under the name of Jehoiakim, Ver. 34.

He takes Jehoahaz away into Egypt, where he dies, ibid.

Josiah opposes Pharaoh Nechoh in his march against the Medes and Babylonians. Ver. 20-24.

C H A P. VII.

Nebuchadnezzar defeats Pharaoh, and makes Jehoiakim his tributary; who is foretold, by the prophet Jeremiah, the miseries that are to befall him.

Nebuchadnezzar gives Pharaoh a great overthrow, 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

He breaks into Judea, and makes Jehoiakim submit to become a tributary V. 1, 2.

Jehoiakim stops his tribute, and revolts, ibid. The prophet Jeremiah's predictions fulfill'd, Jer. xxiii. V. 18, 19.

Jeremiah charg'd with sedition. A sentence of death pass'd upon him, but recall'd.

IN the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, † Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon advanced with a mighty army to Carchabesa, a city situate upon the Euphrates; with a resolution to make war upon Pharaoh || Nechoh, who at that time had all Syria under his command. Now the Egyptian very well understanding that the Babylonian was no contemptible enemy, took the field with a strong and a numerous army, and so march'd to the Euphrates, with a resolution to oppose him: where the two armies engaging, the Egyptian was forc'd to retire with the loss of many thousands of his men. But the Babylonians getting over the Euphrates, subdu'd the whole country of Syria as far as Pelusium, Judea only excepted. In the fourth year afterward of Nebuchadnezzar, and the eighth of Jehoiakim, the Babylonians broke in furiously upon Judea, threatening them with all extremities, unless they would content themselves with the condition of tributaries, as the rest of the inhabitants of Syria were. Upon this menace, Jehoiakim's heart fail'd him, so that he submitted to purchase his peace with a sum of money; and for the space of full three years, he made due payment of his contribution: but the year following, upon the credit of an idle rumour, that the Egyptian was advancing an expedition against the king of Babylon, Jehoiakim refused to pay him his tribute any longer; but quickly found himself miserably disappointed in his expectation, for the Egyptians durst not look the Babylonians in the face: which was no more than the prophet Jeremiah had many a time foretold, and warn'd him of; and that he would find the Egyptians a broken reed to trust to. He presaged likewise the fate of Jerusalem, and that it was suddenly to be destroy'd by the Babylonians, and Jehoiakim himself to be made a prisoner. But these were forewarnings which no body laid any stress upon, and so no body was the better for them: nay, on the contrary, from the highest to the lowest, the generality of the people look'd upon them with contempt. Not but that there were some again that exhibited formal accusations against him to the king, and would have had him punish'd as a mover of sedition. The cause, in fine, was brought before the council; and the majority were for putting him to death; but the reason of things is not always determin'd by a plurality of voices: so that some that were better advis'd than others, were rather for discharging him the court, and diverting the blow; for Jeremiah, they said, was not the only man that had foretold these calamities to the city, but Micah had prophesied to the same purpose before him; and so had several others, without being call'd to account for it by the government: nay, they were rather had in honour and esteem for their predic-

tions, as the prophets of the Lord. By this soft way of reasoning upon the matter, the council was wrought upon to change their minds, and to make void the sentence. The prophet put all his predictions in writing; and upon a day of fasting, when the people were met together in the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, he read the book to the congregation; wherein was contained the whole history of what was to befall the temple, the city and the people. The princes, upon the hearing of this book, took it away from the prophet, commanding both himself and his scribe Baruch, to be gone immediately, without letting any body know where to find them. They carry'd the book then to the king, who order'd his secretary to take and read it to him, with his friends about him. The king was so transported upon the hearing of it, that he tore the book, and threw it in the fire, and order'd Jeremiah and Baruch to be immediately brought to him, and punish'd for it: but they were already withdrawn out of the way.

Jeremiah writes down his prophecies, and reads them in the temple upon a publick fast.

Jeremiah and Baruch order'd to be punish'd; but they slip out of the way.

C H A P. VIII.

Jehoiakim receives Nebuchadnezzar into Jerusalem. His perfidy and cruelty. He puts Jehoiakim, the father, to death; and Jehoiakin, the son, is made king of Judah in his stead.

IT was not long after this, that Jehoiakim being affrighted with so many dismal predictions, receiv'd the king of Babylon with his army into the city; for as to his own part, he reckon'd himself secure, and so never troubled his head, either for keeping him out, or preparing for a war: but the Babylonian, upon his admittance into the city, broke his conditions, and put the flower of the youth of Jerusalem, together with the king himself, to the sword; commanding his body to be cast into the fields without the walls of the city, and constituting his son Jehoiakin king, both of the city and country, in his father's stead. He carry'd away a matter of three thousand men of note and quality, captives to Babylon; in which number was the prophet Ezekiel, being at that time a youth. This was the end of king Jehoiakin, who lived six and thirty years, and reigned eleven; and his son Jehoiakin succeeded him. His mother's name was Nehushta, of Jerusalem; and the time of his reign was three months and ten days.

Jehoiakim receives Nebuchadnezzar into Jerusalem, 2 Chron. xxxvi. Ver. 6.

The Babylonian puts the king himself to the sword, with the chief of the city, Ezekiel is carry'd away prisoner to Babylon, together with 3000 men of quality. Jehoiakin the son of Jehoiakim succeeds his father, Ver. 8.

C H A P. IX.

Nebuchadnezzar, contrary to faith, makes Jehoiakin, his mother, and the most eminent of his friends, all prisoners.

IT was not long before the king of Babylon, upon second thoughts, came to repent the setting of Jehoiakin upon the throne; for, thought he, this young man will never forget or forgive so perfidious a practice upon the life of his father, and consequently will be ready

* Vossius, in his second Exercit. de LXX Annis Captivitatis, tells us that Josephus, in what follows to the end of this book, is to be read with great caution. See Grotius upon the fifth of Daniel, to this purpose.

† Nebuchodonosor. ‡ Nechoh, Jos.

Nebuchad-
nezzar sends
an army to
besiege Jeru-
salem, 2 Kings
xxiv. 10, 11.
Jehoiakin
renders the
place upon
agreement,
and gives hos-
tages for the
performance
of conditions.
The king
breaks his
faith, and
makes Jehoia-
kin a priso-
ner, with ten
thousand,
eight hun-
dred, and
thirty two
other persons,
Ver. 12-16.

to take all opportunities of stirring up the people to a rebellion, in order to gratify his revenge. Upon this consideration he sent away an army to besiege Jerusalem. Now Jehoia-kin, being a just and an easy prince, cou'd not endure to see the city run the risque of being utterly destroy'd for his sake; and therefore upon a treaty with the king's deputies, for the delivering up of the city, upon condition that neither the town itself, nor the inhabitants should suffer any sort of damage, the agreement was ratify'd, and his mother and kindred deliver'd up as hostages to the king's commissioners, for the performance of articles: but before the expiration of the year, the king of Babylon breaking his faith with them, commanded his officers to secure all the youth of the city, and all sorts of artificers, and to bring them to him bound and fetter'd; which they did, to the number of ten thousand eight hundred thirty two persons, wherein was Jehoia-kin himself, his mother and his kindred; who by the king's command were all kept in custody.

C H A P. X.

Jehoiakin made a prisoner. Nebuchadnezzar sets up Zedekiah in his place, upon condition, not to side with the king of Egypt. Zedekiah falsifies, and Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem. The King of Egypt marches to his relief. Nebuchadnezzar rises; gives him battle; routs him, and then returns to the siege. Zedekiah's obstinacy against all the counsels and predictions of Jeremiah.

Jehoiakin is laid aside, and Zedekiah advanced to the government in his place, Ver. 17. Under an oath neither to innovate, nor to side with the Egyptians, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

JEHOIAKIN being now a prisoner, the king of Babylon advanced Zedekiah, his father's brother, to the government in his place; obliging him by an oath, neither to attempt any innovations in that country, nor directly or indirectly to join with, or assist the Egyptians. He was one and twenty years of age when he enter'd upon the command; and he and Jehoia-kin were brothers by the mother's side. He had little or no regard, either for honour, or for virtue; and his companions were altogether as impious and extravagant as himself: beside that this looseness of manners in his days, was become popular; and the corruption epidemical: insomuch that the prophet Jeremiah was often exhorting him with earnest entreaties to change his course of life, and to betake himself to the love and exercise of piety and justice, without laying so much stress upon what his courtiers, or his false prophets told him; a lewd sort of people, that abus'd him in their promises and predictions, when they told him the Babylonians should never besiege Jerusalem again; and that whenever they encounter'd, the Egyptians should have the better of them: For this was all false he told him, as would appear by the event. Zedekiah could not for the present but acknowledge this discourse of the prophet to be reasonable and true, and that it was for his interest so to believe it; but when he came afterward to be manag'd by ill company and counsels, who could wind and turn him as they pleased, all that the prophet had said before went for nothing.

It was at the same time that Ezekiel, being

then at Babylon, foretold the destruction of the temple, and sent the prediction of it to Jerusalem. Now the two prophets agreed exactly in the taking of the town by force, and in carrying away Zedekiah captive; but the thing, and the only thing that stagger'd Zedekiah in the belief of the prophecy, was this: Ezekiel foretold that Zedekiah should not see Babylon; and Jeremiah affirmed that the king himself should carry him prisoner thither. This seeming inconsistency, or at least diversity of expression, gave Zedekiah some sort of colour to doubt the truth of all the other circumstances wherein they agreed, though the following events made good every thing that had been foretold, as we shall shew more properly in another place.

AFTER an alliance of eight years standing betwixt the two kings, Zedekiah shamefully broke his contract, and went over to the interest of the Egyptians; making no doubt at all, but their two powers in conjunction, might be able to crush the king of Babylon: but the Babylonian, upon the first notice of this treachery, marched his army directly toward Zedekiah; laid his country desolate, forced his castles and strong holds; and so advanced strait forward to the attack, even of Jerusalem itself. The Egyptian being given to understand with what straits and difficulties his friend and ally Zedekiah was surrounded, advanced presently to his relief, with a resolution to attempt the raising of the siege. Now the Babylonian, upon intelligence of his march and design, did not think fit to wait his coming, but chose rather to intermit the prosecution of the siege for some time, to draw off his army, and give him battle: which he did, and so terrible a rout withal, that he beat him quite out of Syria at that one blow. The siege being quitted, or rather respited upon this occasion, the false prophets suggested a thousand delusions to Zedekiah; as, how foolish a thing it was for him, or his subjects, to apprehend any danger from the Babylonians, or to fancy any such thing as the Babylonians forcing and transporting the Hebrews from their native habitations, and carrying them away captive to Babylon; whereas it was rather to be expected, on the other hand, that their prisoners that were already exported, should be call'd back again; and all the plate and treasure that the king had carried away, restored to the temple. But Jeremiah, on the contrary, told the king quite another story, in a flat contradiction to that of the false prophets; positively charging them with imposture and delusion, and affirming that there was no good to be expected from the Egyptians; but that they should first be overcome, and the Babylonian army return back to besiege Jerusalem; and that as many of them as should survive the sword and famine, should be carried away captives, their houses pillag'd, their goods taken away; the temple and city plunder'd, and laid at the mercy of fire and sword, without any distinction of sacred or prophane. "We are condemn'd, says the prophet, to serve these people and their posterity for seventy years; and the Medes and Persians, at the seventy years end, shall deliver us from that bondage, by the utter extinction of the Babylonian empire; after which time, being set at liberty by their assistance,

A seeming contradiction betwixt the two prophets reconcil'd.

Zedekiah falsifies with the king of Babylon, Ver. 13.

Nebuchadnezzar lays siege to Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxv. 1, 2.

Pharaoh attempts the raising of the siege, and receives a fatal overthrow, Jer. xxxvii. 7.

Zedekiah beset with time-servers and parasites.

Jeremiah opposes the false prophets, and foretels the whole history of the captivity, Jer. xxv. and xxxvii.

Some were moved with his discourse, others take him for a mad man.

Jeremiah taken into custody, and charg'd as a deserter.

Examined, tormented, condemn'd, and committed to prison. Jerusalem once again besieged, 2 Kings xxv. Jer. xxxix. And holds out a long time against force, pestilence, and famine, ib.

The prophet calls out to the people to open their gates to the Babylonians, Jer. xxviii. 2.

The great officers charge him as a mutineer, Ver. 4.

The king in this distress bids them do what they will with him, Ver. 5. Jeremiah upon this is let down into a pit up to the neck in mud, Ver. 6.

" distance, we shall return hither again, rebuild the temple, and restore the city to its former state. These words of the prophet gain'd credence with the major part of the people; but the leading men, and the licentious, atheistical part of the multitude, look'd upon all the prophet said, but as the discourse of a mad man, and treated him accordingly. As Jeremiah was going toward Anathoth, the place of his birth, and a matter of * twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, he had the fortune to be met withal upon the way, by a certain magistrate, who apprehended him, and took him into custody, upon a pretext, that he was a deserter, and going over to the king of Babylon. The prophet denied the accusation, and said in his own defence, that he was only going to the place where he was born; but the other would not believe him, and so carried him away to the ministers of state and justice; where, after the formality of examination and torture, he was set aside as a malefactor condemn'd to die; and in this condition of misery, he continued for some time.

BUT in the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the tenth month, and the tenth day of that month, the king of Babylon came once again with his army to Jerusalem; and laying siege to it, tried all the ways in the world, for a matter of eighteen months together, to master it, either by art, or by force; but it still held out, not only against a powerful enemy before it, but a raging pestilence and famine also in the bowels of it; Jeremiah being in prison all this while, and crying out to the multitude to set open the gates, and receive the Babylonians into the city; for they had no other way in nature to save themselves, their families, and the town, from a certain and an inevitable ruin; telling them withal, that those who staid in the city must expect to perish, either by the sword, or by famine; whereas those who fled out to the enemy would save their lives; but the princes, in the depth of their extremity, were yet so far from giving ear to the prophet's presage and advice, that they represented him to the king, as a violent hot-headed man, and a mutineer; a discourager of the people with his idle stories of misery and desolation; suggesting that the garrison was hearty and resolute enough to defend the place to the last extremity, did not he with his ill-boding menaces of slavery and destruction, take off the edge of their zeal and courage. The king in his own nature was not apt to be fierce or bitter; but standing upon that pinch of necessity, in some awe of the great people about him, he did not think it safe to disoblige so many men of power and interest; and so rather than cross them, he left them at liberty to do with the prophet as they thought fit. So soon as they had gain'd that point, they went in all haste to the prison; took out the prophet, and let him down by a rope into a nasty pit, where he was up to the neck in mud, with an intent to choak him. But as he was in this condition, a favourite servant of the king's, an Ethiopian born, went and told Zedekiah how they had treated the

prophet; and giving his own opinion in the case, that his great men and favourites had not done well in the aggravation of his misfortune, by exposing him to a death, so much more grievous than that which he was reasonably to expect in his chains. Upon this discourse of the servant, the king heartily repented his leaving the prophet to the discretion of his enemies, and so order'd the Ethiopian to take thirty men out of his family, such as he could trust, with ropes, and whatever he should find necessary for the saving of him, and to join with them in the getting of him out of the pit with all possible expedition. The servant did as he was order'd, and set the prophet at liberty; who was soon after this brought privately to the king, and had this question put to him, whether or no he could procure him from heaven any present relief under his miserable circumstances? The prophet answer'd him, that he could; but that people would neither believe him, nor follow his counsels. " All your pretended friends, says he, are my mortal enemies: they look upon me as a false wretch, and are at this instant in a conspiracy to destroy me; and where are those impostors now, that fooled the people into a belief that they were out of danger of the Babylonians? so that to tell you the very truth of things, may be as much as my life is worth." The king, upon this, promised the prophet with an oath, that he would neither take away his life himself, nor suffer any of his people to do it. Jeremiah took his word and honour for it, and advised him by all means to deliver up the city into the hands of the king of Babylon. This was the only way in the world, he told him, to be safe in his own person, to avoid the imminent danger he was in; to prevent the burning of the temple, and the laying of the city level with the ground; and if he pursued any other measures, he was to tell him, in the name, and by the direction of God himself, that all the calamities that should ensue upon his miscarriages, with the utter ruin of himself, his family, and his people, would be charged to his account. The king then told him, that he had a great inclination to take his counsel for the common good; but he was afraid lest some of his friends that were already gone over to the Babylonians, should accuse him to the king, and put him in danger of his life. But for any thing of that, the prophet bad him set his heart at rest; for if he deliver'd up the city, neither he himself in his person, nor his wives, his children, or the temple itself, should suffer any thing. After these words the king dismiss'd the prophet, with a charge not to make any words; no, not so much as to the princes themselves, of what had pass'd in this conference; but if any body should come to have a hint that there had been such a meeting, and enquire into the business, it might be pretended that the prophet came to move the king for his liberty. The prophet did as he was order'd, and gave that answer to all people that ask'd him his business with Zedekiah.

The king being told of it, orders him presently to be taken out again, Ver. 7-13.

The king advises with Jeremiah what to do, Ver. 14.

The prophet adjures the king upon his uttermost peril to deliver up the city, Ver. 15-18.

* Viz. About two miles and a half of English measure, or something better.

C H A P. XI.

Jerusalem taken. The temple, palace, and city pillag'd and burnt. Saraiab put to death. Zedekiah's eyes put out, and himself carried prisoner to Babylon. The succession of high-priests. Gedaliah, Nebuchadnezzar's deputy-governor. The treachery of Ishmael. The Egyptians overthrown, and carried captives to Babylon. The history of Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Daniel highly prefer'd for expounding of dreams. The death of Nebuchadnezzar.

IN the mean time the king of Babylon went on vigorously with the siege; his works were finish'd, and his towers carried up so high, as to command the town, and to beat the defendants from the walls; and at this rate they were provided quite round the city for a general assault; and the defence of the place was carried on with as much bravery as the attack, having plague and famine to contend withal within the town, as well as enemies, and other difficulties without. They stood firm, in short, against all stratagems and machines, opposing one instance to another, as if the dispute had been matter of skill and art, as well as force; the besiegers business being to take the city, and the safety of the besieged consisting in eluding or diverting the plots and endeavours of the enemy. This contest lasted eighteen months; but in the end, for want of meat within the town, and of numbers of defendants to maintain it, against the numerous multitudes of besiegers, accompanied with all manner of arms and warlike instruments, they were brought to the last inevitable necessity of delivering it up. It was taken in the eleventh year, and the ninth day of the fourth month of the reign of Zedekiah, by the commanders to whom the care of the siege was committed by Nebuchadnezzar, who at that time was at Reblatha. If the reader should be curious to know the names of the officers, there was Nergear, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabafaris, and Echaramparis. The city was taken about midnight. The captains, with the rest of the soldiery, went into the temple; which king Zedekiah perceiving, he took his wives, children, commanders, and friends, and they all together fled away privately by a narrow passage toward the desert. But the Babylonians getting intelligence of this escape, by the means of deserters, they made after them early the next morning, and overtook and surrounded them at a place not far from Jericho. Zedekiah's friends and companions, in his flight, seeing the enemy advancing toward them, quitted their master, and ran several ways to make the best shift they could for themselves; the king being in a manner quite abandon'd, with his wives and children, and a small remainder of his company, fell into the hands of the enemy, who presently carried them to the king. Nebuchadnezzar no sooner laid his eyes upon him, but he call'd him all the faithless perfidious names that he could think of. "Did not you promise me," says he, "to manage the power and authority that I put you in possession of, for my advantage and behoof; and am not I well requited, do you think, for making you a king in your brother Jehoiakim's

place, by your employing of the credit and interest that I gave you to the ruin of your patron and benefactor? But that God is great and just; who, for the punishment of your treachery and ingratitude, hath now made you my prisoner." When the king had laid upon him this load of reproaches, he immediately caused his children and his friends to be put to death before his face, and in the sight of the rest of the captives; commanding Zedekiah's eyes to be put out, so soon as this execution was over, and so to be carried away in chains to Babylon. This way of proceeding has verified the two prophecies of * Jeremiah and Ezekiel; which Zedekiah made so little account of, by reason of some semblance of a contradiction betwixt them; the former foretelling, that he should be taken captive, and carried to Babylon, speak with the king himself, and see him face to face; but Ezekiel's prediction was, that he should be carried away to Babylon, and should not see him; which he could not do there, when he was brought blind thither.

THIS may serve to convince, even the most ignorant, of the power and wisdom of God, and of the constancy of his counsels, through all the various ways of his operations; and it may likewise shew us that God's foreknowledge of things is certain, and his providence regular, in the ordering of events; beside, that it holds forth a most exemplary instance to us, of the danger of our giving way to the motions of incredulity and folly, that take from us the means of discerning the fatalities that threaten us.

THIS was the end of the race of David, after one and twenty kings in succession, in the space of five hundred and fifteen years, six months, and ten days, including the twenty years reign of Saul, who was of another tribe.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, after this great victory obtain'd, sent Nebuzar-Adan, his commander in chief, to Jerusalem, with orders to pillage the temple, and burn it; to do the like to the palace; and after the laying of the city all level with the ground, to carry away the people captive to Babylon. In the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, Nebuzar-Adan put his instructions in execution; taking away out of the temple all the vessels of gold and silver, Solomon's great laver, with the brazen pillars, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and candlesticks; and after this general plunder, he first set the temple on fire; and after that, he laid the palace and the city in ashes. This pass'd on the first day of the fifth month; the eleventh of Zedekiah, and the eighteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. The temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days from the building of it; one thousand and sixty two years, six months, and ten days, from the Israelites coming out of the land of Egypt; one thousand nine hundred fifty years, six months, and ten days from the deluge, and three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days from the creation of the world. As to the computation of years, in what compass of time, what, and when every thing was done, we have already given an account of it in order.

His children and friends slain before his face, V. 7.

* Compare Jer. xxxiv. 3. with Ezek. xii. 13. Jeremiah and Ezekiel reconcil'd.

The race of David was now extinct.

Orders to rifle and burn the temple, palace, and city, and carry away the people captives to Babylon, V. 8-11. The order executed, and the time when it was done.

Nebuzar-
adan's pri-
soners, Jer. lii.
4, 25.

Some of them
put to death,
Ver. 27, 28.
Others kept
in chains.

The succeſ-
ſion of the
high-prieſts
in Jeruſalem.

Zedekiah
dies in priſon
at Babylon,
Jer. lii. 11.
The holy veſ-
ſels dedicated
to idols.
Jehozadack
at liberty.

Jeremiah
diſcharg'd,
and the care
of him com-
mitted to Ge-
daliah, Jer. xl.
4, 5.

Jeremiah
goes to Geda-
liah at Miz-
pah, Ver. 6.
and takes Ba-
ruch for his
companion.

UPON the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the transportation of the people, Nebuzar-Adan took the following perſons priſoners with him. There was the high-prieſt Seraiah, and after him Sepheniah, who was the next prieſt in dignity; three head-keepers of the temple; the firſt eunuch of the bed-chamber, with ſeven of the king's friends, beſide the king's ſecretary, and other men of note, to the number of fixty; which were brought altogether to the king, who was then at Reblathis, a city of Syria. The king cauſed the heads of the high-prieſt, and the great men, to be ſtruck off in that city; but the multitude of the priſoners, together with Zedekiah himſelf, he order'd to be bound, and carried captive to Babylon, together with Jehozadack, the high-prieſt, to be taken and bound along with them; which Jehozadack was the ſon of Seraiah, who was put to death at Reblathis, as is ſaid already.

HAVING now gone through the royal line, and the ſucceſſion of them from father to ſon, in order, it will be convenient to obſerve the ſame method with the high-prieſts, who from time to time, in a continued ſucceſſion under thoſe kings, exerciſed the ſacerdotal office. The firſt Pontifex after the building of Solomon's temple was Zadok. After him came his ſon Ahimaaz; and after Ahimaaz, Azariah; and ſo forward; Joram, * Ifus, Axiaramus, Phideas, Sudeas, † Julius, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeas, Saldumus, Elcias, Sarcas, and Jehofadoc, who was carried away to Babylon. All theſe handed down the pontificate in a continued ſucceſſion in their families from generation to generation.

UPON the king's return to Babylon, Zedekiah was committed to priſon; and in the priſon he died, and had afterward the honour of a royal ſepulchre. The holy veſſels the king took out of the temple, he dedicated to his idols; allotted habitations to the people in Babylon, and ſet Jehozadack at liberty. Now Nebuzar-Adan, the general that brought away the people priſoners, left the poorer ſort of people, and the deſerters, under the command of Gedaliah, the ſon of Ahikam, an eminent perſon, both for generoſity and juſtice, who allotted his priſoners ſuch a proportion of ground to improve and live upon, paying ſuch a certain tribute to the king. The prophet Jeremiah was alſo diſcharg'd of his imprifonment; and the king having given order to the governor to take a particular care of him, Gedaliah mov'd it to the prophet to go along with him to Babylon; for it was but reaſon the king ſhould be at the charge of his journey; or if he did not like that place, let him pitch upon any other, and he would write to the king about it. The prophet's answer was, that he had no mind to remove at all, but rather ſtay where he was, and take his part in the miſerable ruins of his native country. Nebuzar-Adan being inform'd how the prophet ſtood affected, gave Gedaliah a ſtrict charge to ſee him well provided for; made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents himſelf, and ſo left him, and returned to Babylon. Jeremiah upon this made choice of Mizpah for the place of his abode, having firſt obtain'd of Nebuzar-Adan, Baruch's liberty, as well as his own, whom he took for his companion.

This Baruch was the ſon of Neriah, a perſon nobly born, and perfectly well ſkill'd in the language of his country.

THE burning and the ſacking of Jeruſalem, and the return of the Babylonians into their own country, was by this time made known to all the deſerters that had left the city in the time of the ſiege; and ſo they gather'd together from all places in throngs to Gedaliah at Mizpah. The principal men among them were Johanan, the ſon of Careah; Jaazaniah and Saraiah, with ſome others; and beſide theſe there was Iſhmael, a perſon of royal blood; but otherwiſe falſe and malicious to the high-eſt degree. This man, in the time of the ſiege, fled to Bathal, the king of the Ammonites, for ſanctuary, where he had continued ever ſince. Upon the application of theſe people to Gedaliah, he gave them an invitation to continue there, and to plant; for they might live quietly and at eaſe, without any danger from the Babylonians; binding himſelf by an oath to ſtand by them and aſſiſt them, if any man ſhould offer to give them any moleſtation or trouble. Now, ſays he, do but you reſolve among yourſelves what town or place you would ſettle in, and you ſhall have ſome of my people along with you to aſſiſt you in preparing and fitting up habitations for you; only you muſt take care not to ſlip the ſeaſon of providing for the next vintage and harveſt, that you may not want corn, wine, or oil, next winter for your ſubſiſtence. When he had given them this encouragement and aſſurance, he left every man at liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf at his own diſcretion, and to chuſe for his reſidence what place he himſelf pleaſed.

THE report of Gedaliah's generous humanity and tenderneſs toward the fugitives who had applied themſelves to him for refuge, gain'd him ſo great a reputation with all the neighbouring nations, that they came trooping to him from all parts, and quickly made up a conſiderable plantation; for they had lands aſſign'd them in propriety, upon condition only of paying a certain acknowledgment to the king of Babylon. Johanan and the reſt of the great men had a very high eſteem for the courteſy of Gedaliah to the planters, and therefore advertiſed him in friendſhip and reſpect, that there was a conſpiracy carried on againſt him, betwixt the king of the Ammonites and Iſhmael; and that Iſhmael was to aſſaſſinate him with ſecrecy and treachery; and being a member of the royal family, that he intended to aſſume the government of the Iſraelites by that means. Now the ready way to ſecure Gedaliah againſt this practice, would be for them privately to diſpatch Iſhmael; which, with his leave, they would undertake to do; for they were afraid, if this miſchief was not timely prevented, it would prove the ruin of all the Iſraelites in the concluſion. Gedaliah told them, that he could not believe it poſſible for any man to be ſo barbarous and ungrateful, that lay under ſo many obligations to the contrary; neither could it enter into his head, that a man who was never known to do any ſuch thing under the provocation of his neceſſities, ſhould now be in a plot to deſtroy that perſon himſelf, whom by all the ties of honour and hoſpitality he was obliged to de-

The ſcatter'd
Jews throng
thither to Ge-
daliah, V. 7, 8.

Gedaliah in-
vites them to
continue
there and
plant, Ver. 9,
10.

They tell
him of a plot
upon his life,
carried on by
the king of
the Ammo-
nites, and
Iſhmael to
execute it,
Jer. xl. 14.

Gedaliah is
too generous
to believe it,
ibid.

* Ifus and Axiaramus are fictitious names, as biſhop Mountague has ſhewn in his Apparatus.

† The ſame learned prelate reads Joel and Odeas for Odeas, and Sallum for Saldum. See Apparatus. 6.

send and preserve, though with the hazard of his own life, if it should have been attempted by any other man whatsoever. But to make short, he told them however, that supposing the information to be true, he had much rather lose his own life, than take away the life of any man that had committed himself to his trust. Johanan, and his companions, finding that all they said was to no purpose, upon this declaration of Gedaliah's, went their way.

SOME thirty days after this discourse, Ishmael, with ten of his friends, gave a visit to Gedaliah at Mizpah, where they were received and treated with all the freedom and respect imaginable. They drank very plentifully, till Gedaliah and his companions were dull and heavy-headed; and the other party observing it, took the opportunity of falling upon them, and without any difficulty kill'd the master of the house, and all the rest of his guards. It was now in the dead of the night; and all the people, as well soldiers as others, carelessly secure, and asleep; so that they made the same havock in the streets, and elsewhere, as they had done at Gedaliah's just before; destroying and murdering all they could find, whether Jews or Babylonians, without any distinction.

The next day there came up to the city a company of about fourscore men out of the country, with presents for Gedaliah, knowing nothing as yet of the massacre of the last night. So soon as Ishmael saw them, he call'd them in to Gedaliah; shut the doors upon them, and cut their throats in the palace, causing the bodies afterward to be thrown into a pit, where they might lie conceal'd. There was not a man of all that number that escaped, save only some few that promised to make discovery of goods, cloaths, and corn, that were concealed under ground, if they would but relieve them till they made the discovery. Some of them were spar'd upon the hope of this discovery; but for the common people of Mizpah, the women, and the children, they were all carried away; and among the rest, the daughters of Zedekiah, which Nebuzar-Adan had left, under the care of Gedaliah. Ishmael went away presently with the news of this exploit to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan, with the rest of the leading men, hearing of this bloody execution at Mizpah, and the death of Gedaliah, took it so heinously, that they drew every man his soldiers together, and join'd in the pursuit of Ishmael, whom they overtook at the fountain of Hebron.

The first sight of the pursuers rejoic'd the hearts of the prisoners that Ishmael was carrying away with him; for suspecting them at first sight to be, what they really were, friends come to their assistance, they went over immediately, one and all, to the party of Johanan; but Ishmael, with only eight of his companions, fled to the king of the Ammonites. Johanan, in the mean time, with the people he had taken from Ishmael, eunuchs, women, and children, marched to a place that is called Mandra, and there they staid one day, bethinking themselves of going into Egypt, lest the Babylonians, in a rage for the murder of their governor, should in revenge fall upon them; but, however, for their better security, they took up a resolution to consult Jeremiah what course to take. So they put the question to him; promising with an oath to do

whatever he should advise them to. The prophet assured them he would do what he could for their satisfaction; and upon the tenth day after this, God appeared to him, and bad him go and tell Johanan, and the rest of the commanders, "That if they continued where they were, he would assist and secure them against any harm from the Babylonians, whom they were so much afraid of; but if after this premonition, they should rather go into Egypt, let them look to themselves, and expect the same fate and judgment that had befallen their brethren before them."

This was the message the prophet deliver'd them by God's express direction, though they could hardly believe it to be the will of God, that they should continue where they were; but took it rather for an invention of the prophet's, in favour of Baruch, his disciple, and to expose them to the wrath of the Babylonians; so that Johanan and the rest of the people, in contempt of God's word by his prophet, went away into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them. When they were come thither, it was revealed from heaven to the prophet, that the king of Babylon should bring an army into Egypt; and he commanded Jeremiah to tell the people as much, and that Egypt should be taken, where part of them should be kill'd, and part carried away captives to Babylon, which came to pass accordingly; for in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the three and twentieth of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an inroad into Coele-Syria; and upon subduing it, carried the war forward to the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had subjected them too, he made a furious incursion into Egypt; kill'd the then reigning king, and set up another in his place; and the Jews whom he found there, were carried away a second time prisoners to Babylon.

THIS was the miserable fate of the Hebrews, as we have the story, who were twice carried away beyond the Euphrates; for the ten tribes were first transported by the Assyrians out of Samaria, in the reign of Hoseah; and then the other two, by Nebuchadnezzar the king of the Chaldeans and the Babylonians, upon the taking of Jerusalem. Now Salmanasser transplanted the Chuthites into the country of the Israelites, out of the heart of Media and Persia; and they were called Samaritans from the name of the place into which they were transplanted; but they king of Babylon carried away the other two tribes, without introducing any other in their stead. And this was the reason that Judea, with Jerusalem, and the temple, lay wholly abandon'd for the space of seventy years. The time betwixt the captivity of the ten tribes, and the transmigration of the other two, was one hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR appointed a very strict and select choice to be made, out of the youths of the Jews, both for birth, vigour, and beauty, and several of them, the relations of king Zedekiah; he appointed also the best tutors that could be had, for their institution, and divers of them to be castrated according to the practice of that country, being the handsomest boys of conquer'd nations. He sent them their meat from his own table; and took great care to have them instructed in the Chal-

The prophet charges them not to go into Egypt, Ver. 9, &c.

They go into Egypt, and take Jeremiah and Baruch along with them, Jer. xlii. 1-6.

The prophet foretels them again, that Egypt shall be taken, and themselves kill'd, or made prisoners, Ver. 10, &c.

The Chuthites call'd Samaritans, 2 Kings xvii. 24.

The hope-fullest youths of the Jews train'd up for the service of Nebuchadnezzar's court, Dan. i. 3-5.

The treacherous murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael, Jer. xli. 1, 2.

A bloody massacre, Ver. 3-7.

All the women and children of Mizpah carried away, and Zedekiah's daughters among the rest, Ver. 10. Johanan and his companions pursue Ishmael, and overtake him, Ver. 11, 12.

Johanan rescues the prisoners; but Ishmael, and eight with him, fly to the king of the Ammonites, V. 13-15.

They consult Jeremiah what to do, with an oath to follow his advice, Jer. xlii. 1-6.

The history
of Belteshaz-
zar, Sha-
drach, Me-
shech, and
Abednego,
Ver. 8—16.

Their tempe-
rance and
moderation,
ibid.

Their im-
provement
in the He-
brew and
Chaldean
learning,
Ver. 17.

Nebuchad-
nezzar has a
dream, and
forgets it,
Dan. ii. 1.

dean discipline and learning, wherein they advanced very much in a short time. There were four of Zedekiah's relations in the number, whose names were Daniel, Ananias, Mithael, and Azariah; but the Babylonians changed their names, and called Daniel, Belteshazzar; Ananias, Shadrach; Mithael, Meshach; and Azariah, Abednego. The king had a wonderful tenderness for them all, both in regard of the sweetness of their disposition, and the extraordinary pregnancy of their understanding. Daniel look'd upon that voluptuous way of feeding to be too delicate for people in their condition, and therefore they went to Aschanes, the eunuch, that had them in charge, and intreated him rather to make use of those delicacies which the king sent them from his own table, for the service of himself, and his family; and if they had but pulse, or dates, or any ordinary food that had no life in't, it would be to them full as satisfactory; for those delicacies, they said, went against their stomachs. The eunuch told them that he would gratify them with all his heart; but if they should grow lean, and thin, upon such an abstemious way of feeding, or look perhaps less aimable upon it, and appear in a less agreeable habit of health and colour, he was afraid the king might have some suspicion of the matter, and take offence at it; which might be as much as his life was worth; especially when the rest of their companions, that fed better than they did, should be observed to look better too. They found the eunuch not so obstinate in opposing their request as he might have been, and so press'd him to make the experiment, only for ten days; and after that time, if he found the change did not so well agree with them as their former allowance, and that they should not keep their health, their colour, and the same habit of body, after that trial, that they had before, he might bring them back again to the king's way of entertainment. The eunuch was prevail'd upon to make trial of it, and when he found them so far from being the worse for the alteration, that they grew more vigorous upon it, both in the disposition of their bodies and minds, he made no longer a scruple of complying with their desires, but gave them what they demanded, and kept the king's allowance to himself; which agreed so well with Daniel, and his friends, that, comparatively, they seem'd to be better provided for than the rest, and all their faculties kept in better tone for either study or labour; being neither overcharg'd or surfeited with variety, nor render'd effeminate with the luxury of pleasing the palate. By this temperate frugal way of menage and discipline, their spirits were kept clear and active, as appeared by their wonderful improvement in the Hebrew, as well as the Chaldean learning; but of Daniel especially, who had gotten such an insight into their arts, that he took upon him the expounding of dreams, and had many times visions of his own to work upon.

SOME two years after the destruction of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar had a wonderful vision, and a revelation from God in his sleep, of the meaning of it: but when he came afterwards to rise from his bed, he had quite forgotten it. So he presently sent for his

learned men, as Chaldeans, Magi, and Prophets, and told them that he had had a strange dream, but it was now utterly out of his head, and therefore required them to tell him what it was, and what was the signification of it. They made him answer, that as to the first part of his proposition, it was a thing not to be done; but if he would be pleas'd to tell them the dream, they would be answerable to give him the interpretation of it. The king in a rage commanded them without any more ado, to tell him his dream, or they should die for't; but they could not undertake it, they said, and so they were all order'd to be put to death. When Daniel came to understand that the wise men were all to be put to death, and to consider, that he and his relations were also in danger upon the same account, he went to Arioch, the captain of the king's guards, to learn what the crime was they were condemned for: so the captain told him, that the king had a dream, which he himself had forgotten, and that they were to die, because they could not tell him what it was. Daniel made answer, that if he could but get them a reprieve only for one night, he would not despair of giving him the satisfaction he requir'd; for he had some hope that God would that very night be prevail'd upon to enable him to do it. The captain gave the king an account of this discourse and proposal; and thereupon the execution was respited, only to try what good was to be done upon that experiment. Daniel, with his companions, went into his bed-chamber, and spent that whole night in prayers to God, for the means of resolving the question, and for the delivering those people from death, that were now fallen under the king's displeasure, by laying before him the particulars of the last night's dream, which was now slipt out of his memory. God was pleas'd upon this intercession of Daniel, both in compassion to the miserable, and out of tenderness for the prudence of Daniel's mediation, to make known, not only the dream itself, but the signification of it; to the end, that he might communicate the whole matter to the king. Daniel was so transported with this revelation, that he got up early in the morning, gave his brethren a word of comfort, being now brought to the last point of desperation, and thinking of nothing but death, bad them cheer up, and hope the best, for that all things were now secure. When they had given God thanks, together for his fatherly care and piety over them, Daniel went to Arioch by break of day, to carry him to the king, with assurance that he should now have all the particulars laid before him of his late dream.

Upon Daniel's admittance to the king, he first told him, "That it was not any over-weening opinion he had of his own wisdom, as if he knew more than the Chaldeans and the Magi; nor any design of a reproach upon them, for not being able to resolve a question which he could explain. "It was not any thing of this, says he, that made me engage in this matter; for I am not a person to pretend to more skill and understanding than my neighbours: but it is purely the work of God in pity to the miserable, and in mercy to my prayers, for the lives and safety of myself and my friends,

He com-
mands his
wife men to
tell him what
the dream
was, upon
peril of their
lives, Ver.
2—13.

They are all
order'd to be
put to death,
ibid.

Daniel gets
them a re-
prieve for
one night,
Ver. 14—16.

God reveals
to Daniel the
dream, and
the signifi-
cation of it,
Ver. 19.

He
gold
Dan.

" friends, that hath revealed this dream to me, and laid open the meaning of it. I have not been so solicitous for the safety of myself, and my companions under your displeasure, as for your honour and glory; in case of putting so many good and worthy men to death, contrary to right and justice, and only for not being able to do a thing which it is utterly impossible for flesh and blood to do; or for any but a supernatural power to accomplish.

" You were bethinking yourself what would become of the empire of the world when you were gone, and who should succeed to it. Now the dream you had was a kind of a resolution upon that enquiry; for God shew'd you in your sleep those that were to rule after you. You dreamt you saw a large image, or statue, standing upright; the head was gold; the shoulders and arms silver; the belly and the thighs, brass; the legs and the feet, iron. You saw then a stone broken off from a mountain, that

" fell upon this image, overthrew it, and broke it so small, that the dust of the gold, silver, brass, and iron, was as light as chaff, and carry'd away by a blast of wind to the furthestmost parts of the earth; the stone growing so great all this while, that it lay like a mountain upon the face of the earth. This was your dream, and I come now to the interpretation of it. By the golden head is signify'd yourself, and other kings of Babylon before you: the two hands and shoulders portend that two kings shall destroy your empire; and afterward, their empire will be subverted by another king coming from the west in armour of brass; and he is to be subdued afterward by another in iron; which, in the nature of it, is stronger than gold, silver, or brass, and not to be resisted." Daniel gave an interpretation also of the stone, which I shall pass over in this place; for it is my business to write of things past, and not of things to come. But for the satisfaction of the inquisitive into the dark events of things, I shall only recommend unto them the book of Daniel, as we have it in sacred writ.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, in great admiration, acknowledged this to be his dream, and falling upon his face, ador'd Daniel like a God, and appointed divine honours to be done him: and this would not serve neither, without giving him the name of his God; and so he made him ruler of the whole province, joining several of his kindred with him the same commission. This promotion was follow'd with such an envy upon Daniel and his relations, that it had like to have cost them all their lives, by a disgust the king took upon this following occasion.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king made an image of gold, sixty cubits in height, and six in breadth, and placed it in the great plain of Babylon. He call'd together, upon the dedi-

cation of it, the princes, the great men and officers out of all his dominions; making proclamation, that immediately upon hearing the sound of a trumpet, they should all fall down and worship this image; and that whoever refused it, should be cast into the fiery furnace. Upon the sounding of this trumpet, accordingly, all the people fell down and shipped, save only Daniel and his relations; who refusing to do it, out of a reverence to the laws of their country, were inform'd against, and cast into the fire; but by a merciful providence, and beyond all human imagination, their lives were preserv'd, as if the flame itself had been conscious of the injustice of the sentence, and suspended the very nature of its consuming quality in favour of the innocent; for they were not so much as scorched with it; as if God, in his gracious providence, had made their bodies proof against the flames. But the thing that most recommended them to the king's tenderness and esteem, was the miraculous proof of God's love and goodness to them in their justification; for upon this ground the king had a very great honour for them ever after.

Not long after this Nebuchadnezzar had another dream, as surprizing as the former; which was, that " Being driven away from his kingdom he lived seven years among the beasts of the forest, and was afterwards restored to his former dignity and state."

The king put the question once again to the Magi upon this vision also; but Daniel was the only person again to expound the meaning of it: and according to his prediction, it succeeded in the event; for " after seven years of his life spent in an insociable solitude, and no person all this time daring to make any attempt upon his government, God, by his prayers, was prevail'd upon to re-instate him in the exercise of his kingly power." Let no body blame me for delivering the same reports in my writings, that I find in ancient history; for I have anticipated all those cavils in the very beginning of this work, by making a publick profession, to do the part only of a faithful translator of the story out of Hebrew into Greek, and to deliver every thing honestly as I find it, without making it more or less than in truth it is.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, in fine, was a prince very industrious, and much more fortunate than any of his ancestors. He died in the three and fortieth year of his age. Berosus, in the third book of his Chaldean history, makes mention of it in these words: " Nebuchodonosor the father, says he, understanding that a certain great officer of his, to whom he had committed the government of Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, was fallen off from his allegiance, and not being in a condition of body himself to bear the fatigues of the war in his own person, he sent his son Nebuchodonosor, with part of his army, to reduce him to

All people to fall down and worship it, upon the sound of the trumpet, or to be cast into the fiery furnace, Ver. 2-6. Daniel and his companions refuse, Ver. 12.

This providence gave the king a greater reverence for them, V. 30.

Nebuchadnezzar's second vision, Dan. iv. Ver. 10-17.

Daniel's interpretation of it, Ver. 19-27.

Berosus writes of this Nebuchadnezzar.

Daniel tells the king his dream, Ver. 31-45.

and the exposition of it, ibid.

The king adores Daniel for his wisdom, and gives him the name of his god Belteshazzar, Ver. 46. and iv. 8.

He sets up a golden image, Dan. iii. 1.

* Viz. Belteshazzar.

† Sixty cubits were upwards of a hundred and nine English feet, that is, something more than thirty six yards and one foot.

** Six cubits were something more than ten English feet, that is, three yards one foot.

†† In Josephus he's called Νεβουδανος; but Jos. Scaliger (in his notes upon this fragment at the end of his book de Emendat. Temp.) shews from Ptolemy and Eusebius, that the name should be Νεβουδανος. See Vossius's Exercit. 2. de fix. annis captivitatis, &c.

his obedience. He found him out; fought, and overcame him, and so reduced the revolted provinces to their duty. The father in the mean time was taken away by a sickness at Babylon, in the * one and twentieth year of his reign. The young prince was no sooner informed of the death of his father, but he took immediate care for the settling of his affairs in Egypt, and the rest of the provinces; recommending to some particular friends the charge of conveying his prisoners, Jews, Syrians, Phenicians, and Egyptians, to Babylon, with the army and baggage; while he himself, with a small retinue, took his way thither over the desert. The government was reserv'd for him in the mean while, by the Chaldeans; and by the great men among them, in his absence, secured till his return. So that when he came to enter upon the administration, he was established in the full possession of his paternal empire. The first thing he did was to make a commodious distribution of his captives into colonies; and after that, to adorn and illustrate the temple of Belus, and other religious places, with spoils of war. He repaired and enlarged the ancient edifices of the city, and raised works upon the banks of the river, to prevent all approaches that way. He erected three walls or retrenchments, within the bounds of the city, and as many without, all brick work; and when he had fortified the town after this remarkable manner, he beautified the gates with a curiosity of frontispiece, like the finishing of the temple work; and advanced another palace contiguous to that of his father's, with all possible art and magnificence; but the particulars are too many, and would be too long to be described in this place. There is only one thing that I cannot but take notice of; which is, that this spacious and stately fabrick was finished in fifteen days. † In this building there were vast stones supported upon arches, that look'd like mountains hanging in the air; and they were planted on the top, with several sorts of trees, in a compliment to the queen, who being a Median, had a passionate desire to see some artificial resemblance of the gardens and rarities of her own country." Megasthenes, in the fourth volume of his history of India, speaks of these garden works, and sets forth this king, both for his enterprise, and for his performances, to have been much superior to Hercules himself, having subdued the ‡ greatest part of Libya, and likewise Iberia. Diocles makes mention of this king in the second book of his Persian history; and so Philostratus, in the account he gives of the Phenicians and the Indians; telling how this prince, in the days of Ithobal king of Tyre, maintain'd a siege of thirteen years against that town. And this is all the account I can find among the historians concerning him.

Megasthenes.

Diocles and Philostratus.

C H A P. XII.

Evil-Merodach succeeds Nebuchadnezzar, and discharges Jehoiakin. The royal line of Babylon down to Belshazzar. Cyrus and Darius besiege him in Babylon. Daniel expounds a vision to him. Babylon taken, and Belshazzar in it. Darius makes Daniel his particular favourite. Daniel's wonderful deliverances, visions, and predictions.

AFTER the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeds him; who set Jeconiah, or Jehoiakin, at liberty; honour'd him with many presents, took him into a particular trust and confidence, and made him the chief governor of his palace at Babylon. His father indeed had broken his faith shamefully with this Jeconiah, in making him a prisoner after he had so frankly deliver'd up himself, his wife, children, and all his relations upon honour only, for the saving of his country from utter ruin, as is said already.

EVIL-MERODACH died in the eighteenth year of his reign. His son Niglifar succeeded him; and when he had reigned forty years, the kingdom fell by succession to his son Labofardochus, who kept it only nine months; and after his death, it went to Belshazzar, by the Babylonians called Naboadel.

** CYRUS the king of the Persians, and Darius the king of the Medes, made war upon this prince; and while they lay before Babylon, there appear'd to Belshazzar a wonderful and a prodigious vision. As he was at supper in a large eating-room, with his courtiers and his concubines about him, and a magnificent ostentation of silver vessels and plate for the service of his table, he call'd, in a frolick, for the sacred vessels also out of his own temple, which Nebuchadnezzar deposited there, upon rifling the temple at Jerusalem, though he never had the confidence to put them to any prophane or private use. Belshazzar was now warm in his cups, and entertaining himself in, Dan. v. 2, and his company, with prophane extravagancies of speech against the majesty of the true God; when in the height of his jollity there appear'd a hand, writing certain syllables upon the walls, which put the king into such an agony of terror, that he presently call'd a council of cunning men and Chaldeans, and all sort of diviners, who among those barbarians value themselves upon a faculty of disclosing the meaning of prodigies, and the interpretation of dreams, to find out the purport of the words that were there writ upon the plaister. They laid their heads together, and upon advice and consideration, frankly declared, that they understood nothing of the matter. Upon this the king in an anxiety of thought and surprize, caused a proclamation to be publish'd all over his dominions, with promise of a golden chain, the privilege of a royal purple robe, and the third place of rule in his kingdom, to any man that should give

Evil-Merodach succeeds Nebuchadnezzar. Jehoiakin set at liberty, and preferr'd, Jer. liii. 31.

Evil-Merodach dies, and his son Niglifar succeeds him. The kingdom goes from him to Labofardochus, and so to Belshazzar.

Cyrus and Darius make war upon Belshazzar, and besiege Babylon.

Belshazzar, in the height of his cups, calls for the holy vessels that were carried away from Jerusalem, to revel in, Dan. v. 2,

In the middle of his jollity, there appears a hand writing upon the wall, V. 5.

The king consults his Magi about it, Ver. 7.

Great honours and rewards promised to him that shall expound that writing, ibid.

* It should be the nine and twentieth, as Scaliger has inform'd us in his commentary upon this piece. See Vorstius's Exercit. 2. de lxx. annis captivitatis.

† See Scaliger's notes upon the fragment of Berosus, and Cuneus de Rep. Hebraeorum, lib. i. c. 15.

‡ The translation follows Scaliger's correction of the place.

§ Niz. Niz. Jos. See Scaliger's notes upon the fragment of Berosus, p. 14, 15, &c. and Vorstius's Exercit. 4. de voce Sefack.

** How Josephus confounds the last kings of Babylon, may be seen in Vorstius's 4. Exercit. de voce Sefack.

him the interpretation of that writing. Upon this proclamation the wise men gather'd together more and more, in a strife who should unfold this mystery, and all to no manner of purpose in the conclusion.

WHILE the king was under great perplexity of mind and astonishment, at these disappointments, his grandmother went to him and told him, that for his comfort there was a certain Jew among the prisoners that Nebuchadnezzar brought away with him upon the destruction of Jerusalem, who was look'd upon to be a man of great wisdom and foresight, and so wonderfully skill'd in the solving of nice difficulties and questions, as if he spoke by the direction of a divine spirit. She told him also that Nebuchadnezzar made use of him for his interpreter in the like cases, when no body else was able to resolve him; wherefore she desir'd the king by any means to send for Daniel, and to enquire of him about that writing, and give him encouragement to speak the truth, though it should import something dreadful to himself, if it were but to dash the ignorance of other pretenders. Upon this advice Belshazzar caused Daniel to be sent for; professing, indeed, that he had heard of the profound penetration and understanding of that man, and of the spirit of divination with which he was possess'd; and that he took him to be the most likely person in the world to divine the truth of a matter which no body else could interpret. So upon Daniel's being brought, the king put him the question, with an assurance, that all the promises in his proclamation should be made good to him, upon his solution of it; which would make him famous all over the world, wherever it should come to be known, that he had these honours done him for his wisdom.

DANIEL excus'd himself from the receiving of any gifts or honours. "For wisdom, says he, is a divine faculty, and not to be corrupted or prophan'd with bribes, but to be ever ready to serve those that stand in need of it. This writing, says he, is a foretelling to you, that your death is at hand; for you should have taken warning by the judgments that beset your great ancestor for his contempt of God, and have applied yourself to a course of life, within the compass of religion, modesty, and moderation. You know very well that Nebuchadnezzar was banish'd the society of mankind, and condemn'd to the life and condition of a beast; but that afterward it pleas'd God, upon his earnest prayers and repentance, to restore him to the conversation of men, and to the exercise of his former government, which infinite mercy and providence of God he adored and celebrated afterward all the days of his life; but for your part, says Daniel, you are so far from being wrought upon by this example in your family, that you blaspheme God to his face, and take a pride in prophaning the vessels of his holy altar, in your debauches with your harlots. By this lewd course of impiety, you have drawn the wrath of God upon your head; and the intent of this writing is only to shew what end you are to come to. MENE, which is as much as number, signifies that the days both

of your life and of your reign are number'd, and that you have but a very short time to live. TEKEL, or weight, gives to understand, that your reign is weigh'd in the balance, and drawing to a conclusion. PERES, or a fragment, portends, that your kingdom shall be divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." The king was most terribly mortified with this interpretation; yet notwithstanding, was so just and generous, as to make good to Daniel, all that he had promis'd him, though the foreteller of his ruin; considering with himself, that it was not the prophet's fault, but his own unhappy fatality, that he could tell him no better tidings; neither would he deny but Daniel had done the part of a just and a good man, in letting him know the truth of things, though never so deplorable in the event.

IT was not long after this, when both himself and the city fell into the power and possession of Cyrus; for Babylon was taken in the seventeenth year of the reign of Belshazzar, who is said to have been the last king of Nebuchadnezzar's family. Now Darius was sixty two years of age, when with the assistance of Cyrus his kinsman, he wrought the subversion of the Babylonian empire; which Cyrus was the son of Astyages, though known among the Greeks by another name. He took the prophet Daniel along with him into Media, and had him in great honour and estimation; for he made him one of the three chief governors that had * three hundred and sixty more under them, according to the original constitution of Darius. Now Darius had so great a tenderness and reverence for Daniel, that he consult- ed him upon all occasions as an oracle, and would hardly resolve upon any matter of moment without his advice; but it fell out with Daniel, as we find it in the case of other princes favourites; the confident that is most in credit, never fails of drawing upon himself the envy of all the rest. Now Daniel was so well aware of these court-tricks, and kept so strict a guard upon himself, that there was no laying hold of any opportunity against him. As to the matter of money and bribes, he had a soul so much above any temptation of that kind, that he made a conscience of receiving even a lawful acknowledgment for a good office. But this did not hinder his enemies yet from plotting his downfall and destruction; and the manner of it was this:

IT being observ'd that Daniel prayed to God constantly thrice a day, his adversaries, to entrap him, bethought themselves how they might improve that practice of his to his ruin. So they applied themselves to Darius, in the name of his council and state officers; and upon their advice and request, that he would be pleas'd so far to indulge his people, as to pass an edict only for thirty days, that whosoever should presume to ask any thing of God or man within that compass of time, should be cast into the lions den. The king was so short-sighted, as not to see through the malice of this contrivance, and that the very proposal struck at the life of Daniel; so that he assented to the motion, promis'd a confirmation of it, and order'd the publication of the decree, as the act of himself and his council. The

Daniel is recommended for the interpreter, Dan. v. 11, 12.

Daniel is brought to the king, Ver. 13.

Daniel expounds the writing, Ver. 25-28.

Cyrus takes Babylon, Ver. 31. Belshazzar the last king of Nebuchadnezzar's family, ibid.

Daniel's advancement under Cyrus,

and the envy he contracted by it, Dan. vi. 3, 4.

Daniel's integrity is proof against all calumny, ibid.

A snare laid to entrap him, Ver. 5-8.

* Dan. vi. 1. maketh mention of no more than an hundred and twenty.

Daniel cast
into the lions
den, Dan. vi.
16.

The lions do
him no hurt,
Ver. 20-23.

But after-
wards tear his
enemies to
pieces, V. 24.

Darius de-
clares Da-
niel's God to
be the true
God, V. 25, &c.
Daniel erects
a magnificent
tower at Ec-
batan, the ca-
pital of Me-
dia.

dread of this decree put all people into a general damp and silence, for fear of being surpriz'd into a transgression; saving only Daniel himself, who went on still in his daily course of worshipping God, in the publick view of the world, as it was his custom to do, without ever regarding the decree. This way of proceeding furnished his enemies with the opportunity of a pretence, that they had long waited for; which immediately they laid hold of, for giving the king to understand, that Daniel was the only man, who in contempt of his royal proclamation, worshipped contrary to the tenor and direction of the decree, and that he did not do this out of piety neither, but out of a spirit of contradiction, and defiance to the authority of the edict. The envy of Daniel's enemies was the more outrageous, upon the apprehension they had that the king's personal indulgence for him might incline him to pass over the affront; so that they press'd him with clamours and outcries, not to be resisted, for justice upon the malefactor; and nothing would serve them, but Daniel must be immediately thrown into the lions den. Darius was forc'd to yield to the violence of these importunities; but told Daniel for his comfort in this extremity, that rather than so good a man should perish, God would yet work some miracle for his relief; so Daniel was cast into the lions den, and a great stone laid at the mouth of the den, which the king seal'd with his own signet, and so went his way to his palace. He pass'd that night, fasting and waking; for the trouble of his mind for Daniel would not suffer him either to eat or sleep; but early in the morning he got up, and went to the den, where he found every thing as he left it, and the seal untouch'd. He call'd upon Daniel then by his name, at a grate that look'd down into the den, to know if he were living or not; to which Daniel made this answer, that he was safe and well; in which instant the king order'd him to be taken out again; but Daniel's enemies would not allow this deliverance, however, to be the work of a peculiar providence, and would needs face the king down, that the lions bellies were full, and so they let him alone for want of an appetite. The king was so incens'd at the spite and malignity of these people, that he order'd as much meat to be given the lions as they could get down, and when they would eat no longer, to turn Daniel's accusers in among them. If they do not devour them, says the king, 'tis because their bellies are full; but if they do, it must be allow'd to be a divine providence that preserv'd Daniel. In short the lions tore them to pieces, every one of them, with as much eagerness as if they had been starved with hunger; or rather, as if the beasts themselves were become the ministers of God's justice upon the workers of iniquity.

AFTER this execution done upon the treacherous complottors against Daniel, Darius published a decree through his whole empire; commanding his people to acknowledge the God of Daniel to be the only true and Almighty God, and at the same multiplied honours upon the prophet himself, in preference to all the rest of his friends and favourites. Now Daniel, by this way of conduct, having gained the universal esteem of a person highly in favour both with God and man, he erected

a stately fabrick at Ecbatan, the capital of Media; a work every way wonderful, as well for the structure and strength of it, as for the beauty. The building is still to be seen, and looks as fresh and as firm at this instant as if it had been finished but the day you first saw it, without any decays of time or age to be seen upon it; whereas it fares with other edifices as with human bodies, time wears them out, and disfigures them. This tower is famous for being the royal monument of the kings of the Medes, Persians, and Parthians, to which use it is still applied, and the place likewise committed to the custody of a Jewish priest to this very day. There are some other passages in the history of Daniel, which are yet more admirable and particular, and not to be pass'd over in silence. He had this singular blessing attending him, over and above his excellent gift of prophecy, that he liv'd in a high degree of reputation, both with king and people; and at his death left an immortal memory behind him, to his everlasting honour; for we find by his writings that are yet extant, and in daily use and reading, that beyond all question, God communed with him in a very express manner, and revealed to him not only the sum and substance of things to come, (as was usual to other prophets,) but the very time when such or such an event should come to pass. And whereas other prophets were more exercised in the foreboding of calamities, and consequently drew upon themselves envy and ill-will, both from princes and people, Daniel, on the contrary, made friends of both, by the good things he told them, which they took delight to hear; and then for the certainty of the event, all mortals are agreed upon it, that he spoke from the dictate of an infallible spirit, as may be abundantly gather'd also from the writings which this great prophet hath left behind him.

"It fell out, says he, as I was taking the air one day, with some of my companions at Susa, the metropolis of Persia, that we were surpriz'd all on a sudden with an earthquake. My friends ran away in a fright, and left me alone, fallen prostrate upon the ground, in a consternation upon that accident. While I was in that posture, some body, methought, came, took hold on me, and bad me rise, and take good notice of things; for I should see wonderful revolutions that would befall my countrymen several ages to come. Upon my arising, I saw a large ram, with several horns, and the last taller than the rest. Turning my face then toward the west, I saw a goat that pass'd through the air, and encounter'd the ram, struck him down twice, and trampled him under his feet. After this there arose a large horn out of the forehead of the goat; and when that came to be broken, there sprang up four more instead of it, pointing toward the four quarters of the heavens." Daniel writes also, "That from one of them came forth a little horn, which, upon growing up, should wage war with the nation of the Jews, and destroy Jerusalem itself, suppress the ceremonies of the temple, and all sacrifices, for the space of twelve hundred and ninety six days." This was the vision that, as Daniel writes, he saw at Susa, which was first shew'd by a revelation from God, and then

Daniel's
vision at Susa,
of the ram
and the goat,
Dan. viii.

The vision
decypher'd.

then interpreted after this following manner :

“ By the ram was designed the kingdoms of
“ the Medes and Persians ; by the horns, the
“ succeeding kings there ; and the last of their
“ kings, by the last horn, as transcending all
“ the rest for wealth and power ; by the
“ goat was signified some king of Greece,
“ that should give two overthrows to the Per-
“ sians, and subdue that empire ; by the great
“ horn upon the forehead of the goat, was
“ meant the first of their kings ; and by the
“ budding out of four horns more, pointing
“ to the four winds, was to be understood the
“ successors to those kings, and the partition
“ of their dominions, after the death of the
“ first, though strangers to the blood ; but
“ that however they should reign for several
“ years ; and in process of time, out of these
“ should come a king that would make war
“ upon the Jewish nation, and their laws, and
“ utterly extinguish the form of the common-
“ wealth, pillage the temple, and prohibit
“ any sacrifices or worship in it for three
“ years.” Which calamity came to pass un-
der Antiochus Epiphanes, as the prophet had
foretold so many years before. He wrote fe-
veral wonderful things also about the Roman
empire, and what a desolation they should
make of our people ; all which he received
by divine revelation, and transmitted in wri-
ting to posterity, to stand as a testimony upon

Daniel's won-
derful pre-
dictions con-
cerning the
Roman em-
pire.

record, of the agreement betwixt the presage
and the event. This may serve to establish a
veneration for that man's memory, whom God
was pleased to honour in so particular a man-
ner, and likewise to confound the impious
doctrine of the Epicureans, that will not al-
low of any ordering or over-ruling providence
to interpose in the government, or preserva-
tion of the universe, but will have the whole
course of sublunary affairs to be only a huddle
of contingencies, without either care or coun-
sel. Now if it were as they vainly imagine,
the world without a supreme governor or mo-
derator, would be such another fancy as that
of a ship at the mercy of the winds and waves
without a pilot, which must of necessity mis-
carry ; or, as a chariot among crags and pre-
cipices, without a driver, that perishes under
its own weight. So that when I consider the
predictions of Daniel, I cannot forgive the
ignorance and irreverence of those people that
make it their profession to decry providence,
as if God took no care of us ; for how is it
possible there should be such a correspondence
betwixt a thing foretold at one time, and ful-
filled so many ages after, if, according to
their opinion, every thing was left to hap-
hazard ? But what I have found in writing,
I do here deliver in writing, just as I found
it, leaving every man still to the liberty of his
own opinion.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

B. O O K XI.

From the Tear of the World 3425 to 3635.

C H A P. I.

*Cyrus gives the Jews leave to return, and to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, with letters recom-
mendatory to his officers and governors, to be aiding and assisting to them.*

¹ Esdras i.
³ Esdras iii.



The Jews re-
stored after
seventy years
captivity, as
the prophet
Jeremiah
foretold,
Ezra i. 1, 2.

Cyrus makes
proclamation
that the God
of the Jews is
the true God,
ibid.

IN the first year of Cy-
rus, and the seventieth
of our Babylonian cap-
tivity, God took pity
of a miserable people,
according to what he
had foretold them by
the prophet Jeremiah,
before the destruction
of Jerusalem; that is
to say, that after seventy years bondage under
Nebuchadnezzar, and his successors, they should
be restored to their own country; see the tem-
ple rebuilt, and return to the state of their
former glory. This was all made good to
them accordingly; for God put it into the
heart of Cyrus, to send his circular letters over
all Asia, to this effect, signing them, Cyrus
the king. "I do fully persuade myself, that
the great God, of whose gift and bounty I
hold my empire, is the very God that the
children of Israel adore; for I find honour-
able mention made of my name by his pro-
phets of ancient date, as a person that in
time to come should rebuild Jerusalem, and
re-instate the people." Cyrus, it seems, had
seen and read the prophecies of Isaiah, which
bore date two hundred and ten years before
he was born, wherein he gives an account of
a revelation he had from God, "That he

would raise up one Cyrus, to be a king of
many, and of powerful nations, who should
re-establish the Hebrews in their native coun-
try." This was foretold by the prophet a
hundred and forty years before the temple was
destroy'd. The king was so transported upon
the reading of these divine inspirations and
predictions concerning himself, that he fell
presently to work upon making good his part
of the prophecy. The first thing he did, was
to call together all the leading men of the
Jews to Babylon, where he told them, that
so many of them as had a mind to go back
into their country, should have free passports,
and permission to rebuild the temple and the
city of Jerusalem, if they thought fit; making
no doubt, he said, but that God would bless
them in the undertaking, promising over and
above, that he would send his orders to all
his officers and governors bordering upon Ju-
dea, to furnish them with gold and silver for
the rebuilding of the temple, and beasts for
sacrifices. The most eminent of the two
tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with
the priests and Levites, immediately upon this
declaration, hasten'd away toward Jerusalem.
But there were a great many, however, that
chose rather to stay in Babylon, than to quit
their possessions. Upon their arrival at Jeru-
salem, all the king's friends and officers con-
tributed

Cyrus re-
solves to
make good
what Isaiah
predicted of
him, Isaiah
xliv, xlv.
Cyrus gives
the Jews li-
berty to go
back, and re-
build their
temple and
city, Ezra i. 3.

Liberal contribution toward the work, Ezra i. 5, 6.

Cyrus restores the holy vessels and utensils that had been taken out of the temple, Ver. 7, &c.

tributed largely and unanimously toward the great work; some gold, others silver; and some again cattle and horses; others attended the discharge of their vows, and the solemnity of oblations, as if they were already entered upon the business of re-erecting the city, and in the exercise of their ancient discipline; for Cyrus had then sent them from Babylon, the holy vessels and utensils that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away from the temple at Jerusalem; which were deliver'd to * Mithridates the king's treasurer, and by him to be deposited with Abassar, till the temple should be finish'd, and then immediately to be put into the hands of the priests and magistrates of the people, for the use and service of the temple. Cyrus, after this, wrote another letter to the governors of Syria, in manner following:

Cyrus the king, to Syfina and Sarabasan, greeting.

Cyrus, in favour of the Jews, gives leave for the temple and capital city to be rebuilt.

BE it known unto you, that I have given leave to all the Jews that are in my dominions, to return into their own country, and there to rebuild their capital city, with the holy temple at Jerusalem, in the same place where it stood before. I have likewise sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel the governor of Judea, to superintend the building, and to see it raised \dagger sixty cubits upward from the ground, and as many over; the walls to be three rows of polished stone, and one of the wood of the country, together with an altar for the sacrifices; and all this to be done at my own charge. I have also appointed my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel the prince of Judah, to cause all utensils and vessels that Nebuchadnezzar carried away from the temple at Jerusalem, to be sent back and restor'd; that is to say, fifty golden ewers, and four hundred silver ones; fifty golden vessels, all Thericlean cups, and four hundred silver ones; fifty golden lavers, and five hundred silver ones; thirty golden chalices, and three hundred silver ones; thirty golden phials, and two thousand four hundred silver ones, beside a thousand of other large vessels of different sorts. It is my further pleasure also, that they receive entire to themselves all the profits and revenues that were formerly enjoy'd by their predecessors, and that they have an allowance paid them of \ddagger two hundred and five thousand five hundred drachma's, in consideration of beasts for sacrifices, wine, and oil; and two thousand five hundred measures of wheat, in lieu of the fine flower; and all this to be rais'd upon the tribute of Samaria. The priests alone to offer up the sacrifices according to the laws and ceremonies of Moses, and to pray daily for the king and the royal family, and for the welfare and happiness of the Persian empire. And let no man presume to do any thing contrary to the tenor of this my royal will and proclamation, upon pain of forfeiting life and

All utensils and holy vessels that Nebuchadnezzar carried away, to be restor'd.

Maintenance.

“estate.” This was the substance of the king's letter; and the number of those that returned out of captivity to Jerusalem, upon this encouragement and invitation, was forty two thousand four hundred and sixty two persons.

The number of those that return'd to Jerusalem, Ezra ii.

CHAP. II.

The Jews fall to work upon the rebuilding the city and the temple; but Cyrus dying in the mean time, his son Cambyfes is prevail'd upon to countermand the design.

THE Jews were no sooner at work upon the foundations of the temple, their hearts being wholly set upon the advancement of the undertaking, but the bordering nations, and especially the Chuthites, which Salmanassar, the king of Assyria, had formerly transplanted from Persia and Media into Samaria, after he had remov'd the Israelites into other habitations: these people, I say, applied themselves to the princes and governors, to whom the care of this enterprize was committed; pressing them with earnest importunities, not to suffer the Jews, upon any terms, to proceed upon the project of rebuilding the city and the temple. These commissioners were prevail'd upon, by the force of bribes and fair words, to slacken their diligence in the dispatch and prosecution of their orders; and during the course of this negligence and delay, Cyrus was so taken up in a war with the Massagetes, (where he lost his life,) that he knew nothing at all of the matter.

Ezra iv.

Upon the death of Cyrus \parallel , Cambyfes in course succeeded to the empire, and had an address presented him out of Syria and Phenicia, and from the Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritans, signed Rathymus, history-secretary; Semelius, scribe; and the magistrates of Phenicia and Syria. The tenor of it was to the purpose following: “This is to give you, great Sir, to understand, that the Jews who were carried away to Babylon, are now returned to their former seats, and into our country, where they are busy upon the rebuilding of a city that was most deservedly destroyed for seditious practices. They are setting up markets, and places of commerce; repairing the walls, and renewing the temple; and if they go on at this rate, you may assure yourself, that they will neither pay taxes, nor due allegiance much longer; for they are profess'd enemies to kings, and will never submit to serve, if they once get it into their power to command. We account it our duty, Sir, in this heat and zeal, for the rebuilding of the temple, to possess you before it is too late, with a true state of the matter. Be pleas'd only to look back into the history of your predecessors, and you shall there find the Jews, from generation to generation, to be the enemies of all crowned heads, and that this very city was justly laid waste and desolate, for the crime of rebellion; and we are further to present

The Chuthites oppose the rebuilding of the city and temple, Ver. 4, 5.

The work is delay'd, and Cyrus in the interim dies in the war with the Massagetes. Cambyfes succeeds to Cyrus.

A malicious address to Cambyfes against the Jews, i. Ezra ii. 16--24.

* According to ancient coins it should be Mithradates, as Mr. Spanheim has observ'd.

\dagger Sixty cubits, as we've before observ'd, were upwards of an hundred an nine English feet; that is, thirty six yards, and one foot.

\ddagger A Drachma was in value six pence three farthings, and three eighths, of our money; two hundred and five thousand five hundred of which amounted to five thousand nine hundred and eighty two pounds, or thereabouts.

\parallel This king in Scripture is call'd Artaxerxes.

"this to your consideration, that if ever they
"go through with the re-edifying of this ci-
"ty, and the finishing the walls, you will
"find your communication cut off with Phe-
"nicia and Coele-Syria."

CHAP. III.

Cambyfes puts a stop to the rebuilding of the city and temple. He dies soon after, and the administration of the government is for one year lodg'd in the Magi. Darius is chosen king.

THE king was ill-natur'd, and cross-grain'd enough of himself; but this remonstrance put him out of all patience, as will appear by his following answer:

King Cambyfes to Rathymus his historiographer; Belfemus, and Semelius the scribe, and the rest of the inhabitants of Samaria and Phenicia, greeting.

"UPON the reading of your letter of
"address, I have caused a diligent search
"to be made into the history of former times,
"according to your request, and I find your
"remarks upon the city of Jerusalem to be
"true, and that the Jews have ever been a
"rebellious, and, as you say, an anti-monar-
"chical sort of people; turbulent and restless,
"and naturally addicted to innovations. I
"find likewise, that their kings have ever
"been fierce and violent, and vexatious in
"their taxes and impositions, to the highest
"degree of oppression, as Phenicia and Coele-
"Syria may bear witness against them; where-
"fore I do command you to oppose them
"with all your might, in the rebuilding of
"the city; for as they grow in power, they
"will certainly increase in malice, and be-
"have themselves as seditiously to the present
"governors, as they have done in time past
"to former kings."

Cambyfes
puts a stop to
the rebuild-
ing of the
temple, 1 Es-
dras ii. 25, &c.

The work was
laid aside for
nine years.
Cambyfes
reign'd six
years, and
Darius the
son of Hyftaf-
pes succeeded
him.

RATHYMUS and Semelius had no sooner read this mandate, but away they went with their companions, and took horse immediately for Jerusalem, and a vast multitude of people along with them, where they put an absolute stop to the Jews in the work of the city and the temple; so that it was respited for a matter of nine years; that is to say, to the second year of Darius the king of Persia. Cambyfes, after he had reigned six years, and subdued Egypt, died at Damascus, in his return from that expedition. The Magi being cut off, in whose hands, for a full year after his death, the government rested it was afterwards translated by the seven Satrapæ, or eminent families of the Persians, and by common consent conferr'd on Darius the son of Hyftafpes.

CHAP. IV.

Darius gives Zorobabel leave to rebuild the city and temple. The Samaritans oppose it; but Darius, on the contrary, promotes the design.

DARIUS, while he was yet a private man, made a vow to God, that if ever

he came to the throne, he would send all the holy vessels that were at Babylon back again to the temple of Jerusalem; and it happen'd about that time, that Zorobabel, who was declared the prince or captain of the Jewish captives, came from Jerusalem to Darius. He was an ancient friend and confident of the king's, and taken into a particular trust, with two other great officers, which was an honour that answer'd the height of his ambition.

Darius's vow
in favour of
the Jews.

Zorobabel
the king's an-
cient friend.

DARIUS, in the first year of his reign, gave a splendid and a most magnificent treat, not only to his own domesticks, but to the princes and nobility of the Medes and Persians, the general officers of all India and Ethiopia, and the commanders, in fine, of a hundred and twenty seven provinces. Upon the breaking up of the company, when the entertainment was over, they retir'd, every man to his own quarter. Darius, in the mean while, finding after a short slumber, that he could not lay himself to rest again, fell into discourses from one thing to another with his three favourite officers, telling them in the end, "That he
"had some questions to ask them; and for
"their encouragement, he that should give
"him the most reasonable and satisfactory an-
"swer, should have the honour to be cloathed
"in purple, drink in a golden cup, sleep upon
"gold, ride in a chariot with harness of gold,
"wear a silken *Tiara, and a gold chain,
"have the next place to Darius himself in
"the council, and be accounted as one of the
"royal blood." After this he put his ques-

Several ques-
tions put by
Darius to his
officers, with
mighty pro-
mises to him
that should
best resolve
them, 1 Esdras
iii. 4--12.

tions to them in order: to the first, if there was any thing stronger than wine? To the second, the same question again, of the strength of kings; and to the third, what he thought of the strength of women; or finally, of truth, perhaps, above all the rest. Upon the putting of these queries, he made an end of speaking, and left his guards to consider of the matter. In the morning early he call'd together all the princes of the Medes and Persians, with the chief officers and governors, placed himself upon the seat of justice, and caused the three guards of his body to be sent for immediately, to give their opinions severally and publickly upon what he had propos'd.

The ques-
tions were,
whether wine,
women, or
truth, was the
stronger, ibid.

THE first began upon the subject of the strength of wine; "Which, says he, with fa-
"vour of this illustrious assembly, I may take
"upon me to pronounce superior to all other
"powers whatsoever; for it overthrows the
"minds and understandings of all those that
"drink too plentifully of it. It puts the
"greatest prince into the condition of a child
"in his wardship, that has not wit enough to
"look to himself. It sets the slave at liberty,
"even to the forgetting of his chains, and
"makes the beggar as rich and as great as an
"emperor. It changes and elevates the spi-
"rits, wherever it takes possession. It enli-
"vens the heavy hearts of the miserable, pays
"all debts, and relieves men in all manner of
"necessities. It makes the scoundrel strut
"and swagger like a lord, look and talk big,
"without any regard or fear of either kings
"or captains. It makes men forget their most
"intimate familiars and friends, and draw up-
"on their nearest relations, as if they were
"the most hateful of strangers; and then when

The power
of wine, Vc.
17, &c.

* This was a rich ornament for the head, worn by emperors, kings, and great personages among the eastern people.

The power
of kings,
1 Esdras iv.
1-12.

"a man has slept out his debauch, he no more remembers what he did in the heat of his wine than as if no such thing had ever been. Now for these reasons I cannot but look upon the force and operation of wine to be the strongest and the most violent of all others."

WHEN the first had done dilating upon the topick of wine, the second stood up for the power of kings, in preference to all other whatsoever, which he endeavour'd to prove after this manner: "It is beyond dispute, says he, that God has made man the master of all things under the sun, so far as to command them, to make use of them, and apply them to the service of mankind as he pleases; but whereas men have only a dominion over all other sublunary creatures, kings have an authority even over men themselves, and a right of ruling them by will and pleasure. Now he that is master of those that are masters of all things else, hath a just title to an advantage over all the rest, and to be accounted insuperable, having no earthly thing above him. When princes find it for their convenience to expose the persons of their subjects to wars and dangers, they obey them, you see, without any reluctance or dispute, let the hazard be what it will; whether bodies to bodies, or in the attack of walls or works, forcing of passes, or, as it often falls out, in contending with nature itself; we see how frankly they offer themselves either to kill or to be kill'd, in the execution of their prince's orders; and then in case of a victory at last, the honour and profit of the whole goes to the king. This for the military part; and the same reason holds in the common business of husbandry and tillage, where the countryman plows, sows, digs, and sweats, in the first place, to supply the king's stores out of his toil and labour; and whatsoever he commands must be obey'd, without any expostulation or delay. The king all this time, while the people are working for him, takes his fill of all delicacies and pleasures, sleeps in security and at ease, with his guards about him, under the slavery of an indispensable attendance, and not a man of them who dares close his eyes while his master is at rest; for the king's business is theirs, without any sort of liberty to attend any other; so that nothing certainly can be stronger than the force of that power which the whole multitude obeys to all intents and purposes."

Zorobabel
upon the
power of wo-
men, Ver. 13-
32

AFTER this declamation upon the power of kings, Zorobabel took his turn upon the argument of women and of truth; and his discourse was to this following effect: "The force of wine, says he, is not to be denied, neither is that of kings, that ties up so many millions of men in one common bond of allegiance; but the super-eminency of women, notwithstanding, exceeds all this; for the mother of the king was before the king himself, and kings are but the gifts of the women who brought them into the world; and women were likewise the mothers and nurses of those that cultivate our vineyards, and dress our vines. There is not any thing we can pretend to, but what we either directly or indirectly receive from them. They have a hand in the government of all our

domestick affairs; nay, in the dress and ornament of our bodies; and, in fine, God hath made them so necessary to us, that there's no living, nor being without them. Let a man have never so much gold and silver, or what is more precious before him, the sight of a beautiful woman makes him sacrifice all these vanities to purchase the possession of a beloved beauty. Women have the power to make us abandon our very country and relations, and many times to forget the best friends we have in the world, and forsake all other comforts, to live and die with them. And it may yet be added, that when we have compassed sea and land for all things that are rich and curious in nature, what does it all come to at last, but a more valuable present to a mistress? How have I seen the king himself, in the very meridian of all his glory and titles, submit to the taking of a box on the ear at the hand of his concubine Apame, the daughter of Rabepfaces Themafinus! And this was not all neither; for she would take the crown off from the king's head, and set it upon her own; and he, good man, was so complaisant all the while, as to put himself into all shapes and humours to please her, and to be pleasant or sad with her for company, for fear of giving her any occasion of offence."

UPON this, the princes and the nobility look'd upon one another, not without some admiration at the freedom of the discourse; and so Zorobabel proceeded to the last point, upon the argument of truth. "I have spoken, says he, what I had to say upon the subject of women; but when all is done, neither they nor kings are comparable to the almighty force of truth; for allowing the vast magnitude of the earth, the height of the heavens, and the unspeakable swiftness of the motion of the sun, and that all this is order'd by a divine providence, it must be granted withal, that God is just and true; and consequently that truth is of all things imaginable the most powerful, since neither error nor justice can prevail against it. As for all other things that pass for great in the world, they are mortal and short-liv'd, but truth alone is unchangeable and everlasting; the benefits we receive from it are subject to no variations or vicissitudes of time and fortune, but righteous and warrantable, and without any stain of iniquity or reproach."

ZOROBABEL had the universal acclamation of the whole auditory, for the excellent things he deliver'd; and they all agreed with him, that truth was incorruptible, and the only blessing under the sun that was not liable to alteration and decay; so that the king, as an instance of his full satisfaction in this answer to the question, bad him take his choice out of what he had promis'd him, and he would freely grant it him. "For, says he, you shall have a preference in my esteem above all other men, in proportion to the superiority of your wisdom and understanding above that of your companions; and from this time forward you shall have the first place of honour next to my own person, and stand adopted in my affinity and blood."

ZOROBABEL could not but lay hold of so fair an occasion for the putting of the king in mind

And finally
of truth, Ver.
33-41.
A preference
given to
truth, ibid.

Darius is so
well pleased
with the sen-
tence, that he
bids him ask
what he
would, V. 42.
Prefers and
adopts him
into the royal
family, ibid.

Zorobabel
minds him of
his vow of re-
stitution,
1 Esdr. iv.
43-46.

and desires
him to be as
good as his
word. *ibid.*

Darius writes
to his gover-
nors to be as-
sistant to the
Jews to all
manner of
purposes,
V. 47-57.

of a former vow he had made; which was, that if ever he came to the crown, he would immediately fall to work upon the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the holy temple there, and order a restitution to be made of all the sacred vessels and utensils that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away from thence, and carry'd to Babylon. "Now, says he, since your majesty has done me the honour of replying to me a wise man, and allowing me the liberty of this election, my humble request must be this, that you will now discharge your vow, and be as good as your word." The king, upon this challenge, raised himself cheerfully from his throne, embraced his adviser, and kiss'd him, and sent away mandates soon after to his governors and great officers, to conduct Zorobabel and those that were to go along with him to their journey's end, and to assist him in the re-edifying of the temple. He wrote letters also to the magistrates of Phenicia and Syria, to provide carriages for the transporting of the Cedar to Jerusalem, that was cut down in Libanus, and to help them all they could in their main undertaking. The king gave them likewise in charge, to exempt all the Jews that should now return out of this captivity, from the burden of any publick tax or duty, and to leave them at liberty in their persons as well as in their estates, without either restraint or tribute; commanding also the Edomites, Samaritans, and the people of Cele-Syria, to restore all those lands to the Jews again that had been formerly in their possession, and to contribute fifty talents over and above toward the erecting of the temple, after their own way, and assign'd them out of his own proper bounty whatever should be found necessary, either in sacerdotal habits or otherwise, for the right administration of every thing in form. He assigned them organs also to accompany the voices of the Levites, and order'd a certain proportion of land for the entertainment of the officers and keepers, both of the city and the temple, in the way of an annual pension; confirming every thing, in fine, that Cyrus had formerly resolv'd upon about the restoring of the Jews, and their holy vessels.

WHEN Zorobabel had obtain'd this grace from the king, the first thing he did after his going out from the place was, with his eyes lift up to heaven, to give God thanks for the honour he had received from the king, in the reputation of his wisdom, beyond the rest of his competitors, which he acknowledg'd to be only the distinguishing effect of his divine goodness; concluding his thanksgiving with a prayer for the success of his undertaking; and so went his way to his countrymen at Babylon with the joyful news of their deliverance. Upon the report of these tidings, they join'd immediately in an universal thanksgiving for the promise of this restoration to their

native country; and after the solemnity of that duty was over, they fell to feasting, drinking, and making merry, for a matter of seven days together, in such a transport of joy and jollity as if the day of their redemption and return had been the first day of a new life to them. The heads of the tribes made a choice of those that were to go upon this expedition, providing horses, and other beasts of burden, and carriages for their wives and children, and taking those troops along with them which Darius had appointed for a convoy. In this manner and company they pass'd their time merrily upon the way, with pipes and cymbals playing before them, and the whole multitude dancing and rejoicing after the musick. There was a select number chosen out from all and every of the tribes; but the naming of them in particular would be tiresome to the reader, and interrupt the order of my discourse; so that I shall only run them over in generals. There were of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, from twelve years old and upward, four millions six hundred and twenty eight * thousand persons. After these came four thousand and seventy Levites; and a promiscuous multitude of women and children, to the number of forty thousand seven hundred and forty two. Of the stock of the Levites there were a hundred and twenty eight singers, a hundred and ten porters; and of others that serv'd and assisted in the sanctuary three hundred and twenty two. There were also six hundred and fifty two that call'd themselves Israelites, but could not prove their extraction. There were others that had taken wives whose genealogy could not be made out, either from the Levitical or sacerdotal records; and these were accounted unqualified for the holy function, to the number of five hundred and twenty five. The train of servants that attended them was reckon'd at seven thousand three hundred thirty seven; singing-men and women, two hundred and forty five; camels, four hundred and thirty five; and other beasts of carriage, five hundred and twenty five. The leader of this multitude was Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of Judah, and the race of David; and with him was Jesus, the son of Josedec, and Mardocheus, and Serebæus, which two were chosen to the command, by the suffrage of the tribes, and contributed at their own charge † a hundred pound of gold, and || five thousand pound of silver, toward the expence of this expedition. This was the order and the manner of the march of the priests and Levites, and that part of the people that went along with them in their return from Babylon to Jerusalem, the rest following after by little and little, till in the end they all went back to their own habitations.

Darius assigns
them a con-
voy, and so
they depart,
1 Esdr. v. 1, 2.
The order of
their proce-
sion, Ver. 3.

Their num-
ber, tribes, and
qualities,
V. 4-43.

Zorobabel
their leader,
and Jesus
their high-
priest, V. 68.

Zorobabel
carries the
Jews at Baby-
lon the tidings
of their deli-
verance.

* The account Josephus here gives us of the number of Jews who returned from the captivity of Babylon, seems to be swell'd beyond the bounds of probability. Neither in Ezr. ii. nor in 1 Esdr. v. where both the names and numbers of all the families that returned are particularly recounted, does the sum total amount to any thing near what he here affirms them to have been.

† The Hebrew Mina of gold weighed one pound, one ounce, thirteen pennyweights, eighteen grains; and its value in gold was fifty four pounds fifteen shillings; an hundred therefore, must weigh an hundred and fourteen pounds fifteen pennyweights; and in value, amount to five thousand four hundred seventy five pounds.

|| An Hebrew Mina of silver weighed two pounds, three ounces, seven pennyweights, twelve grains; and was in value, six pounds, sixteen shillings and ten pence half penny; five thousand therefore, must weigh eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds three ounces; and in value amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds fifteen shillings English money.

A general assembly in-
dicted at Je-
rusalem, Ezra
iii. 1.

An altar
erected, V. 2.

The feast of
tabernacles,
and other fes-
tivals, V. 5, 6.

Money,
workmen, and
materials for
the temple
provided,
Ver. 7.

Trustees ap-
pointed for
the care of
the work, Ver.
8.

The building advanced beyond expectation, Ver. 9--11.

IN the seventh month after their departure from Babylon, Jesus the high-priest, and Zorobabel their prince, sent messengers express all over the land, to summon the people to a general meeting at Jerusalem, who gather'd together with great chearfulness according to the order. Upon this meeting, there was erected an altar to sacrifice upon, according to the appointment of God by his servant Moses, and it was rais'd upon the same place where it stood before. This proceeding gave a mighty offence to the neighbouring nations, who had a mortal aversion, both to the people, and to whatever they did. This happen'd just upon the feast of tabernacles, according to the Mosaical institution; and after that came the daily oblations, and the sacrifice of the sabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all holy feasts; and all those that had made any vow came likewise to perform it, from the first day of the seventh month.

THEY enter'd then upon the building of the temple, and expended vast sums of money upon the workmen and builders of all sorts; and upon meat and drink for those that assisted in the carriage of materials. The Sidonians were frank and liberal toward this work, bringing down cedar-trees in abundance from Libanus; and after that, framing them into boats, which they brought into the port of Joppa, as they had been order'd; first by Cyrus, and after him by Darius.

It was now the second month of the second year after the return of the Jews, when the foundations of the temple being already laid, they began on the first day of December with the superstructure, committing the care of the building to the whole family of the Levites, of twenty years of age and upward, and likewise to Jesus, with his sons and brothers; and to Zolimiel, the brother of Judah, and the son of Aminadab, and to his sons, who were all so diligent and industrious in the discharge of their commissions, that the fabrick went forward beyond expectation. When they were advanced thus far, the priests came and officiated in their habits, with musical instruments; and the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, sung some of the holy hymns of David to the honour of God, according to the first institution. But the priests and Levites, and the elders of their families, who had seen the glory and magnificence of the former house, and computing how little this was in comparison of the other, broke out into tears and lamentations at the thought of it. The common people however that had never seen the former, and consequently could not be troubled at the disproportion, they contented themselves well enough with the present state of things, though the passion of the priests and elders was so great at the same time, that their very sighs and cries were almost as loud as the musick.

THE report of this noise of trumpets, with a confused clamour and mixture of joy and sorrow being brought to the Samaritans, they came running together in great multitudes to learn the meaning of it; and finding that it was occasion'd by the return of the Jews from their captivity at Babylon, and that they were now at work upon the re-erecting of their temple, they went immediately to Zorobabel, and Jefus, with the chief of the tribes, and desir'd that they themselves might likewise be

admitted into the undertaking, upon terms in common with the rest. "For, say they, we worship the same God, value ourselves upon the glory of the same profession, and upon the love and practice of the same religion, from the very days of Salmanassar, the king of Assyria, who transplanted us out of Chuthia and Media, into this land." The answer to the request was, with one voice, that they could not take them into a partnership of the building, because formerly Cyrus, and after him Darius, had assign'd the building of it to their particular care; but that they should have liberty, if they thought fit, to worship there, without exception to any man, and that it should be open to all people indifferently, who had a mind to serve God in it.

THE Chuthites, (for so we call the Samaritans,) took this refusal so heinously, that they stirr'd up the Syrians to apply themselves to the great men as they did at first, under Cyrus, and afterward under Cambyfes, that a stop might be put to the progress of the building, by slackening the diligence of those that were intrusted with the dispatch of the work.

THERE went up to Jerusalem at this time, Sisines, the governor of Syria and Phenicia, and Sarabazanes, with some others, and asked some of the principal men among them, by what authority this temple was to be built? for it look'd liker a castle than a temple, and to what end the walls of the city were made so thick and strong, and the gates so fortified? Zorobabel and Jesus made answer, that they were the servants of the most high God, to whose honour this temple was built, and to his service dedicated by the greatest, the happiest, and the wisest prince that ever sat upon that throne, and that it had stood firm for many ages, till in the end, for the wickedness of their forefathers, the city, by God's permission, was taken, and destroy'd by Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon and Chaldea, the temple pillag'd, and laid in ashes, and the people carried away captives into Babylon; but that when Cyrus came to the government of Persia and Babylon, he order'd by his royal proclamation the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoring of all the donatives and vessels that had been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar, which were deliver'd to Zorobabel, and his treasurer Mithridates, to be transported to Jerusalem, and deposited there again in the temple; that by the command of the same king, Abassar was sent to that city to endeavour the finishing of the work out of hand; that upon receipt of the king's letters, he came in all haste, and immediately laid the foundation; and that from that time forward their enemies had been still at work to cast some impediment or other in the way, to obstruct or to delay the design. Now if they pleased they might write to Darius, to the end that upon inspecting the royal records, they might find the whole story to be true as they had told it. Sisines and his companions did not think it reasonable to interrupt the proceeding, without the privity of Darius himself, and therefore they agreed among themselves to write to him immediately about this matter. The Jews were not a little solicitous and apprehensive, for fear the king, upon this application, should countermand the orders he had given, till Aggeus, and Zacharias, two prophets among

The Samari-
tins propose
to join in the
undertaking,

but cannot be
admitted,
Ezra iv. 2, 3.

The Chur-
thites ob-
struct the
work all they
can, Ver. 4, 5.

Sifines and
Sarabazanes
question the
authority of
the proceed-
ing, Eldras vi.
3, 4.

them at that time, bad them be of good cheer, and fear nothing from the Persians, for they were certainly inform'd of God's holy will and pleasure touching that affair. The people did so absolutely depend upon this encouragement, that they wrought harder and harder, without the intermission so much as of one single day.

The Samaritans caluminate the Jews to Darius, Esdras vi. 7-22.

WHEN the Samaritans had written a complaining accusation against the Jews to Darius, objecting against them the fortifying of the city, and the erecting of a strong place that look'd more like a citadel than a temple, setting forth that this was not at all for the king's service, and shewing also the epistle of Cambyses, by which he had forbidden and hinder'd it before, as a practice that was neither profitable nor safe for the publick; when they had represented all this, I say, and that the king had receiv'd and consider'd of these letters, he order'd the royal memorials to be consulted upon this subject; and upon the search there was found at Ecbatana, a castle in Media, a certain book, wherein was written to this effect:

The decree of Cyrus, in favour of the Jews and their pretensions, Ver. 24-26.

"It was ordained by king Cyrus, in the first year of his reign, that the temple of God should be rebuilt at Jerusalem, sixty cubits in height, and as many in breadth, and the altar in it; that there should be in the walls three rows of polish'd marble, and one of wood, of the growth of the country, and the charge of it to be defray'd out of the king's treasury; that the holy vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, should be carried back to Jerusalem, and restor'd; that the superintendency of this work should be committed to Abassar, the governor of Syria and Phenicia, and to his companions, with orders, not to appear at Jerusalem themselves, but to leave the building of the temple to the Jews, the servants of God, and to the chief of their tribes; and to supply them, however, out of the taxes upon the province, and to furnish them for their sacrifices, with bulls, rams, lambs, kids, meal, wine, oil, and whatever else the priests should desire, who were to pray to God for the welfare and happiness of the king of Persia, and of his people; and whoever should presume to act contrary to this mandate, to be forthwith taken and hang'd up, and his goods confiscated, with the addition of a curse over and above, that whoever should dare to oppose or forbid the progress of this work, God would strike him with a vengeance, as a judgment upon him for his iniquity."

WHEN Darius, upon a search into the transactions of Cyrus, had inform'd himself upon the matter of fact in question, he wrote back to Sisines and his fellow-colleagues, to this effect:

King Darius to Sisines, the master of his horse; and to Sarabazanes, and the other magistrates with him, greeting.

Darius re-inforces the care of the work, Ver. 27, &c.

"I SEND you a copy of Cyrus's letter, transcribed out of his records, and it is my will and pleasure that all things may be done according to the direction of that appointment. Fare you well."

THIS letter gave them to understand how the king stood inclin'd; so that Sisines, and

the rest, agreed among themselves, to comply in all points with the king's orders and command; and undertaking the care of the fabrick, they assisted the Jews, and their magistrates and leading men, and carried on the work so unanimously, that the building was erected according to the command of Cyrus and Darius, and finished within the compass of seven years; the prophets Aggeus and Zacharias, in the mean time prophesying. In the ninth year of Darius, and the three and twentieth day of the eleventh month, which we call Adar; and the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Levites, with the people of Israel, offer'd in sacrifice, a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve goats, as offerings for the twelve tribes, in acknowledgment of the blessing of their deliverance from captivity into the condition of their former state, and to his holy worship again in a new temple. The priests and Levites had their porters at every gate, according to the law, the Jews having built galleries round about the temple.

The temple is finish'd in seven years, Esdras vii. 5. The dedication of the temple, Ver. 7.

THE feast of unleavened bread was now drawing on, and in the first month, which the Macedonians call Xanthicus, and we Nisan, the people flock'd up from all places to the city, where they celebrated that festival, together with their wives and children, after the practice of their forefathers, with all purity and sobriety answerable to the occasion. Upon the fourteenth day of the first month they held the passover, and kept together rejoicing for seven days after; offering up sacrifices and thanksgiving to God, for restoring them to the possession and enjoyment of their native country, and their antient laws and religion, and for disposing the heart and inclination of the king of Persia so favourably toward them. They spared for no cost in the celebration of this festival, and so replanted themselves in Jerusalem, where they erected an Aristocracy; for the sovereign power was lodg'd in the high-priest, till the Asmonean family, upon a turn of affairs, enter'd upon the government, and turn'd it into a monarchy. Now before the captivity, and for the space of five hundred thirty two years six months and ten days, from the time of Saul and David, they were govern'd by kings; and so they were likewise before, though under the name of judges, and that form of government continued upwards of five hundred years, after the administration of Moses and Joshua. This was the state of the Jews in the restoration under Cyrus and Darius.

The passover is kept, V. 10.

An aristocracy erected.

BUT the Samaritans, who were an envious spiteful sort of people, put them to a great deal of vexatious trouble; for they were powerful and wealthy, and claiming kindred with the Persians, they valued themselves upon the credit of their original. They murmured at the taxes that were laid upon them by way of contribution to the sacrifices, made an interest to the superintendent of the works; and, in short, either by themselves, or by others, they improv'd all opportunities of doing us mischief. This disorder, in fine, went so far, that the senate and the people of Jerusalem drew up a complaint against the Samaritans, and sent Zorobabel with four more of his colleagues upon the embassy with it to Darius. When the king came to consider the crimes that were charg'd upon the Samaritans, he gave them a

The Samaritans spiteful and envious to the Jews.

Zorobabel and four more sent with a complaint to Darius against the Samaritans.

letter back with them for the officers and lieutenants of that province, and the senate of Samaria, in words to this purpose :

King Darius to Tangar and Sambaba, the master of our horse at Samaria, and to Sadrack Bobelon, and the rest of their fellow-subjects there, sendeth greeting.

“ **W**HEREAS I am given to understand by Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mardocheus, on the part of the Jews, that you stand accused of interrupting and discouraging the rebuilding of the temple, and of refusing to bear your part in the charge of the sacrifices, which by my order and command you ought to have done: this is to will and require you upon the sight of this letter, forthwith to supply them out of my treasury in Samaria, with whatsoever they shall want for the use of their sacrifices and worship, to the end that they may offer up daily prayers and oblations, both for myself and for my people.”

Darius reproves them for being so cross to the Jews.

CHAP. V.

Xerxes succeeds Darius, and grants to Esdras whatever he desires in favour of the Jews. The character and death of Esdras. Nehemiah gets permission of Xerxes to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

Xerxes succeeds his father Darius.

AFTER the death of Darius, his son * Xerxes succeeded to the government, the heir of his father's piety, as well as of his kingdom; for he made good all that his predecessor had done in favour of the Jews and their religion, having a great tenderness for both. Joachim the son of Jehu was at this time high-priest; but the name of the high-priest of the Jews that liv'd at Babylon, was Esdras, a man of a most exemplary piety and justice, and no man had a fairer reputation among the people. He was so well vers'd and skill'd in the Mosaic law, that the king had a particular esteem for him on that account. Upon a resolution taken to go to Jerusalem, and to carry several of the Babylonian Jews along with him, he desir'd such a letter from the king as might recommend him to the governors and lieutenants of Syria, which he obtain'd, and the purport of it was this:

Esdras designs for Jerusalem, with as many of the Babylonian Jews as he can get along with him, 1 Esdras viii. 5, 6.

Xerxes gives him letters of licence, recommendation, credit, and authority, Ver. 9--24.

Xerxes, the king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the holy law of God, greeting.

“ **W**HEREAS it is decreed by me and my seven counsellors, that what Israelites soever within my dominions, with their priests and Levites, shall think fit to bear you company to Jerusalem, I have, out of my royal clemency, granted them free leave to go to Judea, to worship according to the laws of their country; and likewise to take along with them all the gold and silver, be it never so much, that your people all over Babylon shall willingly contribute toward that service, for the buying

of sacrifices, to offer upon the altar to your God, and for making such vessels of gold and silver, as you and your brethren shall judge meet. It is also my will, that what is thus given you, be dedicated to your God; and if you shall have occasion for any thing else, use your own discretion, and supply yourself out of the publick treasure; to which end I have already written to the officers that have the custody of it in Syria and Phenicia, expressly commanding them to furnish whatsoever Esdras the priest, and the reader of the law of God shall desire, without any delay; and to the end that God may prosper both me and mine, I will have a hundred Côres † of wheat dedicated to God, according to the provision of the law; and for the magistrates, I do strictly charge and require of them, that they exact nothing from the priests, Levites, holy fingers, porters, or other officers of the temple, and that they lay no burdens upon them. And for yourself, Esdras, I do hereby give you full authority, according to the wisdom you have received from above, to constitute judges that may see justice done to all people through Syria and Phenicia, that understand the law, and are conscientious in their duty; and at the same time do you instruct the ignorant, to the end that all transgressors against the law of God, and of the king, may be punish'd according to their demerit; some with pecuniary fines, others with death, according to the quality of the offence, where it shall be found committed, either through contumacy or weakness. Farewel.”

UPON the receipt of this letter, Esdras worshipped God, and gave thanks, ascribing to his blessed providence all the benefits and grace they had received from the king, who serv'd but as the instrument of that divine and original goodness. The Jews of that country were upon this occasion summon'd to a general meeting at Babylon, where the letter was read, and the copy of it transcrib'd and sent away, to be communicated to all the Jews in Media, but Esdras kept the original to himself. This account of the king's wonderful piety towards God, and of the respect and kindness he had for Esdras, was a surprise of wonderful satisfaction to the people; for great numbers of them pack'd up their goods and effects, and hasten'd away to Babylon, with a purpose to return to Jerusalem; but there were then another sort of Israelites, who being accusom'd to the place, and settled in their habitations, chose rather to continue where they were; and this is the reason that there are only two tribes to be found in Asia and Europe, under the Roman emperor. As for the other ten tribes, they are all plant'd beyond the Euphrates, and so prodigiously increas'd in number, that they are hardly to be computed. The publication of this commendatory testimonial brought over abundance of people to Esdras, and not only priests and Levites, but temple-porters, fingers, and other

A meeting of the Jews at Babylon, Ver. 27. Esdras's credentials read, and copies of them dispersed.

Upon the credit of this commission Esdras draws a mighty train of people after him, Ver. 28--61.

* Vorstius, in his 5 Exercit. upon Daniel, shews that Josephus errs, in making Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspes, to be the same with Artaxerxes, by whose permission the Jews return'd to Palestine, as we have it in the book of Nehemiah.

† A Côre was the same as a Chomer, and contained about six hundred and five English pints; an hundred Côres therefore must amount to sixty thousand five hundred pints, English measure.

Esdra's arrival at Jerusalem, where he delivers up his trust of presents into the treasury, 1 Esdras viii. 62--64.

A complaint to Esdras against those Levites that had married strange women, Ver. 92. and Ezra ix. 1, 2.

Esdra's lamentation, Ezra ix. 5, &c.

and intercession for the offenders, ib.

officers and servants appertaining thereunto. As for those who had a mind to return out of captivity into their own country, he appointed them a rendezvous at the Euphrates, where, after a three days fast, and the solemnity of vows and prayers for a safe and a prosperous voyage, (Esdra excusing himself from the guard of horse that was offer'd him, as being already under the protection of the Almighty,) they enter'd upon their journey on the twelfth day of the first month, in the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and got to Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year, where Esdras immediately deliver'd out the money he brought, to the priests that had the custody of the holy treasure; six hundred and fifty * talents of silver, a † hundred talents of silver vessels, twenty ‡ talents of vessels of gold, and twelve || talents of fine brass, that was even more precious than gold itself. These were the bounties of the king and his friends, and of the Israelites that continued in Babylon. When Esdras had acquitted himself of this trust, he offered unto God burnt-offerings, according to the direction of the law, twelve bulls for the whole people of Israel, seventy two sheep and lambs, and twelve goats for a sin-offering. He communicated also the king's letter to the stewards and governors of Phenicia and Cele-Syria, who had the Israelites in great honour, and readily supplied them with whatever they wanted, when they saw they could do no other. This was all done by the advice of Esdras; and I do verily persuade myself, that God's blessing went along with it, for the very piety and virtue of the man.

By this time they had been a little composed and settled in their affairs, it came to the ears of Esdras, that some of the priests and Levites had departed from the rule of the law, and their duty, in marrying into foreign families, and so confounding the sacerdotal race. Hereupon there was application made to him, that he would stand by and support the laws, for fear God in his wrath, for the iniquity of some few, should avenge himself upon the whole body of the people. Esdras, upon this complaint, rent his cloaths in a passion of sorrow, tearing the hair off of his head and beard, and casting himself upon the ground, in a despair of doing any good in this matter; for there were so many great men concern'd in this abomination, that he thought it would be to no purpose to lay any injunction upon them to part with their wives and children, so that he continued still desponding, with his face upon the earth. All people that had any sense of goodness and reverence for the laws of God and their country, gather'd together about him, to condole with him, and to sympathize in his sorrows. Esdras in the mean time, holding up his hands, said, "Thou, O God, knows I am ashamed to lift up my eyes to heaven on the behalf of these people, when I consider, that after all the dreadful judgments upon their ancestors for their disobedience, they will yet go on in the steps of their forefa-

thers. But, Lord, thy mercy is infinite; wherefore have pity, I beseech thee, upon this miserable remnant of thy distressed servants; and as thou hast been graciously pleased to bring them home again, perfect the work of thy redemption, in the pardon of their present transgression. It is confess'd that they deserve to die for their iniquity; but their trust is in thy goodness."

While the holy man was in this agony of pious affliction, with a multitude of men, women, and children, gather'd about him, there came to him one Jechonias, a man of quality in Jerusalem, with a publick confession and declaration of the sin they were all guilty of, that contrary to the law had married strange women, advising him to impose an oath upon all that had so done, to turn away all their wives and children they had by them; and whoever should refuse to submit to that law, to be severely punished for it. Esdras lik'd the counsel, and took an oath of the chief of the priests and Levites, and of all Israel, to do as was propounded. So soon as this was over, he went from the temple to the chamber of Joanan, the son of Eliasib, where he spent that whole day without eating any thing, for the trouble that was upon him. The next thing he did, was to command by proclamation, all those people that were now return'd out of captivity, to meet at Jerusalem in two or three days; and in case of any failure, either by neglect or contempt, the penalty to be excommunication, and confiscation of goods to the holy treasury. Within three days the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin assembled together, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which the Hebrews call Thebeth, and the Macedonians Appellæus; and when they had placed themselves in the upper part of the temple, the elders being there present, Esdras stood up and told them, "That whereas they were all guilty of a grievous sin, that in contempt of their country's laws had enter'd into marriage with strangers, they had no way to recover God's favour, and to secure themselves, but by utterly casting off the women they had so taken." Whereupon they all cried out with one voice, that they were ready to do it; but the number being very great, the season extremely cold, and the business a matter of importance, they look'd upon it as a thing that requir'd time and consideration to go through with it; so that upon this reflection it was propos'd that a

commission of enquiry might be issued out to a select number of eminent men and elders, that were innocent themselves of the fact in question. This motion was receiv'd and approv'd, without any demur or contradiction, and upon the first day of the tenth month they enter'd upon the inquisition, which continued till the first day of the month following; and upon the scrutiny, they found great numbers of the relations of Jesus the high-priest, as well as of other priests and Levites, and the rest of the Israelites, that being involv'd in

A resolution taken to turn away their strange wives and children by them, Ezra x. 1--9.

A meeting at Jerusalem upon it, ibid.

A commission of enquiry for innocent men to take an account of the guilty, Ver. 12--16.

* An hundred and fifty talents weigh'd seventy four thousand, one hundred and forty pounds, seven ounces, and ten pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to two hundred and twenty two thousand, four hundred and twenty one pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence.

† An hundred talents weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds, three ounces, and amount'd in value to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings.

‡ Twenty talents weigh'd two thousand two hundred and eighty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in gold was worth an hundred and nine thousand five hundred pounds.

|| Twelve talents weigh'd thirteen thousand six hundred and eighty nine pounds.

An abdication
agreed upon,
Ezra x. 17,
&c.

the same common transgression, joined immediately in the abandoning of their wives and children, so much did they prefer the respect they had for the observance of their laws, to any other tenderness of love and inclination, how powerful soever. After the solemnity of this disclaimer, they offer'd up rams according to custom, for peace-offerings; which is enough said, without naming the persons. Esdras, by this means, set them right again in the restraint of their marriages, and settled such a reformation in that particular, as was upon that foundation to stand firm for ever after.

The feast of
tabernacles,
Esdras ix.
37.

Esdras reads
the law of
Moses to the
people, Ver.
40, &c. and
Nehemiah
viii.

In the seventh was the feast of tabernacles, and almost the whole multitude of the Israelites were now met together upon that occasion, in that part of the temple that looks toward the east, where Esdras at their request read the law of God unto them as he stood in the middle of the crowd; and this lecture continued from morning to mid-day, to the very great edification of all the hearers; for they were thereby not only given to understand the rules and measures of truth and righteousness, present and to come; but their thoughts were also carried back to reflections upon things past, in the history of the calamities that their forefathers had endured, only for the violation of those laws, in the observance whereof they might have been secure and happy. This consideration drew tears from their eyes, and Esdras taking notice how this compassionate softness wrought upon them, bad them go home, and set their hearts at rest, for it was a kind of prophaning of the holy solemnity, to weep upon a festival; wherefore he advised them to be rather as free and merry as they could, and to eat, drink, and rejoice, in honour of the day, exhorting them not to make their repentance a mortification to them, any further than to secure them for the future from a relapse into the same mistakes. The people were willing enough to follow his counsel, and so celebrated the feast as they ought to do; and after eight days spent in mirth and feasting, they return'd every man to his own habitation, but not without thankful acknowledgments to Esdras for the reformation he had wrought in the government. By this meritorious service of his, he gain'd infinitely upon the hearts and affections of the people, so that he liv'd with honour, and died at Jerusalem in an advanc'd age, where he had also a most magnificent burial. Jehoiakim the high-priest died also about the same time, and Eliafim his son succeeded him.

The death of
Esdras.
The death of
Jehoiakim
the high-
priest, and
Eliafim his
son succeeds
him.
Nehemiah
cup-bearer to
Xerxes, Ne-
hemiah ii. 1.

THERE was among the Jewish captives a certain person whose name was Nehemiah, the butler or the cup-bearer to Xerxes. He was walking one day before Susa, the capital of Persia, and happened to hear some travellers that had come a long journey together into the city, talking Hebrew one to another. Upon this occasion he ask'd them from what quarter they came? They told him from Judea. So he asked them further, from one thing to another, how it far'd with the people there, and what news from Jerusalem? Why truly they made answer, that matters went very ill with them; their walls all pull'd down, and their country laid open to the outrages and incursions of their spiteful neighbours; themselves carried away into captivity, and the highways strew'd every where up and

down with dead bodies. Nehemiah could not forbear weeping at this deplorable calamity of his countrymen and kindred; and with his eyes erected toward heaven, cried out to Almighty God, "Lord, says he, how long! how long Lord wilt thou suffer thy people to be trampled upon, and exposed for a prey to mankind?" While Nehemiah was at the gate, and in the middle of his lamentations, one brought him word, that the king was ready to go to supper; so he presently hasten'd away, all in confusion and disorder to his waiting. The king, after supper, being somewhat more cheerful than before, and taking notice of some sort of heaviness in the countenance of Nehemiah, asked him what he ail'd. "Alas! Sir, says Nehemiah, after a short ejaculatory prayer that God would give energy and persuasion to his words, how is it possible for me to be otherwise than overwhelm'd with sadness and heaviness of heart, when the place of my nativity is laid waste and destroy'd, Jerusalem made an heap of rubbish, the gates burnt, the sepulchres and monuments of my ancestors broken up, and the ashes of the dead sacrilegiously profan'd? Now after all this, Sir, I have but one favour to request of you, which is, that I may have your royal leave to take a journey thither, to help forward the rebuilding of the walls, and finishing of what remains toward the erecting of the temple."

His lamenta-
tion for the
destruction of
Jerusalem,
Nehemiah i.

The king granted his petition, and promised him letters recommendatory to the governors where he was to pass, with orders to treat him with all manner of respect, and to supply him with whatever he wanted toward the work he was about; wherefore, says the king, set your thoughts at rest, and go on cheerfully in my service. Upon this assurance Nehemiah clear'd up, came to himself again, and blessed God and the king upon finding so gracious a disposition in his favour. On the day following the king sent for Nehemiah, and gave him letters of credit to Sadeus, the governor of Syria, Phenicia, and Samaria, with orders and instructions to receive and assist him, as he had promised. He went first to Babylon, and from thence, with as many of his friends and companions as voluntarily offer'd themselves to bear him company, he went away to Jerusalem, where he arriv'd in the twenty fifth year of the reign of Xerxes; and having first given his friends the sight of his credentials, he deliver'd them to Sadeus, and his colleagues, according to the address. He presently after this summon'd a general meeting of the people up to Jerusalem, and harangu'd them in the temple after the following manner:

He gets leave
of Xerxes to
assist in the
repairing of
the city and
temple, Ne-
hemiah ii. 6.

Xerxes gives
him letters of
recommenda-
tion and com-
mission, V. 8.

He calls an
assembly at
Jerusalem,
Ver. 9, &c.

"You cannot, says he, but see and understand, ye men of Judea, that we ourselves are at this day under the power and providence of the same almighty and merciful God that did so many great things for our forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, out of a gracious regard to their piety and justice; and it is by the favour of that God that I have now obtained leave from the king to enter upon the rebuilding of your walls, and the putting of an end to the work of the temple, that is yet unfinish'd. But taking this for granted by the way, that the neighbouring nations are enemies to your undertaking, and will do all that is to be

Nehemiah
animates the
people to go
on courageously in the
work, ibid.

Nehemiah gives the necessary orders, Nehemiah ii. 9.

and discharges the meeting, ib. The first time these people were call'd Jews.

The neighbouring nations do all they can by force and treachery to disappoint the enterprise, Nehemiah iv. 1-12.

The workmen wrought with their arms about them, to prevent a surprize, Ver. 13-16.

Nehemiah himself all the while upon constant duty, Ver. 17, &c.

Upon the perfecting of the works, Nehemiah vi.

"done in nature, for the crossing your design, when they come once to see you heartily intent upon the work; I shall therefore commend it to you in the first place to pluck up a good heart, and to cast yourselves upon God, who will most certainly defeat all the practices of your enemies; and secondly, that you ply your business day and night, without any intermission, either of care or of labour, this being the proper season for it." Upon this advice and exhortation Nehemiah immediately order'd the magistrates to survey the ground, and take measure of the walls; and according to that computation to make an equal distribution of the work among the people, at so much a town, or a village, as it should fall out in proportion; promising at the same time the assistance of himself, and of all that belonged to him, to join in the service; and with these words he dismissed the assembly. The authority of Nehemiah made such an impression upon the Jews, that they immediately applied themselves to their business. This was the first time that the people were ever call'd Jews, or their country Judea; and it was so called from the tribe of Judah, that were formerly possess'd of that quarter.

THE rumour of this enterprize was no sooner brought to the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Samaritans, and the Cele-Syrians, but they were all raging mad at it, and left nothing unattempted, either by force or by treachery, to disappoint it. They lay in wait for the Jews up and down in ambushes, and destroy'd a great many of them by surprize. They kept ruffians in pay, to attempt upon the person of Nehemiah himself; plying the people also with so many false alarms, and sham stories of menace and invasion, that the multitude were within a little of quitting the undertaking upon the very fright; but Nehemiah stood as firm as a rock all this while, and under the security of a slender guard, wrought on without any sense of weariness or apprehension of danger; and it was not for the sake of his own safety neither, or for the fear of death, that he made this provision; but he was very well assur'd, that if he himself should be cut off, his countrymen would never go through with the building; so he gave orders for the future, that all the carpenters, masons, and other labourers, should work with their swords by their sides, and their bucklers within distance of having them ready upon occasion. He appointed trumpeters also to be posted within five hundred* paces one of another, and upon any discovery of an enemy to give the alarm, that the people might have time enough to stand to their arms, without any danger of a surprize. He went every night the round of the city; and his body was so inur'd to hard work, hard fare, and watching, that it was proof against all those difficulties; for he never eat or slept more than just to support nature. This was his course of life for two years and three months; for just so long were the walls a finishing; and this was in the eight and twentieth year, and the ninth month of the reign of Xerxes. Upon the perfecting of the fortifications, Nehemiah and the people offer'd up their sacrifice, and continu'd toge-

ther for eight days in feasting and rejoicing, which was very unwelcome news to the Syrians, when they came to understand it. Nehemiah reflecting upon it, that the city at that time was thin of inhabitants, he perswaded all the priests and Levites thereabouts to take up their habitations in the city, and he would be at the charge of providing them houses. He order'd likewise the people in the country that follow'd husbandry, to carry their tithes into the city for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, and that they might not be diverted by any worldly cares from attending the duty of their office. This was readily agreed to on all hands; and by this means it came by degrees to be better peopled. After this, and a great many other glorious actions, worthy of eternal honour, Nehemiah, now in years, departed this life; a man naturally addicted to virtue and justice; a person of eminent bounty and charity to his countrymen, as may appear by this everlasting monument of his generosity and goodness, in the walls of Jerusalem; and this is the history of what was done under the reign of Xerxes.

Nehemiah provided for the peopling and the maintenance of the city, Nehemiah vii.

The death of Nehemiah.

C H A P. VI.

Artaxerxes succeeds Xerxes. He puts away his wife Vashti, and marries Esther, the niece of Mordecai. Haman presses the rooting out of the Jews, and the putting of Mordecai to death; but he is hanged himself upon the very gibbet he provided for Mordecai, and Mordecai promoted.

AFTER the death of Xerxes, the government descended to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call † Artaxerxes; in whose reign over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in great danger of being utterly destroy'd, as shall be shew'd in due time and place. But somewhat should be prievously said of the king himself, and how it came to pass that he married a wife of the royal blood of the Jews, and as the history delivers it, the protectress of our nation. When Artaxerxes had taken the crown upon him, and settled the governors of a hundred and twenty seven provinces betwixt India and Ethiopia, he made a most magnificent and sumptuous feast at Susa, in the third year of his reign, where he treated his friends and officers, as became the dignity of so great a prince; and the solemnity lasted a hundred and fourscore days. There were several other nations also, and their embassadors, that assisted at the ceremony of the entertainment seven whole days successively; and it was order'd after this manner: there was a tent erected upon golden and silver pillars, cover'd with fine linnen and purple, and large enough to receive some thousands of people. The wine was serv'd up in cups of gold and precious stones, that were made both for curiosity and delight. There was order given to the waiters, after the Persian manner, that no man should be forced to drink any more than he had a mind to, and proclamation made all over his dominions, that they should set some certain number of days apart for the celebration of a

Cyrus, otherwife Artaxerxes, succeeds to Xerxes, his father.

The king makes a magnificent feast, Esther i. 3, 4.

The pomp and order of it, Ver. 5-9.

* Viz. Five hundred yards, or half a mile.

† In the canonical part of Esther he is called Ahasuerus, but in the apocryphal Artaxerxes.

Vashti the queen invited to him, Esther i. 10, 11. She refuses to come, though sent for over and over, Ver. 12.

The king advises with his council what to do in the case, V. 13-15.

Muchæus advises him to banish her, and turn her off, V. 16-20.

The king yields, Ver. 21, 22.

Esther is brought in to supply the place of Vashti; an orphan, and under the care of her uncle Mordecai, a Benjamite, Esther ii. 6-9.

festival for the prosperity and safety of the kingdom. Queen Vashti had her apartment also in the palace for the entertainment of the women. She was so wonderfully handsome, that the king had a mind to oblige his guests with the sight of her, and so sent for her to come to him; but the laws of Persia, it seems, will not allow wives to be seen by any beside their domesticks; so that out of a reverence to that prohibition, she refused to go to the king, and not only once, but upon several orders brought her by the eunuchs to the same purpose, she persisted still in the denial. The king took this obstinacy so ill, that after the festival was over, he call'd for the seven commissioners that were expressly appointed for the interpretation of the Persian laws to advise with, what was to be done in this case of his wife's contumacy and disobedience; complaining that it was not only once, but over and over that she refused to come to him; and so he desired to know what the law directed in that case. One of them whose name was Muchæus, gave his opinion, "That it was not only an affront to himself in the matter of fact, but a precedent of dangerous consequence to all his subjects in general, whose wives would be apt to despise their husbands too, and by that contempt provoke them to lewd courses, if this exemplary contumacy of the queen's against so mighty a king should pass unpunish'd; concluding, that as it was a heinous offence, so it ought to be encounter'd with an answerable severity; and that nothing less would satisfy, than the banishing of Vashti from the king's court and presence for ever; and this to be done also by proclamation, and another taken into her place." The king was so divided betwixt the love he had for the queen, and the respect he had for the law, the one being against their parting, and the other against their living together, that he was miserably distracted what to do in this difficulty of acting against his inclination. While he was in this anxiety of thought, his friends plied him with good offices and counsels, to divert him from the weakness of making himself miserable for the unprofitable love of one woman, when he might have the greatest beauties upon the face of the earth at his devotion, if he thought fit to command them; so that he had no more to do, but to get a sight of her, and take her for his wife, that he had most a mind to, out of the whole sex; variety and a new love would quickly wear out the fondness of a former, and a little custom and conversation would bring him to himself again.

The king, upon second thoughts, was well enough pleas'd with the advice, and sent commissioners immediately over all his dominions to take a view of the most celebrated beauties they could find, and bring them up to him. They were very punctual and diligent in the execution of their charge; and among others, they found a maid in Babylon, whose name was Esther. Her father and mother were both dead, and she brought up under the care of her uncle Mordecai, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, and a principal man among the Jews. This virgin was so much beyond all the rest, for the graces of her beauty and person, that she was the admiration of every one who saw her. She was committed to the care of one

of the eunuchs, where she was treated with all possible delicacy and respect; that is to say, with the richest of essences and perfumes, and all other ornamental curiosities that are made use of in courts by great ladies, to make them more agreeable and charming. At this rate was Esther treated for the space of six months, in company with four hundred virgins, after which time, being thus prepared for the king's bed, he had every day one of them brought him, whom he received into his arms, and then sent back again to the same eunuch. But when it came to Esther's turn, he was so transported with the love of her company and conversation, that he took her to himself for his lawful wife, and celebrated the nuptials in the seventh year of his reign, and the twelfth month, which is called Adar, sending his messengers every where up and down to proclaim the solemnity of a marriage-festival. As for the Medes and Persians, and the great men of other nations, the king himself entertain'd them at the wedding-feast, for the space of one whole month; and upon his wife's entering into the palace, he placed the crown upon her head, and so liv'd with her without ever enquiring after her country, or her extraction. Her uncle remov'd from Babylon to Susa, where he would be often waiting at the king's gate, and still inquisitive after Esther's welfare, who was equally dear to him, as if she had been his own child.

The king at this time pass'd an ordinance, that none of his domesticks should presume, while he was sitting upon his royal throne, to come to him, unless they were call'd or sent for, upon pain of losing their heads for it; and there were officers with their axes still at hand to do the execution. The king in the mean time had a golden scepter in his hand, and whensoever he had a mind to save any of those that came uncall'd, he held that scepter forth, and upon their touching it, they were exempted from the penalty; and so much for that at present.

There broke out a little after this a conspiracy that was form'd betwixt Bigthan and Teresh, two of the chamberlains, or eunuchs, against the person of the king. Barnabazus, a servant of one of them, and a Jew by extraction, discover'd this treachery to Mordecai, the king's uncle; and he, by the hands of Esther, to the king himself, who had such an apprehension of the thing, that he put the criminals to the question, and upon conviction, they were both deliver'd up to justice. The king gave Mordecai no other reward for this discovery, than by appointing the service and the deliverance to be register'd upon the record, and the allowing him admittance into the palace, with the same freedom and privilege as one of his domesticks.

HAMAN, the son of Ammedatha, an Amalekite, being now advanced by the king, and coming frequently to court, the Persians, as well as strangers, paid him the greatest reverence imaginable still in his passage; and it was also the king's pleasure and command that it should be so. Mordecai was the only person that did not bow to him, being a ceremony contrary to the practice of his country, which did not allow of that manner of respect. Haman taking notice of this singularity in Mordecai, asked him what countryman he

The king falls in love with Esther, and takes her to wife, ibid.

Mordecai often at the king's gate enquiring after Esther, Ver. 11.

None to approach the king upon his throne uncall'd, upon pain of death, Esther iv. 11.

A conspiracy against Artaxerxes discover'd to Mordecai, and by him to the king by Esther, Ver. 21, &c.

The service recorded, ib.

Haman slighted by Mordecai, Esther iii. 1, 2.

Haman finding Mordecai to be a Jew,

meditates a revenge upon the nation. Esther iii. 6.

Haman calumniates the Jews to the king;

and moves to have all the Jews extirpated out of his dominions. V. 8-9.

The king leaves it to Haman. V. 11.

Haman issues out a proclamation in the king's name, to have them all put to the sword, man, woman, and child. Esther xiii. 1-7.

he was? And finding him to be a * Jew, broke out into a violent exclamation, at the insolence of such a scoundrel; that when all the natives and the free-born Persians made no difficulty of doing him that honour, this Jew, who was no better than a slave, should presume to affront him. In this rage, he took up a desperate resolution to be reveng'd upon Mordecai; and the hatred he had for the Jews was so mortal, that it was not enough, he thought, to wreak a vengeance upon the person of Mordecai alone, without destroying the whole race of the Jews at once; not forgetting at the same time, that the Amalekites his countrymen, had been formerly beaten out of their land, and utterly exterminated by the Jews. In the heat of this outrageous indignation, Haman hastens to the king, and accosts with a complaint in his mouth against the Jews, as a vile generation of people in every respect, insociable in their humours, singular in their manners, given up to the superstitious laws and ceremonies scattered up and down in all quarters of his dominions, and men that shew themselves in their practices and conversations, the common enemies of mankind. "Now Sir, (says Haman,) if you will lay the greatest obligation in the world upon your subjects, you must order this sort of men to be rooted out from among your people, without sparing so much as one captive, or one servant, in the whole number. "And for our security, that you shall not suffer by it in your revenue, I will be answerable for † forty thousand talents of silver, to your treasury, out of my own estate; for I shall not value any diminution of my own particular fortune, provided that your dominions may be clear'd of this lewd sort of people." The king told Haman, upon this proposal, that he would leave the Jews to be dealt with according to his discretion, and remit the money over and above. Haman, immediately upon this, publish'd an edict in the king's name, and sent it abroad thorough all his dominions, to this effect:

The great king Artaxerxes to the hundred and twenty seven governors of the provinces betwixt India and Ethiopia, greeting.

"WHEREAS it has pleased God to give me the command of so many nations, and a dominion over the rest of the world, as large as I my self desire, I being resolved to do nothing that may be either tyrannical or grievous toward my people, and to bear a gentle and an easy rule over them, with an eye to the preserving of their peace and liberties, in the first place, and to settle them in a state of tranquillity and happiness not to be shaken. All this I have taken in mature consideration; and being given to understand, by my trusty and well beloved friend and counsellor, Haman, a person of a try'd faith, prudence and justice, and whom I esteem above all others,

"that there is a mixture of a sort of inhuman people among my subjects, who take upon them to govern by their own laws, and to prescribe ways to themselves in contempt of publick order and government; men deprav'd, both in their customs, and in their manners; and enemies, not only to monarchy, but to the methods of our royal administration: This is therefore to will and require, that, upon notice given unto you by Haman (who is to me as a father) of the persons intended by this my proclamation, you put all the said persons, men, women and children to the sword, without any commiseration or favour, in a strict pursuance of my decree: And it is my farther command, that you put this in execution upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year; to make but one day's work of the destruction of all mine and your enemies, in order to a future peace and security all our lives after."

This edict was quickly spread from town to town thorough the whole empire, and the people made themselves ready accordingly to do execution upon the Jews at the day appointed; and there was the same disposition to mischief at Susa, the king's place of residence, as elsewhere. The king and Haman, all this while pass'd their time in drinking, feasting and making merry: But the people of the town were under very dismal apprehensions, at the thought of so barbarous a massacre at hand.

So soon as Mordecai came to be informed of the tenor and intent of this proclamation, he tore his garments, put on sackcloth, and went up and down the town with ashes on his head, exclaiming against the horrid injustice of that murderous and bloody design upon the Jews. At this rate he went raving from one place to another, till he came at last to stop before the gate of the king's palace; for there was no entrance allow'd to any man in that habit. The resentment and behaviour of the Jews was the same in all other places, as well as here, upon the communication of the king's orders: that is to say, they were every where overwhelmed with lamentations and despair. When it came to the queen's ear, that Mordecai was before the gate of the palace in that forlorn habit, she was troubled at the report, and sent one out to him to change his Garment; but his answer was, that he could not do it, till the cause was first remov'd that made him take it up. It fell out that Hatach, one of the king's eunuchs, was at that time in the queen's presence; so she call'd him to her, and presently sent him out to inform himself what had befallen Mordecai, that he should put himself into such a dress, and then refuse to quit it again at her request. The eunuch put these questions to Mordecai, who gave him the whole story of the business at length, and in order, how the king, at the instigation of Haman, had issued out his royal proclamation thorough all his dominions, for the extirpating of the Jews,

Mordecai plants himself at the king's gate in sackcloth and ashes. Esther iv. 1, 2.

Esther sends Hatach to Mordecai to know the meaning of it. V. 5.

Mordecai tells the messenger the whole story of the edict. V. 7-1.

* See Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. l. iii. c. 4.

† We take the talent here meant to be the Babylonian, which was much inferior to the Hebrew, and weigh'd only sixty six pounds, six ounces, eight pennyweights, and eighteen grains, and its value in silver amounted to no more than one hundred ninety nine pounds, twelve shillings, and two pence farthing; forty thousand therefore must weigh two million six hundred sixty one thousand six hundred and ten pounds, and amount in value to seven million nine hundred eighty four thousand three hundred and seventy five pounds English money: But the sum here seems greatly exaggerated by Josephus; for in Esther iii. 9. there is mention made of no more than ten thousand talents of silver, that Haman offer'd to pay the king upon this account.

Mordecai
begs Esther's
intercession.
Esther iv. 7, 8.

Esther lays
before him
the danger of
attempting it.
V. 11.
Mordecai
presses it a-
gain. V. 13,
15.

The queen
advises the
indicting of
a three days
fast;

which was
done and ob-
serv'd ac-
cordingly.
V. 16, 17.

and how vast a sum of money Haman had offer'd by way of composition, for leave to do it. Mordecai gave him a true copy of the edict from the original, to be deliver'd to the queen; desiring farther, that she would be pleas'd to make an humble application to the king upon this matter, and to intercede with him on their behalf; for the lives of the whole nation were in question, and this was not a time to stand upon punctilio's, or necessities of state; for Haman, that was as the king's right hand, would never leave calumniating the Jews, and exasperating the king against them, till he had gain'd his point. Upon the eunuch's giving the queen this account of the matter, she sent Mordecai word back again, "That it was a capital crime to break in upon the king when he was upon his throne of state, without being call'd to attend him, unless he should vouchsafe to hold forth his golden scepter in token of his pardon." When Mordecai heard this, he press'd the queen once again, by the same messenger as before, telling her, that it was not her own personal safety that was now the question, but the security of the whole race; advising her likewise to have a care how she slipt that opportunity of doing so necessary and charitable an office; and to assure her that God himself would relieve them, even if she should neglect to do it: And that she and her family might live to be at the mercy of those that she now despised. Esther then made use of the same messenger back again to her uncle, to call an assembly of the Jews together at Susa, and to indict a three days fast for the safety of the queen; that she and her servants would do the like; and that after that preparation, she was resolved to go to the king, in despite of all prohibition and danger: And that if she must die, she would frankly expose her life in that service. Mordecai did as the queen order'd him; appointed a publick fast, and humbled himself in supplications to Almighty God, to defeat the malice of their enemies; and according to his wonted goodness, to extend his mercy to penitent offenders, and finally to deliver them from the destruction denounced against them: Representing that "it was not for any fault of their own that they were exposed to this extremity, but it was the pride of Haman's stomach, that thought it an indignity offer'd to himself, in the refusal of that adoration to him, that was only due to God:" And that a whole nation was now to be rooted out, because they would not be corrupted into a violation and contempt of the divine laws. The devotions of the whole multitude were all upon the same subject too, desiring God to vouchsafe them his protection, and to avert that dreadful judgment from the Israelites, that now hung over their heads. The queen herself worshipped likewise with her face prostrate upon the ground, after the manner of her country, in a mourning weed, and imposing upon herself a three days abstinence from either meat or drink, or any other sensual satisfaction, beseeching God to move the king's heart, in favour of her mediation for a mis-

erable and persecuted people, by rendering both her words and her person more acceptable than ever, upon this fatal extremity, to the confusion of their enemies, and of all their malicious designs upon her poor countrymen.

AFTER three days spent in a fervent and pious importunity for mercy and compassion from above, the queen put on her royal apparel; and with her two handmaids, leaning gently upon the one, and the other bearing up her train she advanced towards the king; her face being cover'd with such a blush as express'd both grace and majesty together, but at the same time not without some mixture also of doubtful apprehension; for upon the sight of the king mounted on his throne, and the sparkling glory of his robes, that were all over embroider'd with gold, pearl and precious stones, she was taken all of a sudden with a trembling at so surprizing a spectacle: And upon fancying over and above, that the king look'd upon her as if he were a little uneasy, and out of humour, she fell into the arms of one of her maids in a downright swoon. This accident, by the intervention of God's holy will and providence, put the king into a fright, for fear she might not come to herself again; so that making what haste he could from his throne, he took her into his arms, and with the kindest words that could be, gave her this comfort, that no advantage should be made of the law to her prejudice, though she came without calling; for that was a decree that extended only to subjects; wherein she was not at all concern'd, whom he look'd upon as his companion and partner in the empire. With these words he put his golden scepter into her hands, and laying it gently upon her neck, secur'd her from any farther fear or danger. Upon this tenderness both of love and assurance, coming to the use of her speech and reason again, "Sir, (says she) it is impossible for me to express the manner of this sudden seizure: But I had no sooner the awful appearance of your sacred person and majesty in my eye, but my heart fail'd me." The queen accompany'd these words with so languishing an accent, and so weak a voice, that the lively representation of what she felt made the king still more solicitous to comfort her; which he did in terms so explicit, that he bad her ask him any thing to the one half of his kingdom, and that it should be given her. Esther told him that her request was only this, that he would be pleas'd to take part of a treat with her that day; which she had provided for him, and permit Haman to come along with him. Her suit was granted, and they both came; and when the king was in his cups, and in good humour, he call'd upon his wife as before, to ask what she pleas'd within that compass, and it should be granted her. The queen begg'd the king's favour for the same honour again the day following at another entertainment, bringing Haman along with him once again; and she would then take the freedom, she said, to present him her petition. The king was very well pleas'd with the proposition; but Haman,

After three days humiliation, the queen approaches the king, Esther v. 1.

and falls down in a swoon.

The king takes her into his arms and comforts her.

He gives her his golden scepter. V. 2.

The king bids her ask any thing of him. V. 3. Esther's request is only the king's company, and Haman with him. V. 4. The king grants her suit, and bids her ask again. V. 5, 6. She begs the same honour for next day, V. 8.

† This circumstance of the queen's swooning is not mentioned in any of the canonical chapters of the book of Esther, but in the fifteenth of the apocryphal.

Haman goes home to his friends overjoy'd with the story; only he is offended with the stiffness of the Jew Mordecai. Esther v. 9--13. Zerish advises the setting up of a gibbet, and getting leave to hang up Mordecai. V. 14.

A gallows is set up, *ibid.* The king lay waking that night, and orders his secretary to read over some memorials to him. Being upon the subject of services and rewards, he comes at last to Mordecai's discovery: and finds no mention of any advantage to him for the service. Esther vi. 1--3.

The king puts the case to Haman, what he should do for the man he had the greatest obligation for in the world. V. 6.

overjoy'd at it, to find himself the only man that was singled out upon so honourable an occasion, to bear the king company at a treat: But in his return homeward it was his fortune to see Mordecai the Jew in the king's palace; and taking notice that he paid him no sort of reverence, he went with his wife Zerish with a knot of his friends about him, and there told them the whole story, how much he was in the good graces of the king and the queen; how he had supp'd with them that day, upon a particular invitation, and was to be with them to-morrow again upon the same account. "But still after all this" (says he,) "the sawcy stiffness of the Jew Mordecai gives me no small uneasiness." Why then, says Zerish, let me advise you what to do. Order a gallows of * fifty cubits high to be immediately set up, and get the king's leave to-morrow morning to hang up Mordecai upon it. Haman took his wife's counsel, and commanded his people to erect such a gallows in his own palace, which he design'd for the execution of the Jew; and the gibbet was set up accordingly. But God, who foresees and orders all events, disappointed wicked Haman in all his impious hopes and purposes; for that very night, the king finding that he could not sleep, and accounting it time lost to lie idle and waking, chose rather to employ his thoughts upon something that might turn to the advantage of his government, and so commanded his secretary to bring him his memorials and papers of state, as well modern as ancient, and to read the contents of them. The king found upon the reading of them, the name of a person that had great honours and possessions given him, as a reward for a glorious and a remarkable action: And so likewise of another, that made his fortune by the bounties of his prince for his fidelity; coming at last to the particular story of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs, Bigthan and Teresh against the person of the king; and of the discovery of this treason by Mordecai. The secretary read it over, and was passing forward to the next; but the king bad him hold, and ask'd him if that person had any reward given him for his service. The other made answer, that there was no reward mentioned in the relation, and so the king bad him stop there; and inquire of the waiters what time of night it was: And answer being brought that it was break of day, he bad his secretary go see if any of his friends were at the palace-gate, and bring him word; when he came to look, whom should he find there but Haman, who was earlier up than ordinary, for fear of being too late with his petition to the king against the life of Mordecai. Word being brought to the king that Haman was at the gate, he ordered him to be call'd in; and upon his entrance into the lodging, the king spoke to him after this manner: "I know" (says he,) "that you are the kindest friend to me in the world; and therefore I would ask your counsel, what mark of honour you would advise me to bestow upon the person that I have the greatest obligation to, imaginable; and I would do it with a respect to my own royal dignity, as well as to my

* Fifty cubits, as we have before remarked, were something, upwards of ninety one English feet, that is, thirty yards and one foot.

"affection." Haman made no doubt of finding his own interest in his resolution to this question, presuming that this character could not be intended of any other than of himself: So Haman gave his opinion, that the king should cloath the man whom he desired to honour, with own his royal apparel, mount him upon his own horse, make him a present of a golden chain, and then cause some one or other of his particular confidants and friends to march before him, as a herald, and make proclamation all over the city: That "thus" "shall it be done to the man that the king" "vouchsafes to honour." Now Haman suggested this counsel to the king, in confidence that he would adjudge this honour to him, and no other; and the king was highly pleased with the motion: "Wherefore go" (says he,) "and take the horse, the apparel and the chain, and when you have found out Mordecai the Jew, equip him in these accoutrements; and when he is mounted, do you march before him in the quality of an officer, to make the proclamation; for you, being my particular friend, are the fittest man both to advise withal, and to execute your own counsel. I will do this honour to Mordecai, because I am indebted to him for my life." This order being intirely unexpected, struck Haman like a thunder-bolt: But in this confusion, however, he durst do no other than execute it; and so was oblig'd to go with the horse, habit, and the gold chain to look for Mordecai; and finding him at the palace-gate in his rags of humiliation, he bad him strip himself of his sackcloth, and put on that purple. Now the Jew, knowing nothing of the matter, took the whole ceremony for a mock, and treated Haman in plain terms, as a mean insolent wretch, to insult at that rate over the miserable: But upon a farther reasoning of the matter, Haman convinced him at last, that the king had order'd this honour to be done him in recompence of the service he had render'd him in the saving of his life from the conspiracy of the two eunuchs: and being thus convinced, he put on the royal purple, and the golden chain, mounted the king's horse, and took the tour of the city; Haman making proclamation before him, Thus shall it be done unto him that the king honours. Mordecai, after this, went to the king; Haman sneaking away shamefully to his own house, where he entertain'd his sorrowful wife and friends, with the lamentable account of what had pass'd. Upon the hearing of circumstances, they found that there was no revenging themselves upon Mordecai, for God had taken him into his protection.

As they were in the middle of this discourse, the king's eunuchs came from Esther, to call away Haman presently to supper. One of them, whose name was Sabuchadas, taking notice of a gibbet that was erected there in the court, ask'd one of the servants the meaning of it, and understanding that it was prepared for Mordecai, the queen's uncle, whom Haman had designed to beg of the king for execution, he made no more words of it. As they were at supper, and all parties pleased with the entertainment, the king put the for-

Haman gave his opinion highly in his favour. V. 7. --9.

Not doubting but the question pointed at himself. Haman is ordered to do honour to Mordecai, V. 10.

and in the greatest confusion imaginable, he executes his orders. V. 11, &c.

As the king and Haman were at supper with Esther, the king bids her ask once again, as before, Esther. vii. V. 2.

mer day's proposal over again to the queen, with an assurance, that let her ask what she pleased, it should not be denied her. Upon that occasion she fell into a deploring, sad discourse, upon the miserable state and danger of the Jewish nation; and how she herself, and her countrymen were all design'd for destruction, giving the king to understand that this was the subject she desir'd leave to speak upon.

The queen's suit was only for a stop to the destruction of the Jews,

which Haman had design'd, Esther vii. 3-6.

The king highly offend- ed with Haman, Ver. 7.

An eunuch tells the king of a gallows set up by Haman for the execution of Mordecai, Ver. 9.

Haman order'd to be hang'd immediately upon the same gibbet, Ver. 10.

Mordecai is now made known and prefer'd, Esther viii. 1, 2.

"She did not desire, she said, to give any interruption to his affairs of state; or if it had been so order'd that her countrymen might have only been sold for slaves, this calamity might have pass'd yet for tolerable; so that she had only this suit to move him in, that he would be pleas'd to put a stop to the imminent destruction that was otherwise to be executed upon the whole race." The king call'd out presently to know who it was that had any such design a foot. The queen made answer, without mincing the matter, "That Haman was the author of that advice, and that he did it out of an impulse of pure malice to the people." This discourse put the king out of humour, and so he withdrew from the treat into the garden. Haman by this time found the storm a coming, and began to apply himself to the queen, with acknowledgments of his mistakes, and desire of pardon; and casting himself upon the bed by her as in a way of humiliation and respect. The king returning at the same time, and seeing Haman in that posture upon the bed, was more irritated by that circumstance, than by all the rest, calling him the basest and the wickedest of men, for so insolent an attempt upon the honour of his wife. These words were accompanied with such a fierceness of tone and action, that Haman was directly out of his wits at the hearing of them, and had not one syllable to say for himself. Upon this the eunuch before mentioned told the king of a gibbet of fifty cubits in height, that Haman had set up for Mordecai in his own court, as he understood by one of his servants, when he was there to give him an invitation to supper. The king immediately took up a resolution of inflicting the same punishment upon Haman, that he had prepar'd for Mordecai, and so order'd him immediately to be hang'd upon the same gibbet. I cannot pass over this wonderful harmony of providences, without a remark upon the almighty power and the admirable justice and wisdom of God, not only in bringing Haman to his deserved punishment, but entrapping him in the very snare he had laid for another, and turning a malicious device upon the head of the contriver.

THIS was the end of Haman, the wicked abuser of the king's goodness and bounty. His body was deliver'd up to justice, and his estate given to the queen. The queen had by this time made it known to the king that Mordecai was her kinsman; so that he sent for him, and deliver'd him the same ring that Haman had been entrusted with before. The possessions of Haman, that the king had granted to the queen, she bestow'd upon Mordecai, and then made it her request to his majesty, that he would deliver the Jews out of that apprehension for their lives, that was yet upon them, minding him of the letters that Haman the son of Ammedatha, had dispersed in his name all over the empire, making declaration

that her own life depended upon the safety of her country and her relations. The king gave her his royal word, that nothing should be done to the Jews without her privity and goodwill; and he gave her farther liberty to write what she thought fit, concerning the Jews, in his name, and the letters should be sign'd and seal'd, and dispers'd by his order throughout all his dominions; and when they should once come to be confirm'd by the royal signature, their authority would pass without any dispute or contradiction; wherefore the king appointed his scribes and secretaries to attend him, commanding them to write letters on the behalf of the Jews to the magistrates of all the nations that lie betwixt India and Ethiopia, under the command of a hundred and twenty seven governors. Of which letter this is a true copy:

Artaxerxes, the great king, to our trusty magistrates, greeting.

WHEREAS it is a common practice in the world for men that are advanced rather upon favour than merit, not only to insult over their inferiors, but to fly in the faces even of their benefactors themselves, and as much as in them lies, to extinguish all sense of gratitude or goodness in human society; perverting also out of a pride and impotency of mind, the power and credit that was given them, to the dishonour of their patrons, from whom they receiv'd it; and all under such an appearance too, as if they thought God himself could not see through the disguise; beside that, it is no new thing neither, for state-minions to gratify their own private passions to the prejudice of their masters, by misrepresenting things and men, and calumniating the innocent; and by these ill offices with the prince, to put honest men in danger of their lives. I do not speak this upon history or hearsay, but upon the certainty of what I have seen with my own eyes, and upon proof, not rumour; wherefore let no heed be given for the future to bare accusations, or, in truth, slanders rather; but let the fact be strictly examin'd, and the person accused be either acquitted or punish'd, as he shall be found innocent or guilty.

IT is well known that Haman, the son of Ammedatha, was by extraction an Amalekite, and not a Persian, and with what tenderness of affection and hospitality I receiv'd him; what honours I conferr'd upon him, even to the degree of calling and esteeming him as my father, commanding all my subjects to pay a reverence, next in order to what they ought to my own person. Now this man was so intoxicated with the fumes of his vanity and weakness, that passing all the measures of sobriety and duty, he improved the power I gave him, so far as in him lay, toward the supplanting of me in my kingdom, and the destroying of that person by treacherous practices, to whom I stand indebted for my life and government. I speak of Mordecai, my benefactor and preserver, and of my dearest wife the queen likewise, whom I tender as the one half of my own soul, and my partner in the empire; his plot being in the first place perfidiously

The king vates his letters against the Jews, Esther xvi.

" to attempt upon the lives of my most necessary friends, and then to seize my royal authority to his own use.

" Now for so much as the lewd designs of this wicked man are unquestionably notorious, and particularly his bloody and barbarous contrivance for the total extirpation of the Jews, this is to notify and declare, that I find these people so far from being troublesome or seditious as he represents them, that on the contrary I do highly approve of their institutions, ways, and manners, as a people worshipping the same God, to whose bounty and protection our family stands indebted both for the possession and preservation of our empire. It is therefore our royal pleasure, by these presents, not only to discharge the same people of all the pains and penalties to which they were made liable by our letters communicated to you by the hand of Haman; but likewise, the said mandate notwithstanding, that you treat them with all manner of gentleness and respect; having caused the author of this malicious persecution, with his whole family, to be put to death upon a gibbet before the gates of Susa, as a most necessary sacrifice to divine justice.

" THIS is also farther to will and require you, that you forthwith dispatch copies of these our letters through all our dominions, permitting the Jews to live in a peaceable enjoyment of their own laws, and that you give them your aid and assistance toward the vindicating of themselves upon those that spitefully and injuriously oppress'd them in their adversity; and whereas the precise time appointed for the utter extermination and destruction of these people was to have been upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, or the month of Adar, it is our pleasure, that you pitch upon the same month and day for the work of their deliverance, as a circumstance the most agreeable to the methods of God's power and justice, not doubting but that this way of proceeding will be much to the satisfaction of all our friends, and the example of it stand upon record to posterity, for a monumental caution to all traitors in time to come; and be it likewise known to all our cities, towns, and people herein concerned, that what person soever shall presume either by disobedience, or neglect, to act in any thing contrary to the tenor of this our imperial command, he shall be liable to military execution by fire and sword, whereof all our subjects are to take warning, and the Jews to be in readiness at the time assigned, to do themselves right upon their enemies."

THERE were couriers immediately dispatch'd with these letters to all quarters. Mordecai in the mean while coming forth out of the palace dressed in royal robes, a crown, and golden chain, the Jews presently interpreted his appearance in a common blessing to them all; and the publication of the king's letters through all the towns and cities of his dominions, diffused such an universal joy amongst them, that every man look'd as if he were animated with a new soul; nay, and this grace of the king had so powerful an influence and effect, even upon other nations, that many of

them circumcised themselves, in hopes they might escape better under the disguise of Jews, who were highly elevated by the king's assigning them the same day for their revenge that had been designed for their execution; that is to say, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which the Hebrews call Adar, and the Macedonians Dystrus. Upon the obtaining of this mandate, the princes, governors, magistrates, and licutenancies did all pay a more than ordinary reverence to the Jews, for fear of the power of Mordecai.

UPON the publishing of this edict, the Jews put five hundred of their enemies to the sword at Susa, and the king shew'd the queen the number of them; but there was no account taken as yet of those that were slain elsewhere; so he propos'd it to her, if she would require any thing more, for he was resolv'd to deny her nothing. Her request was then, that the Jews might have one day's revenge more upon their enemies, and that the ten sons of Haman might be hang'd upon the gallows, which the king granted also for the day following, without any hesitation or delay; so that they gather'd in troops together upon the fourteenth, and killed near three hundred more of their adversaries, without so much as touching any of their goods; but upon the same heat in other places up and down the empire, they destroy'd seventy five thousand of those whom they reputed to be their enemies. This slaughter was made upon the thirteenth, and on the day following they feasted; and so at Susa also they celebrated the fourteenth of the following month as a festival; and these days are still observ'd by the Jews with the same solemnity, regaling one another by way of compliment, with some present or portion of the entertainment. Mordecai, upon this, sent his orders to all the Jews under the dominion of Artaxerxes, requiring them to observe those days for festivals, and to transmit the observance of them to posterity, and so to make it everlasting, for the perpetual memory of the thing; for it was but reasonable to celebrate their deliverance by a solemnity of rejoicing upon the same day that was by the treachery of Haman appointed for the massacre, and to make it a day of thanksgiving, in memory as well of their being freed from the danger, as of having their enemies given up into their hands. Upon this account it is that those days are observ'd, which they call Phuræa, or Purim; that is to say, feasts of conservation. Mordecai all this while was a man of great power with the king, both in respect of his administration, being near his person, and as an assistant and companion to the queen. The affairs of the Jews prosper'd under their direction and favour beyond all expectation; and let this suffice for the history of our people under Artaxerxes.

The same day assign'd to the Jews for their revenge that was appointed for their destruction, Esther ix. 1-11.

The ten sons of Haman hang'd, ibid.

The Jews kill'd about seventy five thousand of their enemies in several places upon the same day, Ver. 16. The day of the Jews solemnity celebrated by an anniversary festival, Ver. 17, &c.

The feast of Purim, ibid.

Mordecai in great credit, Esther x.

CHAP. VII.

John, the high-priest, kills his brother Jesus in the temple. Manasses, the brother of Jaddus the high-priest, marries the daughter of Sanballat.

AFTER the death of Eliasib the high-priest, his son Judas, by an hereditary right, succeeded to the office; and after his

Judas succeeds Eliasib in the pontificate, and his son John succeeds him.

decease came on in course his son John, who was the occasion of the violation, and the prophanation of the temple afterward by Bagoses, the commander in chief of the troops of Artaxerxes, imposing a tribute also upon the Jews, obliging them to allow out of the publick treasure, fifty * drachma's a day for every lamb they sacrificed, before they enter'd upon their daily offerings, which imposition came thus to be brought on. John had a brother whose name was Jesus, and Bagoses being very much his friend, took upon him the advancing of Jesus to the pontificate. Jesus depended so much upon this assurance, that he took the liberty to enter into a dispute with his brother, in the temple itself, upon this subject; and the contest went so far, that his brother, in a rage, set upon him and kill'd him; the greatest affront to religion certainly that ever was committed, especially by a priest; and for the farther aggravation of the scandal, it was beyond all precedent, either among the Greeks, or Barbarians; but God would not suffer so audacious an affront to escape unpunish'd. Now the people lost their liberty for it, and the Persians prophaned the temple; for so soon as the news of it came to Bagoses, that the high-priest had spilt the blood of his brother in the very temple, he call'd out to the Jews in contempt and indignation. "Prophane wretches, says he, to make a shambles of the place of your worship!" At the same time pressing to get into the temple, but being oppos'd in his passage, "What, says he, do you look upon my living body to be fouler than the carcass that lies here within?" And with these words forced his way. Upon this occasion he kept a severe hand over the Jews for seven years; but after the death of John, his son Jaddus came to the priesthood. This Jaddus had a brother whose name was Manasses, to whom Sanballat, understanding Jerusalem to be a famous city, and that the kings of it had put the Syrians and Assyrians to many difficulties, frankly gave his daughter † Nicasa in marriage as a test and earnest of the amity he propounded to himself with the Jews. This was that Sanballat that govern'd Samaria under the last Darius, a Chuthite born, from whence the Samaritans had their original.

Bagoses advances Jesus to the pontificate in the place of his brother John.

John kills Jesus upon a quarrel in the temple.

Jaddus succeeds John, and Manasses succeeds Jaddus.

The Samaritans derive from the Chuthites.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander the Great carries the war out of Europe into Asia; breaks the Persian empire; and when it was expected he should have destroy'd Jerusalem, he treated the Jews with all tenderness and respect.

Philip of Macedon murder'd. His son Alexander succeeds him.

IT was about this time that Philip the king of Macedon was treacherously murder'd in the city of Aegæa, by Pausanias, the son of Cerastræ, of the family of Orestes. Alexander the son succeeded the father, and crossing the Hellespont, gave Darius a notable overthrow at the river Granicus. After which he subdued Lydia and Ionia, and passing his army through Caria, he enter'd into Pamphylia, as is said elsewhere.

THE elders of Jerusalem were at this time very much unsatisfied with the brother of Jaddus.

Manasses gives a scandal by marrying a strange woman.

* Viz. About one pound and nine shillings of our money.
† Isachs, Rufin.

‡ See bishop Mountague's fourth Apparatus.

thus the high-priest, for taking to wife a strange woman; inasmuch, that the disgust they had, fell little short of a tumult; for it look'd like a step toward the antiquating of their country's laws about marriages; and that if they suffer'd it to go on, it would come by little and little to a custom. Neither had they forgotten that this very thing was the cause of their former captivity, and of all the calamities that ensued upon it; that is to say, the transgression that drew those judgments upon them, was the marrying of women that were not of their own extraction, and therefore they positively required, that Manasses should either dismiss his wife, or serve no more at the altar. But the high-priest and the people being mov'd with indignation, after this would not suffer Manasses to officiate at the altar, whereupon he went to Sanballat, his father-in-law, with a profession of the great affection he had for his daughter; but at the same time he could not submit to lose his priesthood and honour that was annexed to his family, and the highest of all others in esteem among the Jews, for the sake of a wife, though never so excellent. Sanballat told him upon this, that he would undertake not only to secure him the exercise of the function, but advance him to the pontificate, and establish him prince of the whole country, upon condition of owning his daughter for his wife, and that he would build a temple for him upon mount Garizin, that overlooks Samaria and the rest of the mountains thereabouts, not inferior to that at Jerusalem; and this he took upon him to see effected by the consent of Darius himself. Manasses depended so absolutely upon this assurance, that he made no doubt at all of the performance, and so he continued with his father. Sanballat was now in years, and finding a great many priests and Israelites hamper'd in such matches, the state of Jerusalem was not a little troubled at it; for all those irregular people went over to Manasses, Sanballat furnishing them with money, houses, land, and stock, and all to maintain the ambition of his son-in-law.

He is order'd either to put away his wife, or to lay down his office. Manasses lays his case before Sanballat.

Sanballat undertakes to secure him to all purposes, make him prince of the whole country, build him a temple at Garizin, equal to that at Jerusalem, with Darius's leave and consent, which Manasses depends upon, and continues with his father.

Divers priests and Israelites concern'd in such matches go over to Manasses.

Alexander's victory over Darius at Granicus.

UPON the news of Alexander's passing the Hellespont, and the famous victory he had obtained at the river Granicus, Darius, to prevent his farther progress, drew together all the force he could make, both horse and foot, to obstruct his passage, with a resolution to give the Macedonians battle, before they should over-run the whole of Asia, which they intended to do; so that having pass'd the Euphrates with his army, and likewise Taurus a mountain in Cilicia, he put himself there in order, with a resolution to fight the enemy in that province. Sanballat was not a little comforted with this advance of Darius; and in a full confidence of success, told Manasses, that every thing should be made good that he had promis'd him, so soon as the king should return; for he was fully persuaded, and all the Asiatics were of his opinion too, that the Macedonians with their handful of men would never stand the first shock. But in the event they found their mistake; for upon the armies joining, Darius was totally routed, a great part of his army lost, his mother, wife, and children made prisoners, and himself forced

Darius totally routed.

Alexander marches into Syria, takes Damascus and Sidon, and lays siege to Tyre.

The high-priest excuses it, that they were under an oath to Darius.

Alexander takes Tyre by assault, and besieges Gaza.

Sanballat goes over with eight thousand men from Darius to Alexander,

and gets leave to build a temple in that province.

Manasses to be the high-priest, and the honour of it to go to the issue of Sanballat's daughter. Sanballat dies, and Alexander advances against Jerusalem. Jaddus the high-priest is order'd in a dream to open the gates, and march out to meet Alexander.

to fly into Persia. Alexander in the mean time marched into Syria, took Damascus and Sidon, and laid siege to Tyre, writing also to the high-priest of the Jews, that he expected the same assistances from them which they had before allow'd to Darius, and that they should provide a market for the supply of his army, where he might have necessaries for his money, assuring them that they should have no reason to repent the respect. The answer the high-priest return'd was briefly this, that they had bound themselves by an oath to Darius, never to bear arms against him, and that they were tied up by that obligation during his life. Alexander was highly incens'd at this return, but went on with the siege of Tyre, making no doubt but to be suddenly master of it, with terrible menaces, that upon the reducing of that place he would march against the high-priest himself, and give all people to understand, how far oaths were to be broken or kept. Alexander, that was indefatigable, took Tyre by assault; from whence he proceeded to besiege Gaza, a Persian garrison, of which one Babemeses was the governor.

BUT to return now to the business of Sanballat: when he found that Alexander was before Tyre, he took that opportunity of going over to him with eight thousand of his own men, and so betook himself to the enemy's camp, delivering up his trust, and transferring his allegiance from Darius to Alexander, who received him with open arms, and bad him speak freely whatever he had to say. So Sanballat told him, that he had a son-in-law, whose name was Manasses, the brother of Jaddus, the high-priest of the Jews, and great numbers of that people following him, who desired nothing more than leave to build a temple in that province; setting forth also, that it would be Alexander's interest to permit it, if it were but to divide the power of the Jews, and to prevent commotions; for they are vastly numerous, and as likely to be troublesome to other kings, as they were formerly to the Syrians. This favour was no sooner granted, but they were immediately, all hands at work, upon the building of the temple; Manasses to be the high-priest, and the honour to descend to the posterity of Sanballat's daughter, as he projected to himself; but after seven months time spent before Tyre, and two more at Gaza, Sanballat died, and Alexander presently upon the taking of Gaza, advanced to Jerusalem, which put Jaddus the high-priest to his wit's end how to behave himself in an address to a prince whom he had so highly provoked by a refusal to comply with his orders; wherefore he appointed publick prayers and sacrifices to be offer'd up to God for his assistance and protection, and for the common welfare of the people. On the night following God appear'd to the high-priest in a dream, bidding him to be of good courage, adorn the city with flowers and garlands, and without more ado to open the gates, the people to march out in white garments to meet Alexander, and himself with the rest of the priests, in the habits of their order, depending upon providence for the rest. Jaddus, upon waking, told the citizens with great joy the substance of this revelation, and so put every thing in order to attend the approach of the king. Upon intelligence a little while after, that he was draw-

ing near toward the town, Jaddus advanced, together with his priests and the citizens, in a new and a venerable way of pomp and solemnity, to a place that is called Sapha; that is to say, a place of prospect, because it commands the view of both city and temple. The Phenicians and Chaldeans promis'd themselves all the license of blood and pillage upon the high-priest himself, as well as upon the citizens, that rage or revenge could draw from a victorious prince under the sense and provocation of the affront he had received. But in the event they found the clear contrary; for when Alexander saw from a distance the order of the procession, the people all in white, with the priests at the head of them in their filken robes, and the high-priest himself in his purple stole, embroider'd with gold, his mitre upon his head, and a golden plate upon his forehead, with the name of God engraven upon it, the majesty of this spectacle struck him with so reverend an awe, that he advanced to him in his own single person, ador'd the sacred inscription, and saluted the high-priest himself; all the Jews at the same time, with one heart and voice, saluting Alexander with loud acclamations, and gathering in multitudes about him. The kings of Syria, and the rest that were there present, were so amazed at the king's behaviour, that they could hardly take him to be in his right senses; but only Parmenio took the freedom to ask him, in a familiar way, how it came to pass that he who was ador'd by the whole earth should now descend to bow to a Jewish priest? No, says Alexander, I do not adore the man, but the God whom he serves; for some time past, when I was at Dion in Macedonia, I saw this man I remember, and in this very habit. I was then deliberating what course I should take to conquer Asia; and this very person bad me pass my army over the river, and be confident, that if I would take his counsel, I should make myself master of the Persian empire. Now upon the view of this man, and in this habit, I call to mind my dream at Dion, and that this is the lively figure of what I saw there in a vision, and of the person that encourag'd me to this expedition; so that it is not without a divine impulse that I undertake this war, and I make no doubt at all of gaining my point upon the Persians, and succeeding in all things to my wish. After this discourse to Parmenio, the king embrac'd Jaddus, and was conducted into the city by the rest of the priests, where he went up to the temple, and sacrificed in form, according to order, paying also a singular veneration to the high-priest himself, who shew'd the king, when the ceremony was over, the book of the prophet Daniel, and in it the prediction of a certain Greek in time to come, that should make himself master of the Persian empire, which Alexander interpreted of himself; and so with great satisfaction in all respects he discharg'd the multitude till the day following, at which time he call'd them together again, to know what request they had to make him. The high-priest made answer, that they only desir'd his leave to enjoy the freedom of their own country laws, and that they might be exempted from the seventh year's tribute, which was all granted them. They besought him farther also, to allow the same freedom to the Jews in Babylon and Media,

The priests and citizens march out accordingly.

Alexander with a respectful reverence salutes the high-priest in person.

Alexander calls to mind the figure of Jaddus in a vision he had at Dion.

The priests conduct Alexander into the temple, where he sacrifices in form.

dia, which he granted likewise; offering them moreover, that if any of them had a mind to take up arms in his service, they should be received into his army, and enjoy the liberty of exercising their religion as before, which generosity brought great numbers of the Jews over to him.

MATTERS being thus settled at Jerusalem, Alexander marched with his army from place to place among the neighbouring cities, and wherever he came he was well received. The Samaritans, whose capital at that time was Sichem, near the mountain Garizin, and peopled by Jewish deserters, taking notice how honourably Alexander treated the Jews, began now to bethink themselves of tacking about again, and returning to their former profession; for these people are of that temper, as we have said already, that when they see the Jews are in affliction, "They are strangers to us, they cry; we have nothing to do with them," which is nothing but the truth. But so soon as ever fortune smiles upon them again, they claim kindred presently, and value themselves upon the very heraldry of their descent from Joseph and his sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. Alexander was hardly out of the city, when the Sichemites, in great pomp and parade, and with wonderful joy in their looks, presented themselves before him, in company with the troops that Sanballat had sent over to him; making suit to the king, that he would vouchsafe to honour their city and temple with his

presence, who spoke them all fair, and promised to give them a visit at his return; but upon their desiring an immunity of the seventh year's tribute, as the other, in regard that they did not sow in that year, Alexander asked what countrymen the petitioners were? They told him they were Hebrews, but that they were called Sichemites by the Sidonians. The question was put to them again, whether they were Jews or not? They said, no; "Whereupon, says Alexander, I have granted this to the Jews; but, however, when I come back again, I shall do what I think reasonable, upon a fuller information of the matter." And so the Sichemites were dismiss'd; but he took Sanballat's men along with him into Egypt, allotting them a distribution of lands to live upon there, which they had afterwards in Thebes, where they were put in garrison.

They demand the immunity of the seventh year's tribute, but it is not granted them.

AFTER the death of Alexander, the empire was parted among his successors, only the temple by Garizin remain'd untouch'd: And if at any time the Jews at Jerusalem were found guilty of the violation of their laws, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath, or the like; they took sanctuary with the Sichemites, upon a pretence that they were unjustly accus'd. About this time the high-priest Jaddus dy'd; and Onias, his Son, succeeded him in the dignity. This is all we shall say of the state of Jerusalem at that time.

Their regular Jews at Jerusalem take sanctuary with the Sichemites.

Onias, the son of Jaddus, succeeds his father.

The Samaritans change parties with their interest.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XII.

From the Year of the World 3635 to 3808.

CHAP. I.

After the death of Alexander, his generals share the empire. Ptolemy surprizes Jerusalem; transplants divers colonies of Jews into Egypt, and employs them in places of great trust. The Jews of Jerusalem, and the Samaritans, are perpetually in war.



The Persian empire canton'd out into principalities after the death of Alexander.

The several princes are competitors for the sovereignty of the whole.

Ptolemy, otherwise call'd the saviour.

He surprizes Jerusalem by treachery, under a cloak of religion.

WHEN Alexander king of Macedon had made himself absolute master of the Persian empire, and settled the affairs of the Jews, as we have shew'd already, he departed this life, and left the empire broken, and parcell'd out into so many principalities. Asia fell to Antigonus. Babylon, with the countries bordering upon it, to Seleucus. The Hellespont to Lyfimachus, Macedon to * Cassander, and Egypt and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. Upon this division there ensued a long war betwixt these several princes, who were all competitors for the sovereign command of the whole, to the ruin of several considerable cities, and the loss of a great many lives. The whole tract of Syria was abundantly sensible of this misery, under the government of Ptolemy, otherwise call'd the saviour, (though never any man had less pretence to that title than himself.) This was he who made himself master of Jerusalem by a stratagem; that is to say, upon a sabbath-day, under a colour of devotion, and then treacherously possess'd himself of the city without any opposition, difficulty, or so much as the least apprehension of any danger from him; this being a day of rest, over and above;

which made his entrance as easy as his administration afterwards was tyrannical and barbarous. Agatharchides the Cnidian, says much the same thing in his history of the successors of Alexander, when he imputes the loss of our country and liberties to the vanity of our superstition. His words are these:

"THERE are a people (says he,) that are known by the name of Jews, and have their habitation in a great and well fortify'd city call'd Jerusalem. These men fell into the hands of Ptolemy, and subjected themselves to a cruel slavery upon a fantastical scruple of conscience, that would not suffer them to take up arms against an oppressor in their own defence, upon that day." This is what Agatharchides delivers concerning our brethren. But Ptolemy carry'd away a great many captives out of the mountainous part of Judea, from about Jerusalem, Samaria, and the mountain Garizin, which he transported into Egypt; and then reflecting upon the sacredness of an oath among the Jews, by their fidelity to Darius, even after his overthrow, notwithstanding the summons, and the invitation of Alexander to come over to him, he disposed of them into strong holds, garisons, and places of trust upon their oath of fidelity to be true to him and his successors; granting them also immunities and privileges in Alexandria, in common with the Macedonians themselves; so that betwixt the temptation

Agatharchides imputes the loss of it to the Jewish superstition.

* In the copies of Josephus it is Cassander. But the true reading is Cassander; as Mr. Spanheim has shewn.

The Jews and the Samaritans are divided: one for the temple at Jerusalem, the other for that at Garizin.

of Ptolemy's liberality on the one hand, and the pleasure and convenience of a fruitful country on the other; there came over great numbers of Jews into Egypt from other parts also. But the Jews and the Samaritans could never be reconcil'd yet upon the subject of their ancient laws and constitutions; the one insisting upon it, that the temple at Jerusalem was the only holy place, and the Jews not allowed to send their sacrifices any where else; the other saying as much for the temple at Garizin; infomuch, that there was a great deal of blood spilt upon this question.

C H A P. II.

Ptolemy Philadelphus sets a hundred and twenty thousand Jews at liberty. He sends for seventy two chosen persons out of Judea, to turn the Jewish laws into Greek. He makes a present of rich donatives to the temple, and treats the deputies with a magnificence suitable to his greatness.

Philadelphus succeeds Ptolemy the saviour. He orders Moses's law to be translated into Greek. 120000 captive Jews set at liberty.

A collection of 200000 volumes in Ptolemy's library. Demetrius proposes to make them 500,000.

Philadelphus approves of Demetrius's design; and writes to the high-priest for Jewish manuscripts. Aristæus a friend to the Jews.

* **A**FTER the death of Ptolemy (the saviour, as they call'd him) Philadelphus the son succeeded in course to the kingdom of Egypt. He reigned nine and thirty years, and gave orders for the translating of the law into the Greek tongue. There were at that time captives in Egypt, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand Jews, which this Philadelphus commanded to be set at liberty upon this following occasion. Demetrius Phalereus having under his care and custody the trust of the king's library, made it his business to make a collection of all books that were any where extant at what rate soever. This fancy was his particular inclination; so that he brought up all the choice books that he could hear of, which he thought might be worthy of a place in the king's study and good opinion. Philadelphus asking one time how many thousand volumes he thought he had got? he told him, some two hundred thousand; but that he hop'd in a short time to make them five hundred thousand; for he was certainly inform'd that there were a world of choice manuscripts among the Jews, concerning their laws, customs and ceremonies, that are very well worth the reading, and the honour of a place also in the royal library; but being written in their own language and characters, it would be a matter of great difficulty and trouble to turn them into Greek; for though there may seem to be some resemblance and affinity betwixt the language and the writing of the one and of the other, there are yet several niceties peculiar to each, and distinct from the other. Not, says he, that this is to discourage the turning of them out of the Hebrew, and the depositing of them in the royal collection, so long as there is where-withal to answer the expence. The king highly commended this project of Demetrius upon such a collection of books, and wrote to the high-priest of the Jews to give him his assistance in the providing of these copies. There was one Aristæus, a particular

confident of the king's, a man of great modesty; and upon that account he had his master's ear with the more freedom. This same Aristæus had it a long time in his heart to get the Jews set at liberty; and laying hold of this occasion as the most decent opportunity of moving the king about it, he went in the first place to Sosibius, Tarantinus, and Andreas, three captains of the guards, to feel how they stood affected; and upon finding them well dispos'd, he besought them earnestly to assist him with their interest, toward the doing of so good an office; upon which assurance he address'd himself to the king after this manner.

Sosibius, Tarantinus, and Andreas, three captains of the guards, well affected to them.

"Sir (says he,) if I may presume to lay my thoughts at your feet, in all simplicity, and without disguise, since it is your royal pleasure that the laws of the Jews be not only transcribed, but translated, to answer your present purpose, I do not well see how it can be fairly done, while so many of that nation are in bondage under your government, from whom you require and expect so necessary an assistance and service. It seems to me to be an act worthy of your magnificence and goodness, to set these poor people at liberty from their present misery; for by all that ever I could understand of the matter, the same God that orders and over-rules your government, is the author of their laws; and both we and they worship the same creator and almighty power, only under the name of Jupiter, or Jove, a Juvando, from helping, being the life of us all. Wherefore you may be pleased, out of a reverence to that God whom they love and worship with a zeal and affection beyond all other mortals, to restore these wretched exiles to their own country, that they may end their days where they receiv'd their birth, as in the place that Providence had assigned them. I do not presume, Sir, to interpose on their behalf out of any partiality, upon the account of tribe or extraction, but in a contemplation, that the same God is the creator of us all, and that so illustrious a clemency would be acceptable even to that God himself." The king ask'd him then, how many thousands he thought there were that would stand in need of this indulgence? Andreas being present, made answer, That he believ'd there might be a matter of a hundred and twenty thousand souls. Well, says the king to Aristæus, and durst thou take this for so moderate a request? Sosibius, and the rest that were by, said, That it would be an action becoming the dignity of so great a prince, to be merciful to others, in acknowledgment of the honour that he himself had received from above. The king was so well pleased with this motion and advice, that he order'd an allowance of a hundred and twenty drachma's to the soldiers for every Jew they had in custody, to be made good to them on the next pay-day, over and above their stipend, with a further promise to answer the desire of Aristæus, (or, in truth, the appointment of Providence) in all points, and to ratify the whole by a publick edict, wherein should be

Aristæus moves the king on the behalf of the Jews.

The king so well pleas'd with Aristæus's motion, that he grants more than his asking.

* See Vorstius's preface to his appendix to the book de Septuagint. Interpret.

† Viz. About three pounds, ten shillings of our money.

comprehended not only those which his father, or his army, had carried away, but those also that either before, or since that time, had been taken into captivity. His friends told him that at this rate the deliverance of these people would stand him in at least four hundred * talents; but the king would not scruple to pay that, he said, for the thing should be done. Now for the greater honour of this illustrious king, I shall here insert a copy of the proclamation itself.

The king dis-
charges the
Jews by pro-
clamation.

An allowance
of redempti-
on-money.

"It is our royal will and pleasure, that all the Jews whatsoever, that have been subdued, and taken by any of my father's forces, upon their incursions into Syria and Phenicia; and those brought away or sold, into any of my dominions, and all those likewise that either before, or since that time, have been so sold and enslav'd, be all set free, upon the payment of one hundred and twenty drachma's for every such slave; the soldiers to receive this redemption-money, together with their pay, and the rest out of the treasury; for the forcing many people away into captivity, and the revenging of their country by the outrage and licence of the soldiers, for the sake purely of the pillage and booty, was a course that my father undoubtedly neither intended nor approv'd, and a thing as contrary to common equity and reason; wherefore out of a reverence to the memory of my father, and a commiseration of the poor and weak that suffer under the power of oppression and violence, I do hereby expressly charge and command, that all the Jews that are at this time in servitude, be immediately dismiss'd upon the payment of the sum aforesaid to their respective masters, in obedience to this our mandate, without fraud or collusion. And farther, that this our proclamation be made publick for three days successively after the receipt of it, and in the mean time, that the aforesaid masters bring in a list of their prisoners to such officers, and in such manner as we shall find most for our service. And all this to be done upon the peril of the confiscation of his goods, if any man shall be found acting contrary to the tenor hereof."

The king en-
larges his
grant.

UPON the first sight of this draught, the king took notice, that the provision for the liberty of those that were taken either before, or after, was not so cautiously express'd, but there was room left to evade it; so that the king, of his own proper generosity and motion, superadded a latitude of indulgence in those cases, and gave positive orders to the collectors of his tribute, and the officers of his treasury, to have the money in readiness for the ransom of the Jews. So within seven days the whole work was dispatch'd at the king's charge, to the value of four † hundred and sixty talents; the masters insisting upon the same rate for their children, that they had for the rest, though the king's edict extended no

farther than to those that were brought away prisoners, without comprehending such as were born there.

WHEN every thing was advanced thus far, with great honour and justice, according to the king's mind, he commanded Demetrius to publish his purpose about the transcribing of the Jewish books and records, proceeding from one thing to another in order, and with consideration, so that there was entered upon a register, a copy of Demetrius's petition, and likewise of the letters that were written upon that occasion, with an account of the presents that were made toward the work, and what they were, and by whom; so that at first sight, the excellency both of the authors and the contrivers, might appear from the very work itself. Now the petition aforesaid ran in terms much to this purpose.

Demetrius to the great king.

"SINCE it is your royal will and com-
mand, that I should do my endeavour to supply what may be yet further added toward the perfection of your library, and to find out what curious and useful books and copies may have hitherto escaped my search and enquiry, this is humbly to inform your majesty, that after much study and thought upon this matter, I do not find any thing so much conducing to your present purpose, as the history of the Jewish laws; for being written in Hebrew characters, and in a Hebrew Idiom, it will be hard for us to understand them aright; besides, that the version we have already of them, is not so correct as it should be, for want of a royal authority and encouragement toward the making of them known; so that it will be necessary to have them accurately and carefully translated, as being a body of the wisest and perfectest laws that are any where extant; God himself having been the author of them. For this reason, says Hecataeus the Abderite, we find in none of the poets or historians, any mention made of these laws, or of the administrators of them; the original and institution of them being sacred, and not to be profaned by unhallow'd lips; wherefore your majesty may be pleased, if you shall judge it meet, to write to the high-priest of the Jews, only to send you out of every tribe, six elders, whom he shall make choice of, as men the best skill'd in the knowledge of their constitutions and customs; and by their assistance, in the interpreting and expounding of their writings, we may be able to gather something from them to your majesty's satisfaction."

The petition
of Demetrius
about Jewish
books and
records.

The history
of the Jewish
laws.

Hecataeus ob-
serves upon
those laws.

Six elders
propos'd out
of every
tribe, to assist
in the inter-
pretation of
the writings.

THE king, upon this motion, gave directions for letters to be written to Eleazar the high-priest, according to the proposal of Demetrius, taking notice also of the general release of all the Jews that were prisoners in Egypt. The king sent a present also

Letters or-
der'd to Elea-
zar the high-
priest accord-
ing to this
proposal.
The king's
munificent
presents.

* Supposing the talents here meant to be Hebrew ones, which were much the largest, four hundred must weigh forty five thousand six hundred twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amount to one hundred thirty six thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds; but if Egyptian ones, a much less sum.

† Four hundred and sixty Hebrew talents weighed fifty two thousand four hundred sixty eight pounds, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred fifty seven thousand four hundred and six pounds, but even this sum would have fallen far short of ransoming one hundred and twenty thousand souls, at an hundred and twenty drachma's an head, supposing with Andreas in the preceeding page, the number proved so great; or learned men are very much out in their adjusting of the weight and value of the drachma's and talents of the antients.

of

of * fifty talents of gold, for cups and bowls, and to a great value in precious stones, ordering those that had care of the coffers, wherein they were deposited, to let the lapidaries take and chuse as they thought fit; and beside all this, the king assign'd † a hundred talents more for sacrifices, and other services of the temple. I must not pass over the particulars of the magnificence, and the curiosity of the whole work; but in the first place I shall give the reader the copy of the letter that was written to Eleazar, together with an account how he came to this dignity.

Onias the high-priest dies, and his son Simon succeeds him.

Simon dies, and leaving only one son Onias, a child, Eleazar his brother enters upon the pontificate.

UPON the death of the high-priest Onias, his son Simon succeeded to the office, a person of singular piety towards God, and of an exemplary tenderness and good-nature toward mankind; from which character he was fir-named the Just. Simon liv'd not long, and leaving behind him only one son, a child, whose name was Onias, his brother Eleazar, of whom we are now speaking, enter'd upon the pontificate; and it was to this Eleazar that Ptolemy wrote the following letter.

King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high-priest, sendeth greeting.

Ptolemy's letter to Eleazar.

"WHEREAS there were great numbers of Jews in my dominions that were brought captives hither by the Persians while they were in power; and whereas my father had so great a value for them, that he entrusted several of them in his armies, others in his strong holds and garisons, for a check upon the Egyptians, with the allowance of large pensions for their service, be it known unto you, that I myself also, as I have been easy and gentle to all since my coming to this government, so I have had a more peculiar tenderness to your people, having set above a hundred thousand of them at liberty, and paid the charge of their ransoms out of my own coffers. Some of them I have made use of in my army, others, as I found them discreet and trusty, I have entertain'd about my person, and in the court, reckoning upon it, that I can do nothing more acceptable to God, than good offices to others for his sake, to whom I owe my government and being; wherefore out of a desire to oblige the Jews all over the world, to the uttermost of my power, I have propos'd to myself the turning the books of your law into Greek, and to give the translation a proper place in my own library. In order to the compassing of this design, I shall repute it as a great favour if you'll make choice of six elders out of each of your several tribes, whom you know to have the greatest skill and understanding in the laws, and send them to assist me in this translation; for I promise myself, if I succeed in this undertaking, to gain immortal honour by it. The persons I employ to treat with you about this affair, are Andreas, a captain of my guards, and Aristæus, two

of my trusty and well-beloved friends, whom I have charged also with a present of a hundred talents of silver for you, which I send as an obligation of my first-fruits, towards your sacrifices and your temple. Write me back what you please, it shall be well- come to me."

UPON the receipt of this letter, Eleazar, with all the deference and respect imaginable, returned this following answer.

Eleazar the high-priest to king Ptolemy, greeting.

"IF it be well with your most excellent majesty, with your queen Arsinoe, and with your illustrious family, it is so likewise with your servants the Jews. Your most gracious letter is come to our hands, and we have read it in a full congregation with infinite joy and affection, as an instance not only of your clemency and good-will towards a distressed people, but as a token also of your singular reverence and piety for the worship of the great God. We have received also by the same hands; that is to say, by the hands of Andreas and Aristæus (your well-beloved and learned friends, and persons highly worthy to be esteem'd) twenty golden cups, thirty silver ones, five goblets, and a table to be consecrated for the service of the altar, together with a hundred talents towards the charge of sacrifices, and other services for the temple; all which we have shewed and represented unto our brethren, in the most affectionate terms of gratitude and respect; and we are all so sensible of the generous obligations you have been pleas'd to lay upon us, that you may depend upon our readiness to serve and obey you in all things without reserve, to the uttermost of our power, in a just acknowledgment of your grace and goodness. In pursuance of this sense and conscience of our duty, we have recommended unto God in our publick prayers the protection of your royal person, sister, and children, together with all that love and are dear to you, wishing peace and prosperity to yourself and people; and beseeching God, that the work you have now in hand, of compiling a collection and history of our laws and antiquities, may be of as much satisfaction and advantage to you as your own heart can desire. In order to this end I have sent you six elders out of every tribe, with the law, to attend your pleasure, remitting ourselves upon the whole matter to your piety and justice, that after the transcribing of them, they may be return'd to us safe by the same bearer; recommending your majesty to the providence of the Almighty."

The king's munificence toward the service of the holy temple and altar.

Eleazar's answer to Ptolemy's letter.

The particulars of Ptolemy's donations.

Six elders out of every tribe sent to attend the king with the books of the Jewish laws.

THIS was the high-priest's answer to the king's letter, to which were subjoined, the names of the seventy elders that were sent by Eleazar upon this occasion, which names I shall

* Admitting these to be Jewish talents, fifty weigh'd five thousand seven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, ten penny weights; and their value in gold amount'd to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds; but if Egyptian, fifty must weigh three thousand eight hundred two pounds, one ounce; and their value in gold amount to one hundred eighty two thousand five hundred pounds English money, according to Calmer's tables.

† An hundred talents, supposing them Hebrew, weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds, three ounces; and their value in silver amount'd to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings; but supposing them to be Egyptian, which seems more probable, seven thousand six hundred and four pounds, two ounces, and were worth in value twenty two thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds, ten shillings, of our money.

not need to enumerate over again in this place. But for the magnificence and curiosity of the donatives and presents for the service of God, that part of the account cannot be pass'd over in silence, without great injustice to the king's honour, piety, and bounty; considering with what liberality and expence he promoted the work, the countenance and encouragement that he gave to the prosecution of it, and the assiduity of his care and watchfulness in overlooking the workmen, to see that they should neither be heedless nor idle. Now in these cases I am obliged to be more particular, not as a branch of the history, but as a memorial of the king's greatness of mind, that shall stand upon record to his everlasting fame; and I shall begin with the description of the table.

The golden table.

As to the dimensions, the king sent his artificers to learn out the measure of the former table at Jerusalem, and to see whether the place would not bear a bigger. They brought him word that he might make it as big as he pleas'd; whereupon he propos'd to himself to make this five times larger than the other. But considering, upon second thoughts, that so great a bulk might possibly make it too cumbersome and unweildy for daily use, and look more like a work for ostentation than for service, he came to a resolution upon the first scantling; and to supply the expence, he sav'd in weight and metal, in a charge upon extraordinary workmanship and beauty. Now the king had a wonderful insight into the nature and reason of things, and such a presence of thought, for the finding out of expedients and new inventions, that it was a common practice with him to form his own designs, and prescribe to the very workmen themselves, their precise rules and measures; so that for the proportions of this table, he order'd it to be two cubits and a half long, one over, and one and a half in height; all of solid gold, and round about it a border of a hand's breadth, set out on three sides with curious carving of flower works, twisted strings, and other agreeable figures; which being triangular, were likewise so equal and just, that turn it which way you would, (as it was easily transpos'd,) the prospect would be still the same. This table, in fine, was delicately wrought all over, but that part of it especially that was most in sight; with an intermixture of precious stones loop'd together by golden buckles, to the string-work before-mentioned, at equal distances one from another. The outside of it was set with other rich stones of an oval cut, and an emboss'd work of twigs and branches creeping round the table. There were also several sorts of fruits wrought together under the figure of a crown, as bunches of grapes, ears of corn, pomegranates, &c. all in their proper and natural position, and express'd by stones set in gold, bearing the native colour of what they represented. Under this crown was another row of ovals; which, for the matter, the order, and ornament, was so like the former, and so exactly uniform from top to bottom, that there was no distinguishing one part from the other. Under the table from side to side, there pass'd a golden plate of four fingers breadth; and into this plate the feet were fasten'd with springs and hooks to keep them firm and steady, by binding the cover and the frame together. There was drawn also upon this table the resemblance

of a meander, the course of it mark'd out with stones of lustre and value, sparkling like so many stars; as rubies, emeralds, and whatever else was most precious or excellent in the kind. Along this meander there were divers pieces of sculpture in bows and knots, that had somewhat in them of the figure of a lozenge; and they were so embellish'd by an orderly disposition of crystal and amber, for the advantage of the view, that it made, all together, one of the most agreeable spectacles imaginable. The cornishes of the feet had the resemblance of a lilly work; the stem upright, with the leaves and tendrils winding under the table. The basis was a hand's breadth over, garnish'd with rubies, and a border round about it, and two hands distance betwixt the feet that rested upon it. The graving work of these feet was incomparable, being the fancy of a foliage of the vine and the ivy, render'd so exquisitely to the life, (with grapes, berries, and all,) that it was hard to say which was which; but upon the least breath of air, the leaves would move and play, as if it had been the work of nature rather than of art. This table consisted of three parts, which were so artificially put together, that there were no joints to be discern'd, or so much as to be imagin'd where they met, and the thickness of it was half a cubit. This great prince gave to understand by the magnificence of his present, in the inestimable value of the materials, and the exquisite curiosity and perfection of the whole work, that what he abated of his first project in size and proportion, was abundantly supplied by a most munificent expence in art and ornament.

THERE was also a pair of large golden cups, wrought half way up the bowl, scallop-wise, and inlaid with all sorts of precious stones, orderly ranged into the resemblance of a meander of a cubit over, with delicate figures of twigs and creepers, branching out into a kind of net-work up to the brim, and interlaced with several compartments in form of a lozenge, about four fingers broad, and adorned with stones of value, as before; the borders were also set out with an intermixture of lillies, flowers, vines, grapes, and the like, round the lips of the vessel. This was the form of finishing of these goblets; and for the contents, they held a matter of three or four gallons a-piece; and then for the silver pieces, they were so glorious and radiant, that no crystal mirror was comparable to them.

THE king, after all this, furnished yet thirty golden vessels more, richly set out, and adorned up and down with precious stones, and overshadowed in the intervals with vine and ivy leaves in curious sculpture. Neither was the excellency of these miraculous pieces to be wholly ascribed to the design and mastery of the artificer; but the king himself took a kind of glory in contributing every way to the perfection of the work, making it a great part of his care and business, to visit the shops, and superintend the masters themselves, in the execution of their charge and profession, which made them much more industrious and intent, when they saw the king himself had a more than ordinary regard and concern for the well doing of every thing, than they would have been otherwise.

The king's additional bounties.

UPON

Upon the receipt and dedication of the king's donatives, his commissioners are honourably treated and dismiss'd.

Eleazar attends the king with presents and parchment manuscripts of the Jewish laws in golden letters.

The king's order and method of entertaining the commissioners.

UPON the delivery of these donatives, and the dedication of them to the use and service of the holy temple at Jerusalem, Eleazar treated the king's commissioners with all honour and acknowledgment, and so dismiss'd them with good wishes and presents, to return to their master. The king had no sooner heard of their arrival at Alexandria, and that they had brought the seventy elders along with them, but he sent instantly for his two ambassadors, Andreas and Aristæus, from whom he receiv'd Eleazar's letter, and particular satisfaction to many questions by-the-by. His mind was so bent upon an immediate conference with the seventy persons that were sent over to him to interpret the laws, that no creature had access to him upon any particular business, though contrary to his custom of giving private audience once in five days, and publick once a month. Having thus secured himself from the importunity of any of those casual interruptions, he only waited the coming of Eleazar's agents, who attended him soon after with presents from the high-priest, and with certain manuscripts of the Jewish laws written upon parchment in golden letters. Upon the king's asking for the books, they were produced, to his great admiration at the nicety of the work; for the leaves were so artificially put together, that there was no discerning where one skin was join'd to another; his majesty at the same time telling them, that he had a great respect for the persons that brought him that rarity, a greater yet for him that sent it, but the greatest reverence of all for the author of those laws that were now brought and sent him. The deputies and their assistants gave the king with one heart and voice such moving instances, by their joint prayers and acclamations, of the zeal and passion they had for the service, that he could not forbear weeping at the tenderness of the respect; for there are tears of joy, as well as of sorrow. The writings were then put into the hands of the officers that were to have them in charge, and the king taking the deputies into his arms, told them that he would only in the first place speak a word or two to the business they came about, and after that take their persons into his particular care; for he looked upon the day of their arrival, he said, as so great a providence to him, that he resolv'd to have it observed all the days of his life, as an anniversary festival in memory of the blessing; and it fell out luckily in this too, that it happen'd to be upon the very day of his naval victory over Antigonus. The king, in fine, told them that they should be his guests, and order'd them the most beautiful apartments in his own palace. The care of entertaining and providing for strangers was properly Nicanor's province, who appointed Dorotheus under him in this, as in other cases, to see that nothing might be wanting. Now the king's method was this, both for the honour and convenience of strangers, that they should be all treated after the way of their own country; and instructions were accordingly given on the behalf of the elders too, that the uncouth novelty of things might not disgust them.

THE management of this affair was committed to Dorotheus, as a person well vers'd in the fashions and customs of the Jews. There was in the first place two seats disposed of; one on the king's right hand, the other on his left, by his own order, and with all becoming deference to the commissioners. When the guests had taken their places, the king bad Dorotheus serve them after the same manner, as he had formerly serv'd their countrymen upon the like occasion; so that the Egyptian priests and officers that usually did duty at the king's eating time, were all discharg'd; and one of our own deputies and priests, Elisa by name, was called out by the king himself to bless the table, who thereupon stood up to give God thanks; and after the solemnity of a benediction, upon what they were about to receive, and a fervent prayer for the happiness of the king and his people, to the infinite satisfaction of all that were present, the company fell cheerfully to the meat that was before them. The king took occasion while they were at dinner, to start several philosophical questions, curious and diverting enough, and so to bandy them about from one to another, by way of entertainment and discourse. The sense and judgment of the commissioners was so grave and pertinent to every point, that the king took a wonderful delight in the conversation, and so they continued feasting and rejoicing for the space of twelve days. If any man has a mind to know the particular points that were here in agitation, I shall only refer him to a book of Aristæus, expressly writ upon this subject. The excellency of this conversation had wonderful effects, not only upon the king, but they brought over Menedemus the philosopher also to acknowledge an over-ruling providence, and to put a final end to that controversy; the king acknowledging himself all this while to be so exceedingly edified by conversing with these people, that they had perfected and instructed him in the very art of government; so he ordered them a gratification of * three talents a man, and they were then conducted to their lodgings. At the end of three days, Demetrius took them along with him by a causeway of seven furlongs in length, and a bridge of communication betwixt the island and the continent, and so advancing from thence northward, settled them in a house by the sea side, where they might be from noise and disturbance; the retreat, in fine, being very commodious for men of thought and contemplation. When they were now so disposed of, that there was nothing more to be desir'd in favour of the undertaking, he made it his request, that they would immediately fall to work upon the interpretation, and so God speed them in the enterprize. They spared for neither care nor pains, but kept close to their studies from early in the morning till three in the afternoon, which was their dinner-time; Dorotheus not forgetting, according to the king's order, to supply them with delicacies from his own table, over and above a plentiful competency of provisions at the king's ordinary allowance. It was their custom to wait upon the king eve-

* These, as they were given in Egypt, were, most probably, Egyptian talents, three of which weigh'd two hundred and twenty eight pounds, one ounce, and ten pennyweights, and in value amount'd to six hundred and eighty four pounds, seven shillings, and six pence of our money, according to Calmer's tables.

ry morning at his levee, and thence to betake themselves to their task again, still washing their hands with sea-water, before they enter'd upon their business.

The translation finish'd in seventy two days;

Read over, examin'd, and approv'd.

THIS version of the law was finished within the compass of seventy two days, and when that was over, Demetrius call'd all the Jews together into the place where it was translated, and in the presence of the interpreters read over the book, the whole assembly unanimously approving of the interpretation, and extolling Demetrius as the occasion of the great advantages they had receiv'd. He desired also, that it might be read by the eminent men of the nation; and after this the high-priest, the elders, and the magistrates of the people proposed, that since the translation was so happily finish'd, the authority of it might be ratified, and the text remain unalterable for ever. They were all so perfectly of the same mind, that they came to this resolution, that the book might be subjected to a further examination and revise; and if there should be found any thing in it of excess or defect, it might, upon mature consideration, be rectified; but that upon a further approbation it should stand good for ever.

Revised, and finally ratified.

THE king was doubly pleased, to the highest degree; first, for the gaining of his point; and secondly, that it succeeded so happily to the advantage of the publick. But when he came to hear it read to him, he was transported with joy, in the contemplation of the wisdom of the law-giver, and enter'd into a discourse with Demetrius, that neither any historian nor poet should ever make mention of these incomparable laws. Demetrius made answer, that the frame of them being so manifestly divine, and the matter of them so venerable, people were afraid of meddling with them, especially considering what judgments had befallen several people for their temerity of prophaning them; as Theopompus, taking upon him the part of a plagiarist in publishing texts of holy writ as his own invention, was struck with a fit of madness that held him thirty days; and in the intervals of his phrenzy was conscious of the sin, and asked God forgiveness for it, having revelations also in his sleep that it was his audacious curiosity, in confounding sacred things with prophane, that brought this distemper upon him. But, in fine, upon his repentance and amendment, he was restored again to his right mind; and so it fared likewise with Theodectes the poet, who was struck blind upon the intermixing of divine writ with tragedy; and upon the acknowledgment of his sin, restored to his sight again.

Theopompus runs mad,

upon confounding sacred things with prophane.

Theodectes struck blind for the same presumption.

THE king, upon the receipt of these books from Demetrius, bless'd God and worshipp'd, giving a strict command for the preserving of them safe and entire, desiring the interpreters also, that he might see them again as often as they could upon a visit; assuring them, that it should turn to their honour as well as to their advantage. He was obliged at present, he said, to part with them; but whenever they should come hereafter upon their own accord,

they should not fail of such an acknowledgment as might become wise men to receive, and a great prince to give. Upon this the king dismiss'd them with a present to each of them, of three rich suits of raiment, * two talents of gold, the value of † one talent in cups, couches to sit and eat upon, with presents also for the high-priest, of ten beds with silver feet, and suits of furniture belonging to them; a chalice of thirty ‡ talents, ten purple robes, a glorious crown, and a hundred pieces of fine linnen, besides cups and goblets of several sorts, and two golden vessels dedicated expressly to the service of the temple; desiring the high-priest by letter, that if any of these commissioners should have a mind to come to him again at any time hereafter, he should give them leave; for he had a high esteem for the conversation of learned men, and could not think his favours better bestow'd than upon such company. This is the short history of what Philadelphus did to the honour of the Jews.

The king dismisses the interpreters with variety of rich presents.

CHAP. III.

The kings of Asia always very kind to the Jews. Antiochus the Great marries his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy king of Egypt.

THE Jews were in great esteem also among the kings of Asia, both for their faith and skill in military matters; insomuch that Seleucus, surnamed Nicanor, gave them the privileges of freemen in all the cities he built throughout Asia and the Lower Syria; nay, and in the metropolis of Antioch itself too, declaring it to be his will and pleasure, that they should enjoy the same rights and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, which was no more than what they are possess'd of to this very day. As for example, the Jews being interdicted the use of foreign oil, the Olympick officers who had the ordering of that affair, were obliged by the government to allow them so much money in lieu of it. The people of Antioch insisted upon the abrogating of that custom in the following war; but Muttianus, who was then governor of the province of Syria, would not suffer it. In the reign afterward of Vespasian, and his son Titus, the people of Alexandria would have had the Jews disfranchis'd; but such was the honour and the justice of the Romans, and especially of those two magnanimous princes before-mentioned, that they could not obtain it; not that they wanted either pretence or provocation for a revenge upon a people that had been such a thorn in their sides, by so troublesome a war, and so obstinate a rebellion; but they look'd upon their rights and privileges to be still sacred, and therefore refused to gratify either their own passions, or the importunity of two great nations with any vindictive act of injustice. They laid more weight upon the sense of their ancient merits, than upon that of their present misdemeanor, and would not do a mean thing, though in favour of never so consider-

The Jews much in favour with the kings of Asia. Seleucus Nicanor grants them great privileges.

Vespasian and his son Titus continue them, though the people of Alexandria press to have them disfranchis'd.

* Two Egyptian talents, for such we suppose to be here meant, weigh'd an hundred and fifty two pounds, one ounce, and their value in gold was worth seven thousand three hundred pounds, English money.

† One talent weigh'd seventy six pounds, and ten pennyweights, and its value in gold was worth three thousand six hundred and fifty pounds.

‡ Thirty talents weigh'd two thousand two hundred and eighty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to six thousand eight hundred and forty three pounds, fifteen shillings of our money.

able an interest. As for them, they said, that had taken up arms against the Romans, they had suffer'd enough in all conscience by the calamities of the war, without any other forfeiture; and to punish those who had not offended, would be an indignity against common sense and justice.

Marcus Agrippa stands by them also against the Ionians.

WE read likewise to the same purpose of Marcus Agrippa's good affection to the Jews; for when the Ionians, in a seditious animosity against those people, went open-mouth'd to them with a remonstrance, that their city being singly and entirely their own, by the gift of Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, whom the Grecians firnamed the God, they desired to be put in possession of it with sole privileges, exclusive of all other people; demanding farther, that if the Jews should pretend to the same immunities, it might be upon condition of their worshipping the same gods. The Jews brought the question to an issue, Nicolaus of Damascus being of their council, who obtained judgment for them in favour of the right they claim'd to the free exercise and enjoyment of their own laws and customs; Agrippa pronouncing upon the whole matter, that he could not agree to any innovation upon that point. He that would be farther satisfied in the series of this transaction, may read the whole story at large in Nicolaus's history, B. 123, 124. But not being at that time in war with the Romans, I do not so much wonder at Agrippa's judgment in this particular, as I do at the generosity and candor of Vespasian and Titus, whose very names are not to be mention'd but with infinite honour and admiration; persons that in all the outrages of a fierce and a bloody war, could never be transported beyond the strictest bounds of humanity and moderation. But to go on where I left off:

Nicolaus of Damascus pleads for the Jews, and obtains a judgment for them.

The history of Nicolaus of Damascus.

The justice and generosity of Vespasian and Titus.

During the war betwixt Antiochus and Philopator Ptolemy, the Jews were still sufferers.

Antiochus makes himself master of Judea. Scopas breaks into Cele-Syria. Antiochus beats him out again.

UNDER the reign of Antiochus the Great, Asia, Judea, and Cele-Syria, were never at rest; for Antiochus being at that time in actual hostility with Philopator Ptolemy, and his son Ptolemy, firnamed Epiphanes, whether side soever had the better of it, the Jews betwixt the prosperous and adverse fortune of Antiochus, were still sure to be sufferers, like a vessel in a storm at sea, that is batter'd and dash'd betwixt two billows, as well on the one side as the other; but Antiochus, in the end, prevail'd, and made himself master of Judea.

IN process of time, after the death of Philopator, his son sent a great army into Cele-Syria, under the command of Scopas, who took several of their cities, and reduced Judea by force; but Antiochus a while after obtained a notable victory over Scopas, at the head of the river Jordan, and recover'd the places in Cele-Syria and Samaria, which Scopas had got possession of before. The Jews, upon this success, render'd themselves upon their own accord, received the army into their city, provided plentifully for the elephants, and valiantly assisted in the attack of the castle, where Scopas had left a body of men in garrison. Antiochus thought it but reasonable to gratify the Jews with some honourable mark of the sense he had of their good-will and services upon this occasion, and so wrote to such of his friends and officers as were witnesses of the obligations they had laid upon him; giving to understand in the said letters,

what manner of requital he intended to make them. You shall have the copy of it in its due place, but I am first to tell you what Polybius the Megalopolitan, in the sixteenth book of his history, says upon this subject. "Scopas, says he, Ptolemy's general, made a winter war with the Jews, broke into the heart of their country, and wholly subdued it." And then he goes on a little after, in the same book, with the story of Scopas's being defeated by Antiochus, over-running Batanea, Samaria, Gadara, and Abila; after which the Jews of Jerusalem, and of the glorious temple there, went over to him. "I should say a great deal more, says he, upon this text, but I must put it off to another time." Thus far went Polybius; but I shall now return to my relation, taking the letter of Antiochus in my way.

See Polybius Megalopolitanus.

The Jews of Jerusalem go over to Antiochus.

King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greeting.

WHEREAS we have received several instances of the good dispositions and affections of the Jews toward us and our service, from the time of our first coming into their country, which they have express'd by their pomp and respect of their elders and magistrates, in attending us in a body upon the way, and the splendid reception of our person, and our army into the city, and making so ample a provision, both for our horses and elephants, assisting us likewise against the garison of the Egyptians in the castle: these good offices being duly consider'd, we reckon ourselves bound, in piety and honour, to bestow upon them some distinguishing marks of our acknowledgment and esteem, by contributing toward the repairing of their miserable city, and restoring it to its former state of reputation and glory, by recalling all their countrymen, wherever distressed, to their former habitations; and in order to the compassing of those ends, we have in the first place assigned twenty thousand pieces of silver toward the charges of their sacrifices, wine, oil, and frankincense; and for fine flower, according to the custom of the place, one thousand four hundred and sixty measures of wheat, and three hundred seventy five measures of salt; and it is our will and pleasure, that all this may be executed and made good according to my order; and then for any thing that may be wanting toward the repairing of the temple, porch, galleries, or whatever else, it is our will that the timber be supplied, whether from Judea, Libanus, or elsewhere, without any tax or duty; and we do likewise grant the same immunity for all other materials, that shall be made use of for the holy temple, with permission moreover of an universal liberty to live and govern themselves according to their country-laws; and we do hereby respectively discharge their elders, priests, scribes, and singing-men, of poll-taxes, royal duties, and of all other tributes whatsoever; and for a further encouragement to the speedy re-peopling of this city, we do by our royal authority grant unto all the present inhabitants of the same, and to such others as shall come to reside there, at any time betwixt this and the month of Hyperberetæus next ensuing, a total exemption

Antiochus to Ptolemy in honour and favour of the Jews.

"emption from all publick impositions for the
"space of three years to come; and so like-
"wise from that time forward, an abatement
"of one third part of all taxes, in considera-
"tion of their past damages and sufferings.
"And finally, whereas great numbers of these
"people have been carry'd away captive, and
"remain to this day in bondage, we do far-
"ther command, that they be forthwith set
"at liberty, with restitution, in satisfaction
"for what had been taken from them. And
"so we bid you heartily farewell."

A second e-
dict of Antio-
chus relating
to the Jews
religion, laws,
and customs.

THIS gracious prince did not stop here nei-
ther; but follow'd his generous declaration
in favour of the people, with another edict,
which he caus'd to be publish'd all over his
dominions, in substance as follows: that is to
say, "That no stranger shall presume to enter
"into the temple, but with the consent of the
"Jews, and without being purify'd and qua-
"lify'd beforehand for his admittance, ac-
"cording to the laws of the country: that no
"man shall dare to bring into the city, the
"flesh either of horses or mules, or of asses,
"wild or tame; the flesh of panthers, foxes,
"hares, or of any other creatures that the
"Jews are not allow'd so much as to touch,
"nor the skins of any of them; nor to bring
"up, or feed any of these, or any other crea-
"tures in the city, but such as their forefa-
"thers, according to God's appointment, made
"use of for sacrifices, upon the penalty of
"* three thousand drachmas, to be levy'd up-
"on every offender against the said orders,
"for the use and benefit of the priests."

THIS king had another eminent occasion al-
so to give the world a signal proof of the high
esteem he had for us in the matter of our pi-
ety and allegiance. Upon the breaking out of
a commotion in Phrygia and Lydia, Zeuxes
at that time commanding an army in the up-
land provinces, the king presently order'd this
general, a person for whom he had a singular
respect, to send away from Babylon such a
number of the Jews there, into Phrygia, gi-
ving him his instructions in a letter to this ef-
fect:

*The king Antiochus to Zeuxes, his friend and fa-
ther, greeting.*

Antiochus to
his general
Zeuxes, much
to the reputa-
tion of the
Jews.

"IF you are well, all is well; for I am so
"too. Whereas I am given to under-
"stand, that there are several persons who
"strive to raise seditions and make innovati-
"ons in Phrygia and Lydia, it stands me up-
"on to look well about me betimes; so that
"I am now to acquaint you that I am advis'd
"by my council, and friends, to take two
"thousand Jewish families out of Babylon and
"Mesopotamia, and to transport them into
"Phrygia, with their goods and whatever be-
"longs to them, and there to place them for
"a guard in strong holds and garrisons, be-
"ing thoroughly satisfy'd in the knowledge
"I have of their zeal and fidelity; not only
"from the principles of their religion, but
"from the proof and experience of their al-
"legiance to my ancestors. Wherefore, it is

"my pleasure (all difficulties notwithstanding)
"that they be forthwith transplanted;
"giving them all assurance, that they shall
"still enjoy the freedom of their own laws
"and customs. And upon their arrival there,
"you are to assign them lands and possessions,
"with all sorts of conveniencies for building,
"planting and tillage; with an immunity al-
"so from all taxes and contributions, out of
"the profits for ten year to come. And in
"the mean while, till they may be able to
"support themselves out of the fruits of their
"own industry, you are to allow them a com-
"petent provision of wheat, for the main-
"tenance of themselves and their families:
"by which kind usage they will be encou-
"raged to act more chearfully in our service.
"You are finally to take care, that they be
"not exposed to any sort of trouble or mo-
"lestation. And so we bid you farewell."

THIS is enough to shew what esteem Antio-
chus the great had for the Jews: after which,
there followed a league of amity and alliance
betwixt this king and Ptolemy, upon a mar-
riage with his daughter Cleopatra, who had
in lieu of a portion, Cele-Syria, Phenicia, Ju-
dea and Samaria. The revenue was in partiti-
on betwixt the two kings, and let out in farm
to some of the principal men in the respective
provinces, who took care of the collections,
and so paid their proportions into the king's
treasury, according to the contract.

Antiochus
marries Cleo-
patra the
daughter of
Ptolemy.

THE Samaritans were at this time proud and
powerful, and most particularly troublesome
and vexatious in their inroads upon the Jews;
carrying several of them away captives; and
this ravage was committed chiefly in the time
of the high-priest Onias: for after the death
of Eleazar, his uncle Manasses took the pon-
tificate; and after his death, succeeded Onias,
the son of Simon the Just; which Simon was
the brother of Eleazar, as we have said alrea-
dy. This Onias was weak and covetous, to
the degree of refusing the king the customary
tribute of † twenty talents, which his ancestors
still made to him, in acknowledgment of a
duty. This coarse behaviour of Onias, in-
censed Ptolemy Euergetes the father of Phi-
lopator to such a degree, that he sent an em-
bassador expressly to Jerusalem, with a me-
nace to demand the payment of it, upon the
peril of having an army quarter'd upon their
country at discretion, and a new plantation
settled there, if they did not immediately com-
ply. This message gave the Jews most terri-
ble apprehensions; but Onias out-faced the dan-
ger, his heart being only set upon his money.

The Samari-
tans bitter e-
nemies to the
Jews.

Manasses had
the pontificate
after his ne-
phew Elea-
zar, and Oni-
as, a weak
prince, suc-
ceeded Ma-
nasses.

Ptolemy me-
naces Onias
by his embas-
sador Athe-
nion, for re-
fusing to pay
him his annu-
al tribute.

CHAP. IV.

*Joseph, the nephew of Onias, begs his uncle's
pardon of Ptolemy; makes his own fortune
by it, and advances his son Hyrcanus. The
death of Joseph.*

THERE was one Joseph, the son of To-
bias, by the sister of Onias the high-priest. Joseph the
nephew of
Onias.
This Joseph was a young man, but for his in-

* Three thousand drachma's, reckoning a drachma worth seven pence of our money, amounted to eighty seven pound ten shillings.

† Twenty Hebrew talents weighed two thousand two hundred and eighty one pound, three ounces, and their va-
lue in silver amounted to six thousand eight hundred and forty three pound fifteen shillings of our money.

tegrity, prudence and justice, a person of great reputation among the Jews. While he was one time at Phichola, the place of his birth, his mother sent him an account of the messenger before spoken of, and of his business, who went immediately with an invective to Onias for so manifest an exposure of the publick peace; reproaching him withal, that if he could but save his money, he car'd not what became of the people, to whom he stood indebted for his promotion, both sacerdotal and civil. But however, if his heart was so overcome with the love of money, that he would sacrifice his country, friends and all, rather than part with it, he advised him at least to make a dutiful application to the king about it, and to try if he could get the whole, or at least some part of it remitted. Onias made answer, that he was not so fond of his place either in church or state, but he could willingly part with both, if it were permitted him, rather than go to the king upon that errand; and that for his part he would not meddle in the matter. Why then, says Joseph, will you give me leave to attend the king upon the same commission? Onias told him [with all his heart.] So Joseph went up to the temple, where he called a congregation, and bad them cheer up their hearts, for he was in hope that this failing of his uncle would have no further ill consequence; telling them, that if they thought fit, he would wait upon the king himself in their name, and do the best he could to set matters right again. The whole multitude gave him thanks for the proposal, and so left the business entirely to his management. Joseph, upon this, went his way presently to find out the king's commissioner; and when he had treated him splendidly for some certain days, and made him rich presents, he dismiss'd him to his master again, with an assurance that he himself would follow him very suddenly. Joseph's heart was now set more and more upon this expedition, being not only encouraged and invited to it by the king's messenger, but sure also of the best service he could do him there; who made no doubt at all neither, but that upon such an application, Joseph might gain his point. This person was mightily taken with the good graces and address of the young man; and upon his return into Egypt, reflecting abundantly upon the ingratitude of Onias, he did not forget at the same time, to speak the best things in the world of Joseph, who he said would be there himself e'er long, on the behalf of the people; which office he had now taken upon himself, to atone for the ill-natur'd laziness of his uncle. This minister, in fine, was so taken up still upon the subject of Joseph's character and commendations, that the king and his wife Cleopatra were half in love with him before ever they saw him. Upon this occasion, Joseph sent to his friends in Samaria to take up money for his equipage; which in clothes, horses, carriages, plate, and other necessaries, stood him in a matter of * twenty thousand drachma's. He had the hap, in his way to Alexandria, to fall into company with a train of the princes and nobility

of Syria and Phenicia, who were at that time trooping up to the king to treat with him about his revenue, according to a yearly custom they had of putting it up by the way of outcry to the fairest bidder. These great men made themselves merry at the poor pitiful appearance of Joseph and his retinue: but he kept on his way still, directly to Alexandria; and being there informed that the king was still at Memphis, he prosecuted his Journey; and had the good hap to meet him sitting in his chariot with the queen, and his particular confident Athenion, in his return to Alexandria. This Athenion was the person that carry'd the embassy to Jerusalem, and was so honourably treated by Joseph there. Joseph was no sooner in his eye, but he gave the king to understand that this was the young man whom he had spoken so many excellent things of, at his coming back from Jerusalem. Ptolemy upon this, stopt and saluted him, and took him into his chariot; complaining upon the first greeting, how ill he had been us'd by Onias. "Sir (says Joseph) an old man is the second time a child, and I hope your majesty will impute nothing to Onias beyond that infirmity; but for the young men that are in their vigour of strength and understanding, I dare be answerable for it, that you shall not find any one of us wanting in his duty." The king was so delighted with this taste of Joseph's discretion and civility, upon this first interview, that he gave orders immediately for the lodging of him in his own palace, and entertaining of him at his own table; which singular respect gave no small disgust to the envious Syrian noblemen, when they came to see at Alexandria the honour that was done to Joseph.

THE day of auction was now come on, when the several branches of the revenue were to be put up, and the nobility of every several province respectively to bid for the purchase; so they came to a contract for eight thousand talents upon the duties out of Cele-Syria, Phenicia, Judea and Samaria. Joseph blam'd the contractors, for beating down the composition so much below the value, and propounded the doubling of it himself, over and above the forfeitures, which these publicans had reserved for themselves. The king was very well pleas'd with this proposal for the improvement of his revenue, and in favour of the proposer himself too. But what security can you give, says he, for the performance of what you undertake; Joseph pleasantly enough reply'd, that he could give him the security of persons beyond all exception; and upon the king's bidding him name them, his answer was, that he doubted not, but his majesty and the queen would be bound one to another for his honesty and justice. The king, in fine, was so well satisfy'd with this ingenious way of proceeding, that he intrusted him with his revenue upon his word, without any other sureties. This surprizing preference of a stranger, put the rest of the undertakers exceedingly out of humour, and out of countenance, to think of going back again with shame and repulse.

The king happens to meet Joseph upon the way; and upon Athenion's telling him who he was, the king takes him into his chariot.

The king blames Onias: and Joseph imputes it to age and infirmity.

The king entertains him in his own palace.

Upon the bidding for the farm, Joseph offers double to the rest of the contractors.

The king agrees with him without security.

* Twenty thousand drachma's came to about five hundred and eighty three pounds, six shillings, and four pence, of English money.

H h h h

JOSEPHUS

Joseph reasons the case of Ptolemy with his uncle, but can do no good upon him.

Joseph courts Athenion with treats and presents. Athenion goes back to his master, and Joseph promises to follow him.

Athenion does Joseph all good offices:

While Joseph provides for his journey.

He falls in upon the way with a train of great persons going to treat with the king about farming his revenue.

Joseph with a guard of 2000 soldiers, goes to Askalon, to collect the duty.

The people rise against him, and he makes twenty of the ringleaders examples.

Scythopolis follows the president of Askalon in the stubbornness of the faction, and Joseph makes them as exemplary in their punishment.

How Joseph came to marry Solymius's daughter, by whom he had Hyrcanus.

Joseph falls in love with a beautiful woman at Alexandria.

Being a stranger she could not be his wife, and therefore he gets her for his mistress.

Solymius puts his daughter to bed to him.

JOSEPH, upon being taken into this trust, desired a guard of two thousand soldiers to support him in the collecting of the duty, in case of any opposition; which guard was granted him; and thereupon having borrow'd * five hundred talents of the king's friends in Alexandria, he went his way into Syria. Upon his coming to Askalon, and demanding the king's tribute there, they did not only refuse him the money, but affronted him outrageously with foul words; but he presently caused his soldiers to take up twenty of the ringleaders, and inflict exemplary justice upon them; raising a † thousand talents out of their forfeited estates, and sent the treasure to the king, with a particular account of what had been done. The king was so wonderfully taken with the conduct and discretion of the proceeding, that he entrusted him after that to do whatever he thought fit. The fresh example of this severity upon the people of Askalon, wrought such an effect upon the rest of the Syrians elsewhere, that they set their gates open in all places to Joseph, and without any difficulty, or scruple, paid their taxes. The inhabitants of Scythopolis followed the precedent also of Askalon, in the obstinate refusal of their customary impositions, and in the contempt of the king's officers and authority; so that Joseph was forced to deal with the heads of the faction there, as he had done before with those at Askalon; confiscating their estates, and applying the forfeitures to the king's use, and the maintenance of the government; accounting it a point of wisdom to secure what they had got, and to make their country maintain it self; to say nothing of the many rich presents that were made by-the-by, both to the king and to his people; and many more to the king's well-wishers and favourites; by which means Joseph both gained friends, and kept them.

JOSEPH liv'd in this state of prosperity for the space of two and twenty years, having had seven sons by one wife, and another by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whose name was Hyrcanus, whom he took to wife upon this occasion.

TRAVELLING one time in company with his brother to Alexandria, to find out some Jew of quality that might be a match for a daughter of his that he took along with him, and was at that time marriageable; as he was at supper with the king, he fell passionately in love with a beautiful maid that he saw dance there for the king's entertainment. He made his brother his only confident of the secret, desiring him that since he could not lawfully enjoy her as his wife, (being a stranger) he would do him the good office to bring them together privately. His brother, promising that he would do what he could in it, dress'd up his own daughter, and at night put her to bed to him. Joseph, who had drunk pretty plentifully, pass'd the first night by a mistake with his brother's daughter, and never found the error. This abuse was put upon him over and over, and the oftner he enjoy'd this conversation, the more enamour'd he grew of his

mistress, till at last he made his moan to his brother, that he was afraid he should never get that love out of his heart; beside that he fear'd the king would never agree to make a match of it. As for that fancy, says Solymius, trouble your head no farther; for you may lawfully enjoy the woman you love, and enjoy her as your wife too. Solymius confest the whole matter to him; and that he had rather chosen to suffer an affront in the person of his daughter, than to have his brother guilty of so dishonourable a sin. Joseph upon this discovery, extoll'd his brother's tenderness and friendship to the skies, and marry'd his daughter; by whom he had Hyrcanus, as we have said already. This same Hyrcanus, at thirteen years of age, gave the world such hopes of him, to all the purposes of generosity, understanding, and good-nature, that the pregnancy of this youth (being the youngest of that stock) drew a mortal envy upon him from the rest of his brothers; as having the reputation of an advantage over all the rest. Now Joseph, out of a desire to make an experiment, which of his children was the best inclin'd, sent them one by one to the most expert masters he could think of in their several professions; but betwixt sloth and laziness, they all came home again as ignorant as they went out. Joseph, after this, sent his youngest son Hyrcanus, upon a seven days journey into a desert with three hundred pair of oxen to plough and sow there, having first privately taken away the lines that should couple the yoke and the plough together. When he came to the place, and wanted his tackle, he was advis'd by some husbandmen to send home to his father for it; but he was against losing so much time, and therefore bethought himself of an invention that look'd liker the stratagem of an old beaten soldier than the shift of a child; that is to say, he caused ten yoke of oxen to be kill'd, dividing the flesh among his workmen; and cutting the skins into thongs, he tack'd the oxen and their gears together; plough'd up the ground, and sow'd it as his father had order'd him, and so went home again. Upon his return, his father kiss'd and embraced him, blessing himself at his presence of thought, and the prudence of his behaviour, and to consider, that so very a youth should have the steadiness of mind to put so extraordinary an invention in execution. So that Hyrcanus was to his father as if he had been his only son; but his brothers hated him.

ABOUT this time, there was news brought to Joseph that the queen was deliver'd of a son, to the exceeding joy of the princes and great men of Syria, who presently marched together in great pomp to Alexandria, to gratulate the king and the court upon this blessing; only Joseph, by reason of his age, was forced to stay behind. But he had a mind however to feel how his sons stood affected to this expedition; and upon putting them to the question, "one did not understand the ways of the court, (he said) another made a difficulty of shewing himself to the king;" and so with one pretence after another, they put it to

Solymius finding him so much delighted with his companion, tells Joseph the whole story.

Joseph thanks him for his friendship, and marries his daughter, by whom he hath Hyrcanus. The early pregnancy and reputation of Hyrcanus, being the youngest of eight sons, makes the rest hate him.

The prudence and sagacity of Hyrcanus.

* Five hundred talents weighed thirty eight thousand and twenty pound ten ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred and fourteen thousand and sixty two pounds ten shillings, of our money.

† The talents here meant we take to be the Syrians, one of which weighed fourteen pound three ounces one pennyweight and twenty one grains, and its value in silver amounted to forty two pound, fifteen shillings, and fivepence halfpenny half farthing; a thousand must therefore weigh fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty seven pound nine ounces fifteen pennyweights, and amount in value to forty two thousand seven hundred and seventy three pound eighteen shillings and nine pence.

Joseph sends Hyrcanus upon a compliment to Ptolemy to joy him on the birth of a young prince.

their father to send Hyrcanus, on the errand; which he was very glad to hear, and had him call'd immediately. "Son, (says Joseph) what if I should send you now upon a compliment to the king? could you behave your self, do you think, as you ought to do?" Why Sir, says Hyrcanus, I should take it for a great honour to be so employ'd, and most readily obey you. And says he further, I should not put you to any great expence neither; for I would manage every thing as well as I could, and a matter of ten thousand drachma's would do my business. The father was much delighted with his son's sobriety and moderation; and so the discourse stopt for a while, till the son after a little pause broke the silence. "Sir, (says he) if I durst be so free with you, I would propose it to you not to send the king any presents from this place; but rather to write to your agent at Alexandria, to furnish me where-withal to buy the richest, and the most agreeable curiosities for presents for the king, that are to be had for money." Joseph reckon'd upon it, that about ten * talents, perhaps, might serve the turn; so that he comply'd with his son, and gave him letters of credit to Arion his cash-keeper at Alexandria, who had some † three thousand talents at that time in his hands; it being Joseph's method still to remit thither the collections he receiv'd in Syria, to be there return'd into the treasury upon the precise pay-day; which Arion was intrusted to take care of. Hyrcanus was no sooner dispatch'd, but away he went to Arion at Alexandria with his letters; his brothers at the same time being engag'd in a secret practice and design upon his life. Upon the delivery of his credentials, Arion asked him how many talents would serve his turn; computing that about ten talents, or somewhat over, might be sufficient. Hyrcanus told him, that he should have occasion for a ‡ thousand talents. What, says Arion, to be squander'd away in luxury and profusion? No no, Sir, (says he) your father made his fortune by industry and good husbandry, and you should do well to tread in his steps. In short, you are like to have but ten talents of me, and I will see every penny of the money laid out upon the presents too. This insolence of his, provoked Hyrcanus to put him in chains. Now the wife of Arion being much in the queen's favour, carry'd the tidings of this adventure presently to her mistress; and the queen imparted it to the king, not without somewhat of reproach upon the rashness and intemperance of the young man. This complaint was soon follow'd by a message from the king to Hyrcanus, giving to understand, that he being sent expressly by his father to attend his majesty, he very much wonder'd that he should never come at him; and not only at that neither, but likewise at his taking upon him to imprison his father's agent; wherefore it was his majesty's command, that he should wait upon him, and acquit himself, if

he could, of the charge that was exhibited against him. Hyrcanus desir'd the messenger to inform the king, that by the Jewish law no man was permitted to eat of the flesh of any thing that was sacrificed, who had not been first in the temple, and offered sacrifice himself; which by a parity of reason was his very case, for he durst not wait upon his majesty till he had first presented the oblations which his father had intrusted him withal, in testimony of his gratitude and duty; and for the matter of punishing a servant for his disobedience, he thought, with submission, that he had great right on his side; for the relation is so near betwixt great masters and little ones, that an ill example in a subject stretches in the consequence to the king himself; for where the contempt of authority passes with impunity, the precedent is contagious. The king could not but smile and wonder at the hearing of this, to find so great a soul in a person of so green years.

ARION perceiving by this time that his court-interest fail'd him, deliver'd the thousand talents that were demanded of him, as a composition for his liberty. After three days, Hyrcanus went to court to pay his respects to the king and queen; where he had the honour out of a singular respect they bore to his father, to be admitted to their table. While this was in agitation, he contracted privately with certain merchants for a hundred of the most beautiful youths that were to be gotten, at a talent a head, and as many lovely ingenious girls at the same price. Being invited after this to the king's entertainment, together with other persons of the most eminent quality, the officers that had the ordering of the ceremony in the ranging of the guests, assigned Hyrcanus, being but a youth, the lowest place at the table. When the rest of the company had fill'd their bellies with the flesh, they laid their bones together by consent, in a mockery, before Hyrcanus; and set on Tryphon, a jesting buffoon that the king took pleasure to make sport with; who in his buffooning way desir'd the king to take notice what a heap of bones Hyrcanus had before him. Just so, says he, has the father pick'd the bones of all Syria, as the son has serv'd those bones that are now before him. The king could not but smile at the drollery of the conceit, and asked Hyrcanus how he came to have such a pile of bones before him. Oh Sir, says he, there's no wonder in it at all; for the dogs devour flesh, and bones and all, pointing with his eye to those that had none before them; but men, says he, such as I am, when they have eat the flesh, throw away the bones as I do. The king found him so facetious, that he not only applauded him himself, but recommended him also to the respect and kindness of the company.

HYRCANUS made his court upon the day following to the king's friends, and the great men about him; where he artfully pump'd out of the servants what presents their masters

Ptolemy sends for Hyrcanus to chide him for what he had done.

Hyrcanus excuses himself at present,

in such a manner as gives the king great satisfaction.

Arion at last supplies Hyrcanus with the thousand talents; and so he provides his presents.

Hyrcanus being treated soon after at the king's table, the guests set Tryphon, a buffoon, upon him to make sport with him.

Hyrcanus's sharp and ingenious way of acquainting himself.

Joseph gives him letters of credit to Arion his agent at Alexandria.

Hyrcanus hastens away to Arion.

Hyrcanus demands 1000 talents for presents.

Arion expostulates the matter, and Hyrcanus puts him in chains.

* Ten talents weighed seven hundred and sixty pound five ounces, and their value in silver amounted to two thousand two hundred and eighty one pounds five shillings.

† Three thousand talents weighed two hundred eighteen thousand, one hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amounted to six hundred eighty four thousand three hundred and seventy five pounds, English money.

‡ A thousand talents weighed seventy six thousand and forty one pounds eight ounces, and their value in silver amounted to two hundred twenty eight thousand, one hundred and twenty five pounds, of our money.

intended to compliment the king withal, upon the birth of the prince. So one said, * twelve talents, perhaps; another more or less, according to their ability; some, in fine, one thing, some another; Hyrcanus seeming uneasy all this while, upon a pretence, that he could not come up to their proportion; for † five talents, he said, was all that he was able to advance. These servants told their masters what pass'd betwixt them and Hyrcanus, who were not a little pleased to think how the narrowness of the young's man present would lessen him in the esteem of the king. But when it came to appear upon the day appointed for the solemnity of making their oblations, that ‡ twenty talents was the most that was given by any man, Hyrcanus only excepted, whose present was a hundred boys, and a hundred girls; the former for the king, the other for the queen; and with every one of them || a talent for another present over and above. This was so excessive and so unexpected a munificence, that the king himself and all his friends were in admiration at it; beside the gratuity of divers talents more, that were distributed among the king's ministers and officers, for fear of the worst; Hyrcanus's brothers having employed their uttermost interest with them to get him destroy'd. The king was so tenderly sensible of the greatness of the young man's mind, and the graceful way of expressing it, that he bad him ask what he would, and he should have it; of which generous offer he made no other use, than to desire his majesty's letters of recommendation back again to his father and brethren; so the king took an honourable leave of him, presented him like a prince; and with recommendatory letters to his father and brothers, and to his own officers and governors, he gave him his discharge. But when his brothers came to understand how magnificently the king and queen had receiv'd him, and the esteem they had of him, and that his reputation was now much greater at his return than it was before this expedition, they laid their heads together how they might lay an ambush for him upon the road, intercept and destroy him; and this not altogether without their father's privity neither, who was so highly disgusted at his extravagant expence upon the late presents, that he did not much care what became of him, though he was forced, however, to dissemble the matter for fear of the king. It came to this issue in the conclusion, that the brothers met, and assaulted him upon the way; and after a resolute resistance on his part, lost a considerable number of the train; two of the brotherhood kill'd upon the place, and the rest made the best shift they could to get back again to their father at Jerusalem. Hyrcanus kept on his way into the city; but finding that no body own'd him there, he cross'd the river Jordan for his own security, where he spent the remainder of his life in gathering the king's duties from

the Barbarians. This was in the days of Seleucus the king of Asia, otherwise called Soter, or the Saviour, the son of Antiochus the Great. About the same time died Joseph, the father of Hyrcanus, a man of great piety and resolution, and a person that highly contributed to the relief and well-being of the Jews in all their distresses. He executed a commission of receiver of all publick duties in Syria, Phenicia, and Samaria, for the space of two and twenty years. His uncle Onias died also about the same time, and his son Simon succeeded him to the priesthood; and he going off too, his son Onias succeeded him, to whom Arius king of the Lacedemonians sent an embassy in the terms following.

The death of Joseph, his character and commission.

Onias dies, and Simon succeeds him in the pontificate.

CHAP. V.

Arius king of Lacedemon claims kindred of the Jews, and writes to Onias the high-priest, about an alliance. The Lacedemonians derive from Abraham. Hyrcanus builds a glorious castle by the name of Tyre. He lays violent hands upon himself.

Arius king of the Lacedemonians to Onias, health.

“WHEREAS there is come to our hand an ancient manuscript, setting forth the near affinity betwixt our ancestors and yours, and the relation we have to the line of Abraham, it is but reasonable for brethren so nearly allied to do all good offices one toward another. This is therefore to offer you the command of any thing within our power to serve you, as we ourselves shall take the same freedom in looking upon your concerns as our own, and joining in one common interest. You are to receive this letter from our trusty subject and servant Demoteles, written in a quarto page, and seal'd with the figure of an eagle holding a dragon in her talons.” This was the purport of the letter.

Arius king of Lacedemon to the high-priest Onias.

AFTER the death of Joseph, the people broke out into mutinies and seditions, upon the quarrel of the sons that he had left behind him, the elder brothers making war upon the younger; the greater part of the people appearing also in favour of the former; and among the rest, Simon the high-priest, upon the account of his relation. Hyrcanus did not think fit to return to Jerusalem, but however kept himself still beyond Jordan, where he maintain'd a perpetual war with the Arabians, killing great numbers of them, and carrying others into captivity. He caused to be erected there a marvellous strong castle, the walls from the bottom to the top all of white stone, with figures upon them of several sorts of creatures, of an extraordinary size and proportion. This building was encompassed with a deep ditch, or moat, and vaults cut out through a moun-

All in mutiny and sedition after the death of Joseph.

Hyrcanus keeps beyond Jordan, for fear of his brothers.

A description of a wonderful castle that Hyrcanus built by the name of Tyre.

The magnificence and curiosity of Hyrcanus's presents.

The king is so delighted with it, that he bids him ask what he will and he shall have it. Hyrcanus only desires the king's recommendatory letters back again, which the king grants; and so with honourable presents dismisses him.

The brothers assault Hyrcanus, and are worsted.

Hyrcanus keeps on his way to Jerusalem.

* 'Tis not an easy matter to determine here what talents are meant, but supposing them to be Egyptian, twelve weighed nine hundred and twelve pounds, three ounces, and in value amounted to two thousand seven hundred and thirty seven pounds, ten shillings.

† Five weighed three hundred and eighty pounds, two ounces, and ten pennyweights, and in value amounted to eleven hundred and forty pounds, twelve shillings, and six pence.

‡ Twenty weighed fifteen hundred and twenty pounds, ten ounces, and in value amounted to four thousand five hundred and sixty two pounds, ten shillings.

|| Two hundred talents weighed fifteen thousand two hundred and eight pounds, four ounces, and in value amounted to forty five thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds of our money; but if Syrian talents are here meant, the amount of each of them respectively would fall short above one quarter.

tain just opposite to it, of several furlongs in length, and only broad enough at the mouth for one man to enter at a time, which they did both for fear and security. There were also in this castle fair eating-rooms, and places for entertainment and lodging; variety of fountains up and down, both for pleasure and for ornament; large courts, stately buildings, lovely and spacious gardens; and to this place thus perfected he gave the name of Tyre, which lies upon the borders of Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan, and not far from the country of the Essebonites. Hyrcanus held

Seleucus dies, and Antiochus succeeds him.

Ptolemy king of Egypt dies, and leaves behind him two sons, Philometor and Physcon. Hyrcanus lays violent hands upon himself.

this government for the space of seven years; that is to say, for the whole time that Seleucus reign'd in Syria. After his death his brother Antiochus succeeded him, otherwise called Epiphanes, and then died Ptolemy also, king of Egypt, who was likewise called Epiphanes. This Ptolemy left two sons behind him, both of them minors; the name of the elder was Philometor, and the name of the other Physcon. Antiochus was at that time very strong and powerful; insomuch, that Hyrcanus, for fear of being call'd to an account for his inroads upon the Arabians, laid violent hands upon himself, and Antiochus took possession of all his goods and estate.

CHAP. VI.

Onias, otherwise Menelaus, is excluded from the pontificate. He betakes himself to Antiochus, and apostatizes from his religion. Antiochus makes a furious inroad into Egypt, but the Romans force him back again.

Antiochus upon the death of Onias advances Jesus to the high-priesthood, under the name of Jason, who is deposed, and the dignity transferr'd to his younger brother Onias, under the name of Menelaus. Two factions; the sons of Tobias side with Menelaus, and the multitude with Jason. The party of Tobias renounces the Jewish religion for that of the Greeks.

ONIAS the high-priest dying about this time, Antiochus Epiphanes advanced his brother Jesus to the pontificate, in the minority of a son he had then living, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This Jesus fell under the king's displeasure, who deposed him from the pontificate, and transferred it afterward to Onias the younger brother. Now these were the three sons of Simon, and they all came to the dignity, as we have already set forth; but Jesus chose rather to take upon himself the name of Jason, as the other changed his name for Menelaus. In this confusion of chopping and changing, one brother advanc'd a faction against the other, and the people divided upon it. The sons of Tobias sided with the new high-priest Menelaus; but the greater part of the multitude joined interests with Jason, and so much overpower'd the other, that Menelaus and the sons of Tobias withdrew to Antioch, declaring themselves that they would no longer be tied up to their country's laws and institutions, but go over to the religion of their king, and the Greek way of worship; desiring liberty to erect a kind of academy, or place for publick exercises in Jerusalem. Upon the obtaining of this licence, they order'd their bodies so, that even naked, there was no visible difference betwixt them and the Greeks, at the same time casting off all regard to the Jewish laws and customs, and betaking themselves to the ways and manners of other nations.

ANTIOCHUS finding himself at this time so easy at home, and his people so well settled, had a great mind to try an expedition into

Egypt, partly out of an ambition to make himself master of the country, and partly encouraged by the weakness and inability of Ptolemy's sons, to manage such a war; so that he advanced with a mighty army to Pelusium, where he slyly circumvented Philometor by craft, and got footing in Egypt; advancing from thence to Memphis, and other neighbouring places, which he reduced likewise; and so to Alexandria, with a design to reduce at once both the king and the city; but upon the peremptory command of the Romans, to withdraw his army immediately, upon his utmost peril, he gave over his design, and quitted what he had taken, as we have said heretofore; but in regard that we have only touch'd upon this subject in our former writings, it will be now necessary to handle the history of this king more at large, and in particular to report the manner of his taking Jerusalem and the temple.

The Romans command him to withdraw; whereupon he quits what he had taken.

CHAP. VII.

Jerusalem betray'd to Antiochus. The temple rifled, the city levell'd, and the worship of God forbidden upon pain of death and torments. A great many Jews turn idolaters. The Samaritans dedicate the temple at Garizin to Jupiter.

ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, when he was frighted away by the menaces of the Romans, marched with his army outright to Jerusalem, and enter'd the city in the hundred and forty third year, from the time that the kingdom of Syria fell into the family of Seleucus. He made himself master of it without any sort of difficulty; for the gates were set open to him, by the treachery of a party he had made in the town, where he exercised great cruelty, and put a great many people to the sword, without distinction of friend or foe; pillag'd the city, and carried the treasure away to Antioch.

THIS calamity happen'd in the second year after the taking of the city, in the hundred and forty fifth year from the first Seleucus, the twenty fifth day of the month, which we call Chasseu, the Macedonians Appellæus, and in the hundred and fifty third olympiad. In the licence of this outrage they did not spare so much as those who quietly open'd the gates to them, only for the greater liberty of breaking in upon the riches of the temple, where the spoil was so considerable, that the very value, they thought, might in some degree atone for the treachery. The temple, in short, was wholly stripp'd and rifled, all the holy vessels and utensils taken away, the golden candlesticks, the golden altar, and the table of shew-bread, as they call'd it, among the rest. The curtains, and the embroidery of silk and fine linnen; nay, the very hiding-places, where they conceal'd an immense mass of treasure, were all laid open and expos'd, and not so much as any relicks left of this prodigious wealth; and further to consummate the misery of these poor people, their daily sacrifices were forbidden, the city levell'd with the ground, the inhabitants partly kill'd, partly carried away captives, together with their wives and children, to the number of ten thousand; their walls demolish'd, and their

The time when this calamity happen'd.

The spoil, to an incredible value.

Antiochus breaks into Egypt, takes Memphis, and marches against Alexandria.

their stately edifices consum'd by fire. He erected a tower in the city that overlook'd and commanded the temple itself; and when he had supplied and fortified the place, put a strong garison of Macedonians into it, but not without a mixture of execrable and apostate Jews, that were as malicious as the very worst of their enemies. He raised an altar in the temple, and sacrificed hogs upon it, in a most spiteful contradiction to the laws and constitutions of the Jews. He forced all people to extremities, who would not renounce the true God, and worship his idols; and so in all other cities and towns, he built temples and altars for the daily sacrifice of swines flesh. He made it grievously penal for any of the Jews to circumcise their children, keeping officers and informers still at hand, either to prosecute them upon the violation of his edicts, or to extort from them an obedience by terror or force; and so it was in fine, that the greater part of the Jews, either of their own accord, or out of fear of punishment, complied with the king's orders, though there were others again so brave and generous, as to stand firm against all trials of torment and death itself, rather than depart from the religion and laws of their country; having their bodies cut and torn with whips, and then crucified alive, with their wives, and so many of their children as were circumcis'd, hanging about their necks according to the king's order. The holy scriptures were destroyed also wherever they were found; and it was made death so much as to entertain them.

Unheard-of cruelties.

The Samaritans were no longer of the stock of Abraham, they say, but Medes and Persians.

THE Samaritans, conformable to the character we have before given of them, when they found the Jews reduced to so miserable a state of distress, for fear of being brought to bear a share in their calamities, immediately disclaimed all kindred with them, disowning the temple of Garizin for the temple of God, and alledging themselves to be of the race (as indeed they were) of the Medes and Persians. To enforce the belief of which, and in order to take off the danger apprehended upon this occasion, they sent a solemn embassy and address to Antiochus, in these terms:

To the king Antiochus Epiphanes, the illustrious god, the humble petition of the Sidonians, inhabitants of Sichem, sheweth,

The Sichemites petition to Antiochus.

"THAT the forefathers of your petitioners lying under the affliction of many and grievous plagues in their own country, were partly wrought upon by that calamity, and in part prevail'd upon by the superstition of an ancient custom, to join in the religious observance of a certain festival, which the Jews call the sabbath, and in the erecting of a temple upon the mountain Garizin, where sacrifices were offered to a God without a name. Now since it is so, that your majesty hath been pleased to inflict a punishment upon this wicked people, suitable to the heinousness of their offences, and to appoint officers, who upon a supposition that we were all of the same stock, are thereby induced to involve your petitioners with the Jews in the same crime; whereas we derive

our original from the Sidonians, as we can make appear by records extant to this day: May it therefore please your majesty, out of your clemency and goodness, to grant such order to Apollonius our governor, and to Nicanor his deputy, in favour of your petitioners, that they may not be any further molested for the future, upon the suspicion of any correspondency or confederacy with the Jews, to whom we are as much strangers in our manners, as in our extraction; and we do further pray, that the temple which hath stood hitherto without any dedication at all, may from this time forward be called the Temple of Jupiter of Greece, to the end that when we shall live in more security and freedom, as to the government of our own private affairs, we may the better attend those duties in the advancement of your service and revenue." In answer to this request of the Samaritans, the king wrote back as follows:

They renounce the Jews and their customs, and desire that the temple of Garizin may be henceforth called the temple of Jupiter of Greece.

King Antiochus to Nicanor.

HAVING receiv'd a petition from the Sidonians at Sichem, which we have here annexed to this letter, this is to let you understand, that it appeareth unto us, and to our council, upon the information of the bearers thereof, that the Sidonians are no way guilty of the crimes charged upon the Jews; but on the contrary, that they govern themselves according to the way and fashion of the Greeks; wherefore it is our will and pleasure that they receive no further trouble about this matter; and as to what concerns the temple, it is our will likewise, that from this time forward it may be known and distinguish'd by the name of the Temple of Jupiter of Greece. We have written to the same effect also to our governor Apollonius. Dated in the year forty six, and the eleventh day of the month of Hecatombæon."

Antiochus to Nicanor, in favour of the Sidonians.

CHAP. VIII.

Matthias and his sons kill the messengers that would force them to a false worship. His dying speech.

THERE lived at this time in Modim, a village of Judea, one * Matthias, a priest of the family of Joarib, and a native of Jerusalem. This Matthias was the son of John, the son of Simon, and Simon the son of Asmonæus. Matthias had five sons; Joannan, who was surnamed Gaddis; Simon, otherwise Thasfi; Judas, who was also called Maccabæus; Eleazar, alias Auran; and Jonathan, surnamed Apphus. This Matthias would be every now and then condoling with his sons, upon the deplorable state of the Jewish nation, their city laid desolate, their temple pillag'd and profan'd, with a thousand other calamities; and he would be often saying also, how much more glorious it would be to fall a sacrifice to the laws and religion of their country, than

The zeal and resolution of Matthias and his five sons, for the religion of their country, Ver. 2-14.

* Al. Mattathias. See Drusus's commentary upon the words of the New Testament.

† In the first book of the Jewish wars, chap. i. he calls him the son of Asmonæus. See Vossius's dissertation de Synedrion Hebræorum.

The king's officers tempt Matthias with rewards and threatenings to worship as he is commanded; but he positively refuses. 1 Maccab. ii. 15-22.

He kills an apostate Jew in the very act of idolatry, with the officer that commanded the party, Ver. 24, 25.

Matthias and his sons withdrew into the wilderness, and multitudes follow their example, Ver. 27-30.

The soldiers fall upon them in their hidden places upon the sabbath day, and kill about 1000 of them without any resistance, Ver. 31-38.

Matthias cries down the doctrine of non-resistance upon that day, and cures the superstition, Ver. 39-41.

to linger out a miserable life after this servile manner.

UPON the coming of the king's officers into the village to press the execution of their master's orders, they began with Matthias, as a person of authority, and one who might be a leading example to all the rest. They laid before him the danger of disobeying, with the advantages and rewards he should receive upon his compliance; and upon these terms charg'd him in the king's name to worship as he was commanded, which he not only refused to do, but told them positively moreover, that if every soul within their master's dominions should yield to him in that particular, he would never either submit to him himself, or advise any of his sons to abandon the religion of their country. Matthias stood here; and after a short silence, out stepped a Jew to sacrifice according to the king's way; but Matthias and his sons were so inflam'd at the indignity of this affront, that in a fury they not only kill'd the Jew, but the king's officer Apelles, with all his guard about him, as they were forcing the people to that abominable worship. In this heat they overturn'd the altar also; Matthias calling out with a loud voice to the people about him, "As many of you, says he, as have an hearty regard for the purity of your religion, follow me." And so the father and the sons withdrew themselves immediately into the wilderness, leaving their goods and their effects behind them. Soon after this a great part of the rest, of the people with their wives and children, after so generous an example, fled into the same desert, where they made a shift to live for some time in caves. When this came to the ear of the king's general officers, they drew the garison out of the castle at Jerusalem, and march'd after the Jews into the wilderness. Upon coming up to them, they essay'd to bring them over first by good counsel and fair words, advising them to bethink themselves, and to take soberer measures, without forcing the soldiers upon the necessity of a military execution: but all this was to no purpose; and when they saw there was no good to be done that way, they pitch'd upon the sabbath-day for an attack upon them; burning and destroying them in their holes, without any sort of resistance, and without so much as stopping the mouths of their caves; for such was the reverence they had for the sacredness of that day, and for the observance of the laws that commanded them to keep it holy, that they chose rather to perish, than prophane it. There were a matter of a thousand of them, men, women, and children, who were thus suffocated under ground; but there were great numbers also that made their escape, and lifted themselves under the command of Matthias. But upon this experiment he preached another doctrine to them; and that in case of such an extremity, they were not to refuse fighting, but to defend themselves upon the sabbath, as well as upon another day; for otherwise that scruple would be their total destruction; when their enemies taking advantage of that superstition, would be sure still to attack them at a time when they were certain they should meet with no resistance. The reason of this discourse was so clear, that they were all convinced of the lawfulness of using

their arms upon the sabbath, in case of necessity; and the practice of it has continu'd ever since. This great general was by this time master of a considerable force; inasmuch that he destroy'd their altars, and put all apostates to the sword wherever he could come at them; appointing children to be circumcis'd, which was before forbidden; and driving away the king's officers that were appointed to hinder it; having drawn into a body, all that had disperfed themselves up and down into privacies and hiding-places for fear of the enemy.

MATTHIAS having now been a full year in this command, felt himself seiz'd with a mortal illness; and calling his sons about him, spoke to them to this purpose. "My dear sons (says he) my life is drawing to an end; but I am now to charge you upon my blessing, before I leave you, that you stand firm to the cause that your father has asserted before you, without any staggering or shrinking. Remember what I have told you; and do as I have advis'd you. Do your utmost to support the rights and the laws of your country, and to restore the order of a nation that wants but very little of being swallow'd up in confusion; have nothing to do with those, that either for fear, or for interest, have betray'd it. Shew yourselves to be sons worthy of such a father; and in contempt of all force and extremity, carry your lives in your hands and deliver them up with comfort, if any occasion should require it, in defence of your country; computing with yourselves, that this is the way to preserve you in God's favour; and that in consideration of so unshaken a virtue, he will in time restore you to the liberty of your former life and manners. Our bodies 'tis true, are mortal; but great and generous actions will make us immortal in our memory, and that's the glory I would have you aspire to; that is to say, the glory of making the history of your life famous to after ages by your illustrious actions. Be sure, in the first place, to agree among yourselves, and in what case soever any one of you hath an advantage over the rest, give way to every man in the business of his province and talent. As for example; it being Simon's faculty to make a right judgment of things, I shall advise you to pay the same regard to his counsels as those of a father; Maccabæus excels in military conduct and bravery; wherefore chuse him for your general, as the best qualify'd for the vindicating of your friends, and for the crushing of your enemies. Do but mind your business; and depend upon it, that all men of honour and piety will join with you."

Matthias destroys the idol altars, and puts apostates to the sword. V. 44-48.

The dying speech and advice of Matthias to his sons. V. 49-69.

CHAP. IX.

After the death of Matthias, Judas succeeded to the command of the army.

MATTHIAS concluded his discourse to his sons with prayers to God for a blessing upon their endeavours, toward the redemption of their countrymen, and the recovery of their ancient rights and privileges. Soon after this he expired, and was bury'd at Modim.

The death of Matthias. V. 70.

His son Judas
succeeds to
his com-
mand.
1 Maccab. iii.
2.

Modim. After his funeral obsequies, according to the forms of decency and honour, were well over, Judas, otherwise called Maccabæus, had the publick administration put into his hands; which was in the year one hundred forty six, reckoning from Seleucus the first; and he was so well seconded by his brothers, that he clear'd the country of the enemy, put all renegadoes to the sword, and purged the land from all the abominable pollutions that had been practis'd there.

CHAP. X.

Judas Maccabæus defeats Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, and kills him hand to hand. Seron, upon this, marches against Judas. He himself falls in the action, and his army is totally routed.

Judas en-
counters A-
pollonius;
and kills him
with his own
hand. V. 10,
11.

THE news of this turn of affairs upon the progress of Judas, induced Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, to advance with his army against Judas; who, without any loss of time, met him half way, fought and routed him, kill'd a great number of his people upon the place, and Apollonius himself for one; disarming him with his own hand, and carrying off his sword in triumph. He had also the spoil of the camp, a booty of prodigious value.

THE tidings of this defeat, and of the vast enforcements that came thronging in to Judas, upon the success (even to the degree of a considerable army) gave Seron the governor of Cœle-Syria to understand, that it was high time to look about him; so that he took up a resolution immediately to push it to a battle, reckoning himself bound, even upon a point of trust and confidence, to chastise mutineers, and bring rebels to obedience. In order to this expedition, with what men he had of his own, and with the additional force of a rabble of fugitive Jews, he took his march to Bethoron, a village of Judea, where he pitch'd his camp; whereupon, Judas put himself in posture to encounter him; but finding his soldiers out of humour, if not out of heart; whether it was for fear of their mighty army, or for faintness upon over-fasting, he made them a short harangue, that animated them with fresh courage and resolution. "Fellow-soldiers, (says he) it is not the arm of flesh, but God, that gives the victory; not multitudes of men, but trust and confidence in the Almighty. This is no more than we have found many and many a time experimentally true in the history of our ancestors; who with an inconsiderable number of men, in a righteous cause, that is to say, in the defence of their religion, laws, liberties, wives and children, have put many thousands to flight. Great is truth, in short, and the force of innocence is invincible."

Judas gives
battle to Se-
ron; kills
him upon the
spot, and
routs his ar-
my. V. 13--
24.

With these words, he led his men on to the battle, where they behaved themselves like heroes; engag'd Seron, and kill'd him upon the spot; defeating the whole army of the Assyrians. For upon the fall of their general their troops were presently broken and scatter'd, and every man's business was only to shift the best he could for himself. Judas had the chase of them as far as the plain;

about eight hundred of them were slain in the field of battle, and the rest made their escape toward the sea-side.

CHAP. XI.

Judas Maccabæus encounters Antiochus with a mighty army, and defeats him. He cuts off five thousand of another army under Lyfias; purifies the temple, sets the country right, and so returns to Jerusalem.

THESE disasters, one upon the neck of another, forced Antiochus upon the necessity of an extraordinary levy; insomuch, that what with his own people, and with Greek mercenaries that he took into pay, he got a mighty army together in a short time, with a resolution to break into Judea with it early in the next spring: But these troubles had given such an interruption to the raising of his taxes, over and above the frankness and generosity of his own nature, that upon the payment of his troops, he found money fall short, and that the income of his revenue would not answer the charge of the war. Upon this consideration, he propos'd rather to go into Persia first, and to supply himself with what monies he could pick up out of that province, leaving the command of all the country betwixt Egypt and Euphrates, during his absence, in the hands of one Lyfias, a person of an approved faith and integrity, together with some part also of his troops and elephants; giving him further in charge, to have a particular care of his son Antiochus, till he should come back again. And moreover, that upon the reducing of Judea, and the selling of all the inhabitants for slaves, he should utterly destroy the city, and extirpate the nation. Upon the giving of these orders, he march'd straight away from Persia, in the year one hundred and forty seven; and passing the Euphrates, advanced forward into the higher countries.

LYSIAS took to his assistance, in the execution of this commission, Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, Gorgias, and Nicanor; three of the best officers he could find among the king's best friends. He put these commanders at the head of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, with orders to march forthwith into Judea. They advanced as far as Emmaus, and there encamp'd upon the plain, where there came over to them great numbers of auxiliaries from Syria, and other neighbouring countries, and an abundance of fugitive Jews; besides several merchants and traders, with a great deal of money about them to buy slaves; who brought fetters also and manacles with them of all sorts to secure their captives. The enemy had gotten a formidable army; but Judas however had them cast themselves upon Providence, and fear nothing; and so they humbled themselves in sackcloth, fasting and prayer, according to the custom of the country, in imminent danger; imploring God's mercy, favour and protection. The general's next business was to range his men by regiments, troops and companies, into order of battle, according to the Jewish custom; and then to discharge the army of all new-married men, and such as had lately made purchases, who probably might be thinking of something else

Antiochus
makes strong
preparations
for the next
campaign.
V. 27, 28.

Money fall-
ing short with
him, he goes
into Persia
for supplies.
V. 29--31.

He leaves Ly-
fias to manage
the war of
Judea in his
absence, and
to take care
of his son
Antiochus.
V. 32--36.

Lyfias calls
in Ptolemy,
Gorgias, and
Nicanor, to
his assistance.
V. 38.

Lyfias gets a
formidable
army; but
the Jews cast
themselves
upon Provi-
dence V. 39.

54.

else when they should be fighting, in a distraction betwixt the care of their particular interest, and the service of the publick; animating his people also at the same time, by his words, as well as his actions, to acquit themselves like men of honour and courage.

"We shall never (says he,) my fellow soldiers and companions, have such an opportunity again of shewing our bravery in the defence of our country, and the contempt of all dangers, as we have now before us; for upon the issue of to-morrow's combat, depends not only our liberty, but all the comforts and advantages that attend it; and, over and above the blessing of such a freedom in itself and in its own nature, our very religion lies at stake with it too, and we cannot secure the one, but by preserving the other. Bethink yourselves well what it is that you are to contend for, and you will find it to be no less than the whole sum and substance of the greatest happiness that ever you enjoy'd; that is to say, in the peaceable and blessed possession of your ancient laws, rites, and discipline. Now whether you will rather chuse to perish with infamy, and to involve the miserable remainder of all your countrymen in the same ruin, or to venture one generous push for the redemption of yourselves, and your friends, that's the single question. Death is the same thing to a coward, that it is to a valiant man, and as certain to the one as to the other; but there's a great difference in point of honour, and everlasting fame, betwixt a gallant man that falls in the vindication of his religion, liberties, laws and country, and a scoundrel that abandons all for fear of losing a life which he cannot save at last. Take these things into your thoughts, and make this use of the meditation. You have nothing to trust to but God's providence, and your own concurring resolutions; and at the worst, while we contend for victory, we can never fail of glory."

AFTER this speech of Judas to his soldiers, while his thoughts were intently taken up about the success of the approaching battle, there came intelligence to him from a sure hand, that Gorgias would be with him that night with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, with some Renegado-Jews for their guide, to surprize him, and beat up his quarters. This discovery put Judas upon a design of countermining him; which was at the same time to make an attempt upon the camp of the enemy, taking the opportunity of their being so divided. In order to this he call'd presently for supper; caused several fires to be made in his camp, and so marched all night toward Emmaus, where the enemy lay. Gorgias, in the mean time, finding no body left in the Jews camp; and presuming that they were run away for fear, to hide themselves in the mountains, reckon'd that he had little more to do than to learn how he might hunt them out. But Judas coming by break of day to the enemy's camp, with only three thousand men, and those ill-armed too; and finding the enemy well armed at all points, and their camp in very good order, Judas told his people for their encouragement, that they should not fear to attack them, even if they were all na-

N^o 11.

ked, so long as they were certain of God's favour and protection, which would support them against all other difficulties; and with these words, he order'd the sounding of the charge; and breaking in upon them at the same instant, put them into such a surprize and consternation, that after the putting of those to the sword that resisted, the rest betook themselves to flight, and they had the pursuit of them as far as Gadara, and so to the plains of Idumea, Azotus and Jamnia. The number of the slain was about three thousand: But Judas would not suffer his people to meddle with the spoil, in regard that the troops of Gorgias were as yet entire; but upon the routing of him, he said, that they might take possession of the booty at leisure. While these words were between his lips, Gorgias's people discovering from an eminence near hand, the dead bodies of their friends; the havock that had been made in their tents, and their camp all in a smoak, they took for granted all this while that Judas's men were still in a body, and in condition to attack them; so that they fled immediately upon it, and dispersed themselves several ways; every man consulting his own safety. The victory being thus gained without a blow, Judas permitted his men at pleasure to take the pillage of the field, where they found gold and silver, costly habits of purple and scarlet, and other rich booty in abundance; which they carry'd off safe and triumphing, singing as they marched, and giving thanks to God, the blessed author of that victory, which proved both an earnest and a foundation of their future freedom.

LYSIAS was so sensible of the shame and wound of this disgrace, that to redeem his credit, he brought into the field, the year following, an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse; all try'd and choice men; and with this body he enter'd into Judea, by the way of the mountains, encamping at a place called Bethsura. Judas was not at all discourag'd at the odds of number, but marched directly up to him with an army only of ten thousand men. His trust was in God alone; so that after a short, and a fervent prayer for a blessing upon his arms, he charged the enemy so home, that upon the first shock he forced the line, and cut them off five thousand men upon the place. This unexpected disaster put their whole army into such a confusion, that Lysias finding them obstinately determin'd either to live or die free, thought it his best course to withdraw his troops before the consternation was gone too far; out of an apprehension, not so much of their strength, as of their despair; so that Lysias returned to Antioch, where he posted himself by the help of mercenaries, and other additional enforcements, to be ready for the first opportunity of a revenge upon the Jews.

JUDAS was so flushed with these repeated successes against the forces of Antiochus, that he prevailed upon the Jews, in confidence that after so many victories obtained, God would not now forsake them, to march without any more delay to Jerusalem itself, and there to purge the temple, and offer up their daily sacrifices. But when they came thither, and found the temple abandon'd, the gates all burnt, and the courts over-run with weeds, Judas, and his people could not but shed tears

K k k k

where he kills part, and gives chase to the rest. V. 5-15.

Gorgias's people finding the ways strew'd with dead bodies, and the camp in a smoak, give all for lost, and every man shifts for himself. V. 16-22.

Lysias recruits, and falls into Judea with a powerful army again the year following. V. 28.

Judas defeats Lysias. V. 34.

Judas marches directly to Jerusalem to purge the temple, and restore God's worship. to V. 36, 37.

A generous speech of Judas to his soldiers. 1 Maccab. iii. 55, &c.

Judas has word sent him that Gorgias intended to beat up his quarters that night. 1 Mac. iv. 1-4.

Judas takes this opportunity of surprizing the enemy in their camp at Emmaus. ibid.

The temple
purify'd, and
God's holy
worship re-
establish'd.
1 Maccab. iv.
V. 38-51.

to see the uncouth solitude and deformity of the place. The two great works that he first enter'd upon, were the assault of the citadel, and the cleansing of the temple. The former he committed to his officers and soldiers, and reserved the care of the other to himself. So soon as he had gone through with the purging of it in form, he provided new vessels and utensils; a candlestick, a table and an altar of incense, all of pure gold; put up new veils and hangings upon the walls, and before the passages of the doors; and in the next place supply'd the doors themselves. The altar that had been prophaned with idolatrous sacrifices, and burnt-offerings, was demolish'd, and remov'd; and another of * unhewn stone erected in the place of it. Upon the twenty fifth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apellæus, they set lighted tapers in the candlesticks; offer'd incense upon the altar, and laid the shew-bread upon the table; and so went on to their oblations of burnt-offerings; and this fell out precisely upon the same day, three years from the prophanation of the temple and religion by Antiochus; the temple having now been full three years deserted. This happened in the † year one hundred forty five; the twenty fourth day of the month Apellæus, and the hundred and fifty third Olympiad; which solemnity of purification was repeated also on the anniversary day of the year one hundred forty eight; Olympiad one hundred forty and four, as the prophet Daniel had expressly foretold, four hundred and eight years before the dissolution by the Macedonians came to pass.

THE celebration of this festivity was continued by Judas for eight days, with all solemnity of sacrifices and rejoicing; as magnificent feasting, and the freedom of indulging themselves in all honest and lawful satisfactions and delights; and the air ringing with hymns of acclamation, praise, and thanksgiving. The people, in fine, were so transported at the unexpected blessing of finding themselves restored to the religion and laws of their forefathers, that they appointed an anniversary of eight days solemnity to be strictly observed by their posterity for ever after; which we have constantly celebrated from that time to this, under the name of the ‡ Festival of lights; alluding, I suppose, to the comfort of that light, which beyond all hope shined down from heaven upon us on this occasion. Judas in the mean while rebuilt the walls of the city, and fortify'd them with strong towers to keep off an enemy; settling a garison in Bethsura, and putting the place into a state and posture of defence.

THE neighbouring nations were so irritated at the growing power and confidence of the Jews, that they set their instruments at work by fraud and treachery to circumvent them, destroying many of them at unawares: Judas, in the mean time, using the best means he could, either to prevent, or to disappoint their incursions. He fell at this time upon Acra-batan, where he killed great numbers of the Edomites, the posterity of Esau, making himself master also of great booty. He block'd up the

sons of Baan likewise their chief, in the strong places they were possessed of, and where they lay in wait to make sallies upon the Jews, taking the places by assault; killing the defendants, and laying the forts in ashes. After the subduing of these people, he carried his arms against the Ammonites, who had at that time a numerous army under the command of Timotheus. He fought with these also, and overcame them, and then took the city of Jazar; carry'd away the people's wives and children, captives; and after the pillaging of the city, set it on fire, and so returned home victorious. He was no sooner gone, but the people thereabouts taking advantage of his departure, and gathering together at Galaad, made an attempt upon the Jews that lay upon that quarter; who being forced to take sanctuary in the fortrefs of Dathema, gave intimation to Judas, both by messengers and letters, that Timotheus had a design to attack them, and so prayed him earnestly for relief. In the very instant, while Judas was reading his intelligence, came in several messengers from Galilee, with remonstrances and complaints that the people of Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon, and other bordering nations, were all join'd in a confederacy against them.

Over-run the Ammonites; beats Timotheus their general, and so returns victorious. V. 6, 7. Timotheus threatens the Jews in the fort of Dathema: And they send to Judas for relief. V. 9-13. The Galileans call for help also against the people at Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon.

CHAP. XII.

Simon, the brother of Judas, does great things in Galilee. Judas and Jonathan get a bloody victory over the Ammonites. All the Jews, with their wives, families and effects, transported out of Galaad into Judea. Ephron laid in ashes; and the males put to the sword. Joseph and Azarias fight contrary to orders, and are defeated by Gorgias.

JUDAS, who had an eye upon the necessity of his friends in both places, sent his brother Simon with three thousand choice men to the succour of the Jews at Galilee; and with eight thousand more marched with his other brother Jonathan to Galaad, leaving the rest of the army under the command of Joseph, the son of Zacharias and Azarias, as his lieutenant generals for the guard of Jerusalem, with orders to forbear fighting till his return. Simon, upon his arrival at Galilee, engaged the enemy, and defeated them, giving them chase to the very gates of Ptolemais, and killing about three thousand in the pursuit. They stript them of what they had, and redeemed the prisoners with what goods they had taken from them, and so conducted them back to Jerusalem.

AT the same time Judas, and his brother Jonathan, after three days march beyond Jordan into the wilderness, were amicably received by the Nabathites, who very kindly gave them intelligence of the extreme distress and danger of divers of their friends and countrymen, who were close shut up in the towns and castles of Galaad; advising them withal, that they would, with all imaginable expedition, hasten by the way of the desert to their relief and assistance. In this expedition,

Judas sends Simon to the relief of Galilee, and marches himself with Jonathan to the succour of Galaad, leaving the command of the rest to Joseph; with orders not to fight till he came back again. V. 17-19. Simon relieves Galilee, and sets the prisoners at liberty, with a great slaughter of the enemy. V. 21-23.

The Festival of lights. V. 52-59. Jerusalem fortify'd, and put into a posture of defence. V. 60, 61.

Judas clears the country round about him, 1 Maccab. v. 3, 4, 5.

* This was according to the Mosaiical precept, injoining, Ex. xx. 25. "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou hast polluted it."

† See Vorstius's Chronologia Sacra, cap. xi. p. 152.

‡ See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. l. iii. c. xiii. p. 130, 131.

Judas and Jonathan relieve a castle just as the enemy was about to scale it, 1 Maccab. v. 24-34.

they took the town of Barasa by the way, putting all people to the sword that were able to bear arms, and burning the city to the ground. It was now almost night, but Judas still prosecuted his way to a castle wherein he understood the Jews were besieged; and coming thither betimes in the morning, he found the enemy hard at work with their machines and scaling-ladders, to force the place; whereupon he distributed his troops into three divisions; animated his men to behave themselves resolutely for the relief of their countrymen and friends; and so upon the sound of the trumpet, charged the enemy in the rear. So soon as Timotheus understood that Judas Maccabeus had the command of this action, a person whose valour and conduct he knew so much of beforehand by woful experience, his men were so dismayed at the very name, that they fled immediately upon hearing of it: Eight thousand of them fell upon the place; the Jews, upon the rout, closely pursuing them. Judas, upon the pursuit, took a town of the Barbarians called Mallam, where they put all the males to death, and destroyed the city by fire. They did the same thing also at Casphan, and Bofor, and other places that they took in that country.

Judas carries all before him with fire and sword, Ver. 35, 36.

Timotheus, after this, marches with another huge army against Judas, V. 37.

Judas gives Timotheus battle, and breaks him all to pieces with a terrible slaughter, Ver. 43.

Judas transports all the Jews about Galaad into Judea, V. 45. Ephron being his nearest way, he demands a passage to it, but is refused, Ver. 46, 47.

Judas upon this repulse takes the place by assault, and marches over the ruins, Ver. 50, 51.

They return to Judea, Ver. 52-54.

SOME short time after this, Timotheus got a very considerable army together; and among other auxiliaries, he had a band of Arabians. They crossed the river, and encamped near Raphon, where he encouraged his people to acquit themselves like men, and to be sure to keep the Jews from passing the river; for the whole cause, he said, depended upon it; and that if ever they gained that pass, they would most certainly carry the day. When Judas understood that Timotheus was resolved upon, and prepared for a battle, he passed the river immediately with his army, and gave the onset, and put the army to the rout, upon the first encounter; killing those that resisted, and putting to flight the rest; who casting away their arms, and running some one way, some another, part of them betook themselves for sanctuary to the temple of Carnaim, in hope that the place might protect them. But Judas took the town by force; burnt the temple, and destroyed all the inhabitants by fire and sword.

THIS difficulty being over, he gathered together all the Israelites that were in the country of Galaad, with their wives, children, and goods, and carried them all into Judea. The city of Ephron lay so directly in his way, that there was no avoiding it without going a great way about; so that he sent a fair message to the inhabitants for leave to pass with his army through the town; but the ports being barricaded, and the avenues cut off, the inhabitants in plain terms denied him any passage that way. Upon this repulse he encouraged his men to attack the town; begirt it immediately, and in one day and night made himself master of it, laid it in ashes, and marched with his army over the bodies of the dead through the ruins of it, putting all the males that were found in it to the sword. After passing the river Jordan, they advanced to a great plain near Bethsan, called by the Greeks Scythopolis, and from thence returned to Judea, the people rejoicing all the way they went with hymns and triumphal songs, and

offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for the safety of the army; for they had not yet lost so much as one Jew in all these engagements.

Not one Jew kill'd, *ibid.*

JOSEPH, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, two great captains, being left for a guard to Judea, in the absence of Simon, who was now marched into Galilee against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas with his brother Jonathan against the Galaadites; these commanders thought it incumbent on their honour, to signalize themselves by some glorious adventure, as well as their brethren. In this fit of emulation they advanced to Jamnia, where Gorgias, the governor of the place, gave them a fair battle before the town, kill'd a matter of two thousand of them, and pursued the rest to the very borders of Judea. This calamity deservedly befel them, for not obeying the order of their general, who had positively commanded them not to engage the enemy upon any terms, till his return. This caution was much to the reputation of the providence and foresight of Judas, who very well understood, that if they departed from their instructions, they would suffer for it.

Joseph fights a battle contrary to his orders, and is defeated, Ver. 55-60.

BUT Judas and his brethren carried on the war all this while vigorously against the Edomites, pressing them on all hands. They took Hebron by force, demolished the fortifications of it, and burnt the towers and castles down to the ground, laid the enemy's country all waste, demolished Marissa, and from thence in the same heat over-ran and pillaged Azotus. Having performed these exploits, and enriched themselves with a considerable booty, they returned all safe and triumphant to Jerusalem.

Judas, after many glorious exploits,

returns to Jerusalem, V. 61, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Epiphanes besieges Elymais, but is forced to draw off. He acknowledges the righteous judgment of God in it, and so he dies.

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was about this time in his progress through some of his highland provinces, he was told of a mighty rich city in Persia called Elymais, and of a most magnificent temple in it dedicated to Diana, where were deposited precious donations of all sorts, with the very shields and breast-plates of Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon. Antiochus was so moved with the fame of these splendid curiosities, that he advanced toward it with his army to take it by assault; but the inhabitants, without any regard either to his power, or to his design, made a very brave resistance, and disappointed him of his expectation; nor did they content themselves with beating him from the walls, but they followed him so close upon his retreat, that they cut off a good part of his rear, and drove him before them like a fugitive, for protection into Babylon. While the sense of this infamy and loss was fresh upon him, news came to him of the defeat of his other troops also, to whom he had committed the care and conduct of the war against the Jews, and of the daily increase of their number and power; so that with one calamity upon the neck of another, the insupportable anguish of his thoughts made him heart-sick upon it; and finding himself to grow still worse and worse, and his end near at hand, he

Elymais a city in Persia, with a temple dedicated to Diana, 1 Mac. vi. 1, 2.

Antiochus lays siege to it, but is beaten off, and driven to Babylon, Ver. 3, 4.

Another defeat given him by the Jews, Ver. 5-7.

Antiochus falls sick upon it, acknowledges God's just judgment for his sacrilege, and so dies, 1 Mac. vi. 8-16.

Polybius imputes the judgment to a wrong cause.

he call'd his friends about him, and told them both the cause and the quality of his distemper. "I am here justly punished, says he, for the sake of these miserable Jews; for the sacrilegious rifling and prophaning of their temple, and for the contempt of the heavenly God." And with these words he expired. Now I cannot but admire at Polybius the Megalopolitan, (a man otherwise of credit,) for saying that this judgment befel Antiochus for his design of rifling the temple of Diana, which was a sacrilege only in his will, but never came into act; but if Polybius was of opinion that he deserv'd this punishment only for the intention, he might much more reasonably have imputed his death to the sacrilege that he was actually guilty of upon the temple of Jerusalem. But whether the reader be of Polybius's opinion, or of mine, it is to me indifferent.

C H A P. XIV.

Antiochus Epiphanes leaves the government to his son Antiochus Eupator. Lyfias proclaims him king. Judas lays siege to the citadel at Jerusalem. Antiochus sets down before Bethsura. They both rise, and come to a battle. The bravery and death of Eleazar. Judas returns to Jerusalem. Antiochus takes Bethsura upon conditions, but breaks his articles. The temple makes an obstinate defence.

Antiochus leaves the regency to Philip, in trust for his son Antiochus, ib.

Lyfias proclaims Antiochus king, Ver. 17.

The Jews annoy'd from the citadel in their passage to the temple, Ver. 18.

The government had been now one hundred and fifty years in Seleucus's family. Judas sits down before the castle, Ver. 19, 20. The garison sends secretly to Antiochus for relief, Ver. 21-27.

WHEN Antiochus found himself near his end, he sent for Philip, as the most trusty confident of his court friends, and committed the regency of his kingdom into his hands, delivering up to him at the same time, the crown, the royal robes and signet, with orders to preserve them for his son Antiochus, who was then in minority, passionately adjuring him to take care of his education, and to secure the crown to him, till he should come to be capable of the administration. Antiochus died in the year one hundred and forty nine. The death of this prince was no sooner made known to the people, but Lyfias declared Antiochus king, under the name of Eupator, having at that time the tuition of the young prince.

THE Macedonians, in the mean while, who were then garison'd in the citadel of Jerusalem, together with some Jewish revolters, made several vexatious sallies upon the Jews, as they went to worship at their temple; which was no hard matter to do, in regard that the castle was above, and commanded it; so that Judas found it of absolute necessity to reduce that fort for the common security of the nation. It was now just a hundred and fifty years that this government had been in the family of Seleucus. Judas, in short, was so bent upon his design, that they fell presently to the framing of machines and engines for battery, and the casting up of works. While this was in agitation, several deserters slipped away by night, and joining with others as bad as themselves, went to Antiochus, setting forth the miserable condition they were reduced to by men of their own tribe, for their obedience to the king's command, in opposition to their

own law, and that they are now in imminent danger of falling into the hands of Judas, without immediate relief. The young prince, in a rage, gave orders presently to his friends and commanders to make a levy of what auxiliaries were to be had for money, over and above the uttermost force of choice men that they could raise out of his own subjects. They plied their business so hard, that in a short time they muster'd a hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and two and thirty elephants. With this formidable army under the command of Lyfias as general, the king march'd out of Antioch, and so advanced to Idumea, and from thence to Bethsura, a place well fortified, beside the strength of the situation. This fort he assaulted, and lost a great deal of time before it; for betwixt sallies and stratagems, they found a way to burn or disappoint all engines of battery and danger that were brought against it. Judas being inform'd of the approach of Antiochus, rais'd the siege from before the citadel, and march'd the ready way to meet the enemy, pitching his tents upon the very entrance into the straits of Bethzachariah, about * seventy furlongs from the adversary. Antiochus, upon this, quitted the Bethsurites, and encamped within distance of engaging Judas, appointing his army by break of day to put themselves upon their march in order of battle; but the place being too narrow for the elephants to march in front, they were forced into a defilee, with a thousand foot, and five hundred horse, upon the guard of every elephant, and so to advance one after another with a kind of tower or castle upon their backs, charged with archers, while the rest of the troops mounted the hills on both sides, under the command of such officers and friends as the king could best confide in. From this ascent they gave the attack, and with so horrid a shout and clamour, that the vallies all rang with the echo; so that what with the hideous outcry, and the dazzling flashes of their gold and brazen bucklers, nothing could be more surprizing. But all this was to Judas no more than so much empty pomp and noise; for he received them so bravely, and without any sort of daunt or apprehension, that he kill'd a matter of six hundred of them upon the first encounter. While they were thus engaged, Eleazar, otherwise call'd Auranes, the brother of Judas, taking notice of one elephant that was caparison'd with richer trappings than the rest, he made his way with a generous resolution through all the guards, to that beast, taking for granted that the king himself was upon her. When he had cut part of his opposers to pieces on each hand, and forced the rest to clear his passage, he crept under the belly of the elephant, and wounded him to death, himself also perishing under the weight of the beast upon his fall. He had the honour and the comfort however to die in the prospect and attempt of a glorious action, and encompassed with the dead bodies of his enemies round about him.

JUDAS finding himself so mightily exceeded in numbers, drew off to the siege of the fortresses at Jerusalem again, when Antiochus sent one part of his army to sit down before Beth-

Antiochus with a mighty army lays siege to Bethsura, Ver. 28-31.

Judas upon this draws off from the citadel to fight him, Ver. 32.

Antiochus draws off from Bethsura to engage Judas. The order and manner of the battle, Ver. 33-38.

Eleazar kills an elephant, and is crush'd to death under the fall of him, V. 43-46.

Judas returns to the siege of Jerusalem, Ver. 47. Antiochus divides his army.

* Seventy Jewish furlongs amounted to near nine English miles.

Bethsura renders upon terms, 1 Mac. vi. 49, 50. The king breaks his articles.

The temple makes a very brave defence, Ver. 51--54.

Word brought that Philip had possess'd the government, and was marching with an army toward them, Ver. 55, 56.

Lyfias's discourse with the officers and soldiers, according to the king's order, V. 57--59.

sura, and with the remainder of it went to Jerusalem. The Bethsurites were so discouraged upon the appearance of the king's troops, and so much more dishearten'd by their want of provisions, that they found themselves under a necessity of delivering up the place, which they did upon conditions, with solemn articles that there should be no violence or molestation offer'd them whatsoever. But the king kept his faith no farther than to the bare saving of their lives; for the inhabitants were all turn'd naked out of the town, and a garison of his own settled in their stead. But the siege of the temple held them work yet a long time after, by a most obstinate defence; for all their machines and approaches were still eluded with counter-workings and designs. Their only distress was want of bread; for having already spent their last year's store, and this happening to fall out upon the seventh year, when by the Jewish law they could neither plow nor sow, great numbers of the Jews deserted the town merely for want of provision, insomuch that there were hardly hands enough left to defend the place.

THERE came at this time intelligence to the king, and his general Lyfias, that Philip had usurp'd the government, and was marching toward them at the head of an army out of Persia; so that they came to a secret resolution betwixt themselves, to quit the siege, seek him out, and give him battle; but to carry the design so private, that neither officer nor soldier should so much as guess at the meaning of it; wherefore the king order'd Lyfias, without mentioning the name of Philip, to enter into a discourse with the commanders and soldiers about this siege, the strength of the place, and that it would be a work of time to take it; beside, that being brought to a strait now for want of corn, and the king's business also requiring his presence elsewhere, they could not do better than to come to some sort of agreement with them, though upon the condition of allowing them the free exercise of their particular religion, laws, and customs; and this being granted, which had been the only ground of all their rebellions, the king might go back again when he pleased, without any further trouble. This was it that Lyfias had in charge to communicate to the army, and the soldiers were all highly pleas'd with the proposal.

C H A P. XV.

Antiochus takes the temple upon terms, but breaks his covenants. Onias put to death at Berrhea. Alcimus, or Jacimus, though not of the sacerdotal race, promoted in his stead. Antiochus gives Philip battle, and overcomes him. Onias flies to Egypt, and gets leave to build a temple in Heliopolis, answerable to that at Jerusalem.

MATTERS being thus concerted, Antiochus dispatch'd a herald away to Judas and the besieged, with an offer of peace, and a free enjoyment and exercise of their laws and consciences, which they very readily agreed to, and upon the security of oath and honour for the performance of articles, they deliver'd up the temple; but upon Antiochus's taking possession of it, he found the place so

very strong, that without any regard to his oath and promise, he order'd his soldiers to demolish the walls, and lay them level with the ground, which was executed accordingly, and so he returned to Antioch, carrying the high-priest Onias, otherwise called Menelaus, along with him. This was upon the advice of Lyfias, who told him that if ever he liv'd to see the Jews quiet, or himself at ease, that man must be taken off; for it was at his instigation that his father forced the Jews to a religion against their laws and judgments; and that Onias was consequently the author and promoter of all the evils that had befallen him. The king, upon this, sent away Menelaus to Berrhea in Syria, where he caused him to be put to death, after ten years enjoyment of the pontificate; a very wicked man, who to secure the dignity to himself, caused a general defection among the Jews, from the laws and worship of their country. His next successor's name was Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus.

WHEN Antiochus found that Philip had now usurped upon the government, he fought with him, and overcame him; took him prisoner, and order'd him to be put to death. But the son of the high-priest Onias being left an infant (as we have said) by the death of Menelaus, finding that thereupon the king had given away the dignity to Alcimus, who had no relation at all to the sacerdotal family, and was only over-ruled by Lyfias in the transferring of it; he fled into Egypt, where he was so graciously receiv'd, and esteem'd both by Ptolemy himself, and his queen Cleopatra, that at his request they bestow'd a place of trust upon him in Heliopolis, where he erected a temple after the model of that at Jerusalem, which we shall have occasion to speak of more seasonably in another place.

Antiochus demolishes the walls contrary to articles, Ver. 62

Onias the high-priest, alias Menelaus, is put to death at Berrhea.

Alcimus, or Jacimus, substituted in his stead. Philip overthrown by Antiochus, V. 63.

Onias withdraws into Egypt for protection.

He builds a temple in Heliopolis.

C H A P. XVI.

Demetrius seizes Tripolis; takes the government upon him; and puts Antiochus and Lyfias to death. Alcimus complains of Judas to Demetrius. Demetrius sends an army to destroy him, and settles Alcimus in the pontificate. His barbarous cruelties. But he flies at last to Demetrius for succour.

DEMETRIUS the son of Seleucus, being fled away from Rome, possess'd himself about this time of Tripolis in Syria; took the crown upon him, and with as many mercenaries as he could get together, invaded the country, where the people did not only come over to him in great numbers, with open arms to receive him; but as a farther instance of an affection to his interest, seized upon the persons of Antiochus and Lyfias, and brought them in custody, prisoners to him. Whereupon they were immediately both put to death by the command of Demetrius; Antiochus having now reigned two years, as we have said elsewhere. He had in his party a great number of profligate Jews, that had been banish'd for notorious crimes, together with Alcimus the high-priest at the head of them, who all joined in one common accusation and complaint against the whole people of the Jews, but especially Judas Maccabeus and his brethren,

Demetrius the son of Seleucus seizes upon Tripolis, 1 Mac. vii. 1.

Antiochus and Lyfias put to death, V. 2--4.

A formal complaint of Alcimus and certain apostate Jews against Judas and his followers, whom V. 5--7.

They demand Justice of Demetrius upon him. 1 Mac. vii. 5-7.

Bacchides marches with an army toward Judas and his brethren. V. 8-10. Bacchides pretends friendship; but Judas stands upon his guard. Ver. 11.

Some credulous people went over, V. 12-15.

Bacchides and Alcimus put sixty of them to the sword V. 16. Bacchides puts all suspected persons to death. V. 19. He returns to Demetrius V. 20.

Alcimus doubles the number of his followers. V. 22.

He puts the friends of Judas to death. ibid.

Judas takes the same course with the party of Alcimus. V. 23, 24.

whom they charged, not only with the destruction of as many of the king's friends as fell into their hands, but with the very ejection of themselves out of the land too. Wherefore they made it their request to Demetrius, only to send some particular person that he could confide in to examine matters in Judea, and to see what havoc Judas had made there.

DEMETRIUS presently, in a heat, sent away Bacchides upon this errand, a friend formerly to Antiochus Epiphanes; a resolute man, and at that time governor of Mesopotamia: putting Alcimus likewise into the same commission, whom he dispatch'd away with an army, and orders to fall upon Judas and his followers. With these troops Bacchides left Antioch, and marched directly into Judea, where he gave Judas and his brethren a specious and a solemn invitation to come to a better understanding with him. Now the design was only under the colour of a peaceable and friendly disposition, to draw them into a toil, and so to surprize them. But upon his coming attended with such an army, and in the posture of an enemy rather than a friend, Judas kept himself upon his guard, without giving any credit to his pretensions; but some credulous people there were yet that went over to them, in confidence that their countrymen and their tribesman Alcimus would do them no wrong; especially under the caution of a solemn oath from both, that no violence should be offer'd, either to themselves, or any of their party: but this confidence deceiv'd them, it seems; for Bacchides, without any regard to the conscience of an oath, caused sixty of them to be cut to pieces upon the place: which barbarous perfidy serv'd for a warning to the rest not come near him. Bacchides, after this, removed his army from Jerusalem, and went to Bethzeth, where he found several deserters, and other disaffected people thereabouts, which he put all to the sword. This being done, he commanded all the Jews in his absence to obey Alcimus; and leaving part of his army with him for the security of the province, he himself returned with the rest to king Demetrius at Antioch.

ALCIMUS had in his head all this while, the settling himself in the dignity of the pontificate; and reflecting upon it, that it was an honour hardly to be compass'd but by the favour and good-will of the people, he presently betook himself to the popular arts of courtesy and affable address, to ingratiate himself with the multitude: so that by the flatteries of obliging speech and behaviour, he quickly doubled the number of the forces that were left him; but it was with a band of impious fugitives that list'd themselves in his service: and with these he ravaged the country up and down, putting all the Jews to death wherever he came, that were friends to Maccabeus. Judas, upon this, laying it to heart to see what a rabble of an army Alcimus had gotten together, and the havoc they made of all the men of honour and conscience that came in their way; he himself took up a resolution also of going the same way to work with the faction of Alcimus; who finding that he was not strong enough to hold it out, betook himself to Demetrius at Antioch, for support and succour, where he did all that was possible, to irritate that prince against Ju-

das, with tales and stories of the indignities he had put upon him already, and of the danger of greater yet to come, unless he sent a powerful army in time to call that bold and wicked man to an account for his misdemeanours.

Alcimus complains of Judas to Demetrius. V. 25.

CHAP. XVII.

Demetrius grows jealous of Judas. Alcimus advises him to send Nicanor with an army against him. A treacherous practice to surprize him. Judas fights Nicanor; kills him, and destroys his army. Alcimus cut off by a judicial vengeance. Judas succeeds him in the pontificate, and enters into an alliance with the Romans.

JUDAS was now become so formidable, that Demetrius was very uneasy himself to think what the consequence of things might be, if he suffer'd him to go on increasing at this rate in strength and credit; so that he call'd Nicanor to him, formerly his companion in his departure from Rome, and his particular confident and friend over and above; assigned him the command of such a body of an army as he reckon'd sufficient for the reducing of Judas, with positive orders to make war upon the whole nation, and give no quarter. Upon his setting out for Jerusalem, he propounded to himself to dissemble his intentions, and to try if he could inveigle Judas under a countenance of peaceable purposes and inclinations, into a credulity that would certainly be his ruin. So Nicanor suggested the matter to him by way of expostulation. "Why should we, (says he) expose the sum of our well-being and happiness to the uncertain chance of war, and not rather adjust the points in controversy by an amicable treaty? or if you apprehend any danger in it, I am ready to give you the most sacred oath for security, that one man can give to another; for peace, and nothing else, is my business: as you may judge by the friends I have brought along with me, only to possess you with the knowledge of my master's mind and pleasure, and of his hearty love and good-will to the whole nation of the Jews."

Demetrius grows jealous of Judas. V. 26.

He gives Nicanor an army to make war upon Judas, V. 27.

Nicanor endeavours by treachery to inveigle Judas V. 28, 29.

This declaration wrought so far upon the brothers, that without any further thought, or jealousy of treason, or treachery, they interchangeably pass'd their oaths, and with great frankness received Nicanor with his whole army. After the first greeting betwixt Judas and Nicanor, the latter gave a signal to his people to lay hold of Judas; but the plot being discovered in time, he made his escape immediately to his own people: and after the detecting of this treachery, both parties prepared to decide the quarrel by open force, without any more talk of a treaty. The armies drew out, and it came to a battle near Capharsalama, where Judas was worsted, and forced into the castle of Jerusalem.

Judas ventures himself upon Nicanor's Oath and honour, ibid.

and very narrowly escapes the snare. V. 30.

It happen'd one day, as Nicanor was passing by the temple, that several of the priests and elders met him upon the way, and shew'd him the sacrifices that they were about to offer to God, for the prosperity and welfare of Demetrius. But Nicanor threaten'd them, and not without blasphemous revilings even against God himself, that if the people did not deliver up

Nicanor threatens the priests and the elders to destroy their temple, if they do not deliver up Judas. V. 35.

Judas to him, he would return to their sorrow and cost; destroy the temple itself, and leave it in rubbish. And with these menaces he went his way; but the priests were so dejected at this declaration, that they forthwith addressed themselves to God with prayers and tears, to protect his own house, and his ministers that belong'd to it, against the outrages of the enemy. Nicanor departed from Jerusalem, and pitch'd his tents in Bethoron,

Nicanor encamps at Bethoron with a mighty army. Judas at Adasi, with only 1000 men, 1 Maccab. vii. 39, 40. Judas encourages his men, brings it to a battle, Ver. 43.

Kills Nicanor, ibid. Routs his army, Ver. 44.

where he was join'd with a great enforcement out of Syria. Judas at the same time encamped at Adasi, within * thirty furlongs of the enemy, and with a body only of a † thousand men. He told them that the enemy indeed was numerous, but that the cause was God's, whose power was above that of a multitude, exhorting them not to trouble themselves how many they were to encounter, but to consider the bravery of those that were to encounter them, with the honours or rewards that would most certainly attend them:

"Wherefore fall on, (says he,) like men of courage and resolution, and commit the issue to God." It came, in fine, to a battle; and the first encounter was vigorous and sharp; but upon the fall of great numbers of the enemy, and of Nicanor himself too, who did all that could be done by a great commander and a brave man, the whole army scatter'd immediately; and upon the loss of their general, cast away their arms to make them lighter for their flight: Judas, in the mean time, pursuing the fugitives without mercy or quarter; making proclamation by sound of trumpet through all the towns and cities where he pass'd, of the victory he had obtain'd. Upon this signal, the country-people gathered together every where, and fell so unmercifully upon the soldiers in their flight, that of nine thousand men, which was the precise number of their army, there was not a man that escap'd.

and cut them all off to a man, V. 45, 46.

This was upon the thirteenth of the month, which the Jews call Adar, the Macedonians Dystus; and in memory of this mercy we celebrate an anniversary thanksgiving upon it to this very day. The Jews after this victory had a little breathing while, from the restless importunities of their former war and troubles, and some hopeful glimmerings of a comfortable peace too, but it lasted not long neither.

An exemplary judgment upon Alcimus the high-priest, 1 Mac. ix. 54, 55.

ALCIMUS the high-priest had a mind to have the old wall of the sanctuary pull'd down, and the works of the antient prophets demolished; but in the very instant of his ordering it to be done, God struck him with so judicial a distemper, that he fell down upon the ground speechless, where he lay languishing a while in miserable torments, and then died, after being four years in the office of the pontificate; the people, upon his decease, chusing Judas with one voice, for his successor. This new high-priest had heard so much of the fame and power of the Romans, and of the overthrows they had given the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, nay to Greece itself, and king Perseus, Philip, and Antiochus, that he had a mighty desire to enter into a league with them; so that he sent Eupolemus, the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, two singular friends of his,

The people unanimously chuse Judas for his successor.

Judas sends Eupolemus and Jason to Rome, to treat upon an alliance with them, 1 Mac. viii. 17.

to Rome upon that embassy, soliciting to be receiv'd into the number of their allies, and that they would write to Demetrius, to forbear making war upon the Jews for the future.

The senate was so well pleased with the proposals and the terms, that they consented to the league, and pass'd an order soon after in favour of it, which was written in tables of brass; the copy of it sent to Jerusalem, and the original deposited in the capitol. The articles were in substance to this effect: "That no people whatsoever, under the jurisdiction of the Romans, should presume to make war upon the Jews, or to be comforting or assisting to any of their enemies with corn, shipping, money, or the like; and the same obligation to lie reciprocally upon the Jews, in case of any war made upon the Romans. If there should be any thing after this, which the Jews would have to be added or taken away, that it be first ratified by the common consent of the people." This resolution of the senate was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, Judas the high-priest, and his brother Simon, general of the army. This was the first alliance that ever was made betwixt the Jews and the Romans.

And to desire that Demetrius might be easy to the Jews, Ver. 18. The resolution of the senate, in favour of the Jews, Ver. 21, &c.

The first alliance of the Jews and Romans.

CHAP. XVIII.

Bacchides makes an inroad into Judea, with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Judas resolves to encounter him with only eight hundred men. The generous bravery of Judas and his companions.

UPON the tidings of Nicanor's death, and the defeat of the army, Demetrius sent Bacchides a second time into Judea, who advanced with fresh troops to Arbela, a town in Galilee, and there encamp'd, forcing a great many Jews out of the caves there, where they hid themselves. From thence he hasten'd away to Jerusalem; and upon intelligence that Judas and his people were at Berzeth, he posted away immediately with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to encounter him, who had at that time but a bare || thousand of men about him, and but eight hundred of those to stand by him neither; for two hundred of them deserted him, for fear of being overpower'd. In this strait for want of men, and neither time nor place for recruiting, Judas kept up his heart still to a resolution, in despite of all difficulties, of putting it to the fate of a battle; only desiring his men to stand by him, and follow his example. They told him how vain and rash a thing it would be to contend with such insuperable odds, advising him rather to attempt an honourable retreat, by which means possibly he might re-inforce himself. "No, no, says he, it shall never be said, that the sun ever saw Judas turn his back upon an enemy. If it should be our lot now to die, God's will be done, provided that we do not blast the reputation of a glorious life, with an ignominious death." With these words he rais'd the courage of his

After Nicanor's death and defeat, Demetrius sends Bacchides into Judea with an army, 1 Mac. ix. 1. Judas at Berzeth with 800 men only, and the enemy 20000 foot, and 2000 horse, V. 4-6.

The glorious resolution of Judas, Ver. 8-10.

* Thirty furlongs were almost four English miles.

† 1 Maccab. vii. 40. Judas's army is said to be three thousand men.

|| 1 Maccab. ix. 5, 6. his army is said to have consisted of three thousand, who all deserted him but eight hundred.

soldiers up to his own pitch, and fortified them for the combat.

CHAP. XIX.

Judas encounters Bacchides, and gets the better of him at first; but being oppress'd afterward by numbers, was slain, having behaved himself to his immortal honour.

Bacchides's order of battle, 1 Mac. ix. 11, 12.

Judas receives the charge in the same form, V. 13--16.

BACCHIDES having rang'd his army, the horse upon the two wings, whereof he himself commanded the right, his light-arm'd men and archers in the front, supported by a Macedonian * Phalanx in the body: In this order of battle, he advanced up to the enemy, founded a charge; and with a military shout, according to custom, gave the onset: Judas encountring him on the other hand after the same manner. It was hard fought on both sides from morning till toward sun-set; when Judas taking notice of the danger his men were in to be over-power'd by the enemy's right wing, where Bacchides, with the flower of the army fiercely assail'd them, came in with a band of valiant and courageous youths to their relief; and breaking their line, pierc'd into the very body of them; routed, and gave them chace as far as mount Aza. The enemy's left wing, upon this, follow'd Judas so closely, that he was now beset on all hands, and out of all possibility of escaping; so that he

and his people stood their ground, and fought it out, to sell their lives as dear as they could; till in the conclusion, after a great slaughter of their enemies, Judas and his companions were so spent and weary'd out, that they seem'd at last to be rather tir'd than overcome: Nor did they fall unrevenge'd. And thus did this glorious hero finish the character of a great man, by making his life and death all of a piece. It could not be expected that the soldiers, after the loss of so brave a general, could dispute the point any further without a leader: So that they presently dispers'd and fled, while the two brothers, Simon and Jonathan, treated with the enemy for the body of their brother, which they carry'd away, and laid it at Modin in the sepulchre of his fathers, with all funeral magnificence, and with the solemnity of a publick mourning for several days, in honour of his memory, according to the custom of the place upon so extraordinary an occasion. This was the end of Judas Maccabeus, a generous and a valiant man; the true son of the virtue, as well as of the blood of Matthias; for he never forgot the precepts of his dying father; who enjoyn'd him upon his blessing never to decline any labour or hazard for the liberty and welfare of his countrymen. In pursuance of this charge, he got himself everlasting honour, by the rescue of his friends out of the hands of the Macedonians, and by his three years administration in the office of high-priest.

A bloody fight, V. 17.

The bravery and death of Judas and his companions, V. 18.

Simon and Jonathan treat for their brother's body, V. 19.

Judas, the true son of the valiant Matthias.

* The Macedonian Phalanx, was much the same as the Roman Legion; it was a four square body, consisting of eight thousand footmen set in close array.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XIII.

From the Year of the World 3808 to 3898.

CHAP. I.

The spite of the revolted Jews. Jonathan succeeds Judas. He and Simon withdraw into the wilderness, and Bacchides follows them. John and his company cut off by the sons of Amaraeus. Bacchides assaults Jonathan on the sabbath-day, and loses two thousand of his men. Jonathan's retreat. Bacchides fortifies at Jerusalem, and elsewhere. The death of John reveng'd upon the sons of Amaraeus. Bacchides puts fifty of the Jewish deserters to death. The brothers fortify themselves in Bethlaga. Bacchides lays siege to it, and is beaten off.



WE have sufficiently set forth in the former book, how the Jews came to be deliver'd from their slavery under the Macedonians; and how Judas, their great captain and protector, after several bloody battles fought in that righteous cause, lost his life at last in a magnanimous action and contest for their vindication and defence. This illustrious person was no sooner taken away, but the whole party of the profligate Jews, that contrary to conscience, faith, and honour, had abandon'd the religion, laws, and customs of the nation, resumed their former animosities, and persecuted their honest countrymen afresh, more spitefully than ever. There happened also at the same time a general famine over the land; which, in conjunction, doubled the other calamity; for betwixt want of bread for their livelihood, on the one side, and want of power to defend themselves against their enemies on the other, the misery lay so heavy upon them, that a great many of the Jews found themselves under some sort of necessity to comply

with the faction of the Macedonians. Upon this juncture Bacchides convened all the apostate Jews that were gone over to strange gods, and committed the care of the government principally into their hands, who made it their business in the first place to seize all the friends and late partizans of Judas, and so to deliver them up to Bacchides, to torture them at pleasure, and in the end to put every man of them to death. The condition of the Jews was never so deplorable since their captivity in Babylon, as it was at this time; insomuch, that all those who had wish'd well to Judas, join'd in a request to Jonathan, not only to follow his brother's example, who had so frankly sacrificed his blood for the liberties of his country, but to take upon himself his command also, the whole nation lying under such desperate circumstances, that they must be all inevitably lost without a leader. Jonathan's answer was, that he was ready to do or to suffer any thing for the publick good; whereupon, with the unanimous consent of the people, he was declared their general.

WHEN Bacchides came to be inform'd of this election, and to reflect upon it, that Jonathan was a man as likely to give as much

Bacchides commits the government to the apostates, who expose their countrymen to torments and death, Ver. 25--27.

The loyal part of the Jews mind Jonathan of his brother's example, Ver. 28--30.

and with one voice chuse him their general, ibid.

M m m m

trouble

The renegado Jews more spiteful against their countrymen than ever, r Mac ix. 23. The Jews miserable betwixt famine and persecution, Ver. 24

trouble and disturbance to the king and Macedonians, as ever his brother Judas was before him, he fell to bethinking himself of some way to take him off by treachery: But he himself and his brother Simon were both so well aware of such a design in hand, that they provided for themselves betimes, by withdrawing immediately into the neighbouring desert, with what strength they were able to get together upon that warning, and pitched their tents by the pool of Asphar. Bacchides look'd upon this retreat of theirs into the wilderness, to be the effect of fear, and no other than a direct flight from the face of an enemy; marched away presently towards them with all his troops; and encamping beyond Jordan, made choice of that place for his rendezvous. When Jonathan came to hear of this motion, he sent his brother John (otherwise Gaddis) to the Arabian Mabathites, being in friendship with them, for leave only to deposit their baggage in their custody, till the battle with Bacchides should be over. But as John was upon the way, the sons of Amaræus made a sally out of Medaba upon the convoy; took all their carriages, and whatever else they had about them; kill'd John himself upon the place, and all his people: But the brothers had their revenge upon them not long after, as will be shew'd in its due place.

BACCHIDES having intelligence how Jonathan lay encamped in the fenny grounds near the river Jordan, pitch'd upon the sabbath-day for the attack, in confidence of the superstitious reverence they had for that festival: but Jonathan laying before his soldiers the absolute necessity of fighting; for the enemy being before them, and the river behind them, there was no saving their lives without it: They considering the exigence of the case, call'd upon God for victory, and in the same instant made a resolute charge upon the enemy; killing great numbers of them upon the place. In the heat of the action, Bacchides press'd furiously upon the person of Jonathan, who at the same time made a blow at him; but the other evading it, Jonathan and his company took the river, and the enemy not daring to follow them, they got safe to the other side. Bacchides, after this withdrew into the citadel of Jerusalem, with the loss of near *two thousand of his men, where he fortified several strong cities and places that had been demolished before; as Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron and Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa and Gazara: And these places he strengthen'd with walls and towers, and with strong garisons, to be ready for excursions to fall upon the Jews: But care was taken above all the rest, to make the citadel of Jerusalem impregnable. In which place the chief men's sons of the country were secured for hostages.

THERE was brought intelligence about this time, to the two brothers Jonathan and Simon, that there was a splendid wedding in hand betwixt one of the sons of Amaræus, and the daughter of an illustrious Arabian; the sons of Amaræus to be at the wedding, and the bride to be conducted in great pomp from the city of Gabatha. The brothers laid hold of this opportunity to revenge themselves for the death of their brother, and so hasten'd away towards Medaba to way-lay the people who were to assist at this wedding, by an ambush that they had planted in the mountains. Upon the coming up of the bridegroom with his bride, and a long train of their friends, as is usual in such cases, the party sally'd out upon them, and cut them all off, without saving so much as one person, together with their wives, children, and friends, to the number of four hundred; carry'd off the booty entire, and did justice at the same time to the memory of their brother: After which exploit they returned to their quarters at Jordan.

WHEN Bacchides had settled garisons in Judea, he went back to his master; and so for a matter of two years, the Jews were in some tolerable state of quiet: But the apostates, and the dregs of the people were gall'd at the very souls of them, to see Jonathan, and his people so much at ease in Judea, by reason of the tranquility of the times. So that they fell to plying and soliciting Demetrius by their proxies, that Bacchides might be order'd to reduce Jonathan absolutely into his power; which was a thing so easy to be effected, they said, that it required no more than one night's work to rid themselves both of him and all his soldiers by surprize. The king yielded immediately to the proposition, and dispatch'd Bacchides away into Judea upon the commission, where he sent his letters up and down to all the king's friends and officers in the country, to give their assistance towards the seizing of Jonathan. So they laid their heads together how to entrap him; and finding upon several trials one after another, that all proved ineffectual; (for Jonathan was cautious and forewarned) the Macedonian, in a transport of rage, imputed the whole miscarriage to the treachery of the apostate Jews; who, he said, did but make sport with the king's orders, and thereupon put fifty of their chief men to death. Jonathan and his brother finding themselves too weak for Bacchides, withdrew into the wilderness, to a village called Bethalaga, and fortify'd it with works and walls, to serve them in case of need for a retreat. Upon this intelligence, Bacchides marched away against them with all the power he was able to make, upon the conjunction of his own troops, with the auxiliary faction of the Jews. He open'd his trenches immediately against the place, and for some days carried on his approaches: Jonathan, on the other side, making a very stout resistance. While matters were in this posture, he left the defence of the place to his brother Simon; and with such a body of men as he was able to draw together out of the neighbourhood, he himself stole away by night, and fell upon Bacchides in his quarters; kill'd a great many of his men; and by the havock and confusion that ensu'd upon it, Simon came quickly to understand that it was his brother's doing: Upon which discovery, he made a sally, burnt their machines, cut off a great many of their people, and so return'd. Bacchides was so amaz'd at this assault upon him front and rear, and the miscarriage of an attempt he thought himself so sure of, that it put him quite beside his reason; but all the mischiefs of this miscarriage were imputed to the Jewish impostors, who had prevailed with the king,

The brothers way-lay the wedding people, V. 38.

and cut and put 400 persons to the sword; bride, bridegroom; and all, in revenge of their brother John, Ver. 39--42.

The apostate Jews press Demetrius to the reducing of Jonathan; pretending by the help of Bacchides, to make but one night's work of it, Ver. 58.

The king sends Bacchides accordingly, V. 60.

Several plots failing, Bacchides fancies himself betray'd by the apostates, and puts fifty of their leading men to death upon that jealousy, Ver. 61.

The brothers retire to Bethalaga, and fortify it, Ver. 62.

Bacchides lays siege to it, Ver. 63, 64.

Jonathan steals out by night, and beats up Bacchides's quarters, V. 65, 66.

Simon at the same time makes a sally, and destroys the enemies machines, &c. V. 67, 68.

* 1 Maccab. ix. 49. recounts but a thousand.

Bacchides quits the siege with a saving to the King's honour and his own, 1 Maccab. ix. 69, &c.

he said, for this expedition. It remained now only to consider how the siege might be rais'd without loss of honour, both to the king and to himself; and how the army might be drawn off without ignominy.

C H A P. II.

An alliance betwixt Jonathan and Bacchides. Bacchides leaves Judea in peace. Jonathan takes up his residence at Machmas.

Jonathan proposes to Bacchides an everlasting peace upon honourable terms, *ibid.* They strike a league, exchange oaths and articles, and Bacchides goes back to his master with reputation, *ibid.* Judea re-established in peace, *ibid.* Jonathan clears the country of false worship and false brethren, *ibid.*

WHILE Bacchides had this difficulty under deliberation, Jonathan took the opportunity of falling in with him upon that necessary point, having gotten some intelligence of what he had in his thought at that time. So he sent him an honourable message, with proposals of a mutual league and friendship, upon condition of releasing all prisoners on both sides. This was a motion so reasonable for Bacchides to agree to, and so fair an occasion given him to quit the siege without loss of reputation, that he immediately struck up an alliance with Jonathan; with a mutual exchange of oaths to deliver up, and restore all prisoners on both sides, and not to do any act of hostility one to the other. This being ratified, Bacchides returned to the King at Antioch, without ever coming back again with his army to Judea. Jonathan being now settled in a condition of peace and safety, took up his abode in Machmas, where he gave himself up to the business of the government, in the administration of law and justice. He was a bitter enemy to all deserters, a zealous asserter of the laws, and he purged the land from all foreign abominations.

C H A P. III.

Ptolemais deliver'd up to Alexander (call'd Ballex) out of an aversion to Demetrius; who upon the news of this seizure, draws his troops together to give him battle.

Alexander the son of Antiochus seizes Ptolemais in Syria, 1 Macc. x. 1.

IN the year one hundred and sixty, Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, took possession of Ptolemais in Syria, by the confederacy of the soldiers that were there in garrison, out of an aversion they had to Demetrius, as a man over proud and haughty; for he had the humour of mewing himself up in a certain fortify'd castle that he had, not far from Antioch, where no body was admitted to come at him; but there he doz'd away his time, and left the government to shift for itself; which stirr'd up a great many male-contents against him, as we have said elsewhere. But now upon the news of Alexander's possessing himself of Ptolemais, he presently drew his troops together, and march'd with an army against him.

Upon Alexander's taking Ptolemais, Demetrius marches against him with an army, Ver. 2.

C H A P. IV.

An alliance betwixt Demetrius and Jonathan. The articles of the treaty. Jonathan puts Jerusalem into a state of defence. The Macedonians remove to Antioch; but the revolted Jews in Bethsura, and the tower of Jerusalem, keep to their strong holds.

Demetrius writes to Jonathan, and propounds an alliance with him, V. 3-5.

DEMETRIUS, upon this occasion, sent an embassy to Jonathan, with propo-

sals of a league and alliance betwixt them; and this he did, to prevent Alexander in the proposal, for fear he might otherwise pre-engage him, tho' but in revenge for injuries and indignities formerly receiv'd. The purport of the message was, in short, an authority to levy men, to provide arms, and to set hostages at liberty, that Bacchides had committed prisoners to the castle. Upon the receipt of this letter from Demetrius, Jonathan went away presently to Jerusalem, where he read it publicly, in the hearing both of the garison, and of the people. The prodigates and fugitives in the citadel were very much startled to see Jonathan all on a sudden so much in favour. But he went on however with his levies, set the hostages at liberty, and remanded them safe back again to their own parents. He made Jerusalem for the present the place of his residence; where he fortify'd, alter'd and repaired at pleasure; rebuilding and strengthening the walls with square stones of a mighty bigness for the better defence of the place. Now the Macedonians that were dispersed up and down in several garisons, quitted their stations upon this change at Jerusalem, and went away to Antioch; but for those that were in Bethsura and the tower at Jerusalem, the greater part of them being Jewish deserters, it was not safe for them to stir out of their holds.

The conditions of the treaty, V. 6.

Jonathan reads the letter publicly at Jerusalem to both soldiers and people, V. 7.

He takes up his residence in Jerusalem; where he fortifies, repairs and rebuilds at pleasure, Ver. 11.

The Jewish deserters keep themselves in their garisons.

C H A P. V.

Alexander Ballex endeavours to make Jonathan his friend; creates him high-priest and successor to his brother Judas; presents, and adopts him into his family, obliges the Jews. A bloody battle betwixt Alexander and Demetrius. The death of Demetrius by the fall of his horse.

ALEXANDER was no stranger to the character of Jonathan, or to the history of his courage and exploits; particularly against the Macedonians; nor to the indignities that had been put upon him, both by Demetrius and Bacchides; so that being told of the fair promises and pretensions of Demetrius, he discours'd the matter with his friends, and brought it to this point, that he could not at that time do better than to enter into an association and alliance with Jonathan; a person of eminent valour, and a mortal enemy to Demetrius, and lying under the highest provocations of old grudges and wrongs imaginable. Wherefore, said he, this seems to me the critical minute of an opportunity for the making of this man my friend; but pray let me have your opinion along with me. His council were all of the same mind, and a letter was immediately dispatch'd away upon the same subject in the terms following:

King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting.

“WHEREAS we have been long since given to understand that thou art a man of honour, faith and courage, and in all respects worthy of our friendship, we have now sent our ambassadors to make thee a tender of our amity and alliance, and to treat in our name about it; and we do by these presents, and by our royal authority ordain and pronounce thee to be the high-priest of the Jews, and adopt thee into the roll of
“the

Alexander's letter to Jonathan, Ver. 18-20.

Jonathan advanced to the high-priesthood; adopted and presented, Ver. 21.

"the king's friends; sending thee for a present likewise, a purple robe, and a crown of gold, not doubting but that our affection and esteem will be answered on thy part with a suitable return."

Jonathan enters upon the pontificate, after a vacancy of four years.

JONATHAN, immediately upon the coming of this message to his hand, put on his sacerdotal robe upon the day of the feast of tabernacles. This was four years after the death of his brother Judas, the pontifical seat having been so long vacant; and from thence forward he applied himself to the advancing of troops, and making a large provision of arms. Demetrius was by this time sensible of the error of his delay, in slipping the opportunity of being beforehand with his competitor for an alliance with Jonathan. But this anticipation of Alexander's did not yet hinder him from carrying it as far as it would go, in this following letter:

King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the people of the Jews, greeting.

A most magnificent grant to Jonathan and the people, 1 Mac. x. 85-45.

"WHEREAS we have hitherto ever found you true and faithful to your duty, and to our service, in despite of all the arts and practices of our enemies to seduce you from your allegiance, we cannot but give you some instance of the esteem we have for your unshaken fidelity in times past, and likewise of our princely disposition to give you all encouragement to a perseverance in the same constancy for the time to come. It is our pleasure therefore, to remit upon you the greatest part of your tributes; and by these presents to ease you of all the taxes that you formerly paid to my predecessors, or to myself, over and above the custom of salt, and crown-taxes; the thirds of your corn, and of your fruits, which duties I do discharge you of for ever, together with the poll-tax upon the inhabitants of Judea, and the three governments of Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa. I will have the city of Jerusalem to be accounted holy, and to have the privileges of a sanctuary, or a city of refuge, with an exemption both to itself, and its dependencies, from all tithes and tributes. The citadel shall be deliver'd up to the high-priest Jonathan, with liberty to put into it, for a garison, such of his friends and confidants as he shall make choice of. It is our further pleasure likewise, that all the Jews that were carried away prisoners into any part of our dominions, be forthwith set at liberty, without imposing any hardships, after this decree, so much as upon their cattle, either by press-masters, or otherwise; that all their sabbaths and solemn festivals, and three days before them, shall be days of immunity and freedom to all the Jews in our dominions; and that they may live quietly, without any sort of molestation; and for so many of the Jews within the compass of thirty thousand men, as shall desire to bear arms in our service, they shall be entertained at the same rate of pay with

An abatement of taxes, *ibid.*

The citadel to be garison'd by the Jews, *ibid.*

Prisoners to be set at liberty, and their sabbaths and festivals to be observed, *ibid.*

Thirty thousand of them taken into pay, *ibid.*

"our own guards, and instructed also in our garisons, and about our person, and the better sort of them shall be received as the domesticks of our royal family. They shall moreover have the free exercise of their own laws, both in Jerusalem, and in the three dependent provinces; committing it to the high-priest's care, to see that no Jew be suffer'd to worship in any other temple but that of Jerusalem. We do hereby grant them likewise the yearly allowance of fifteen * thousand shekels of silver toward the charge of their sacrifices out of our own coffers, and discharging the priests and officers attending the service of the temple, of the † ten thousand drachma's that were formerly paid to our predecessors, as in reason and conscience we ought to do. It is our further will also, that whoever shall fly to the temple of Jerusalem, or to the liberties thereof, for any debt whatsoever, whether to the king, or otherwise, he shall be protected, both in his person and goods, from any trouble or molestation. We do likewise give leave, and require, that the temple be repair'd, strong walls and turrets erected, and garisons to be put into such places of strength as the Jews shall think fit to raise and fortify; and all this to be done at our own proper charge." These were the gracious promises of Demetrius, who wrote to the Jews accordingly.

Others admitted into the royal family, *ibid.* A free exercise of laws and religion, *ibid.*

Allowances towards the charge of sacrifices, *ibid.*

The temple made a place of refuge, *ibid.*

The temple and walls to be repair'd and fortified at Demetrius's charge, *ibid.*

UPON this juncture of time king Alexander drew out a mighty army, partly of his own mercenaries, and partly of those that went over to him from Demetrius in Syria, and marched with them against the enemy. They came to a battle, and the left wing of Demetrius being too hard for the right wing of Alexander, they pursued their advantage so far, that they got the pillage of the camp, but the right wing, at the same time, where the king himself fought in person, was forc'd to give way, and fell presently into a direct rout. Demetrius behaving himself to a miracle all this while; killing some, pursuing others, and defending himself, till at last his horse plunging into an impassable bog, he was over-power'd by the multitudes that press'd in upon him, and consequently lost, beyond all hope or possibility of relief. He fought it out, however, on foot, to the last extremity, till his body was cover'd all over with arrows and darts. Demetrius had now reigned eleven years; and this was his end, as we have set it forth elsewhere.

A battle betwixt Alexander and Demetrius, Ver. 48, 49.

The unfortunate death of Demetrius, Ver. 50.

CHAP. VI.

Onias proposes a temple in Egypt like that of Jerusalem. This starts a question betwixt the Jews and Samaritans, which is the true temple, Garizin or Jerusalem. The matter is refer'd to the king, and the party that shall be cast to suffer death. The king gives it for Jerusalem.

ONIAS, the son of Onias the high-priest, liv'd in a kind of exile from his own

* Fifteen thousand shekels of silver, according to Calmet's tables, amounted to seventeen hundred and ten pounds, eighteen shillings, and nine pence.

† Ten thousand drachma's amounted to about two hundred and eighty pounds of our money.

country, with Ptolemy Philometor, at Alexandria, as we have said heretofore. This same Onias finding Judea so terribly ravag'd by the Macedonians and their kings; and out of an ambition to get himself immortal fame, resolv'd to try if he could obtain leave from king Ptolemy, and his queen Cleopatra, to build another temple in Egypt, after the project and model of that of Jerusalem, and so to supply it with priests and Levites of his own family. The thing that put this thought in his head, was a prediction of the prophet Isaiah, of at least six hundred years before; prefaging that in time to come there should be a temple erected in Egypt, to the honour of the great God, and that it should be the work of a Jew. Onias was so possessed with the impulse of this revelation, that he wrote a letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, to this following effect: "At the time when I had the honour to serve your majesties in the field, I passed through several countries, and observed, that in the provinces of Cele-Syria, Phenicia, and Leontopolis, in the land of Heliopolis, and in several other places, the Jews had no uniformity in their temples, and therefore could not agree among themselves about it; and it is the same thing with the Egyptians too, by reason of the multitude and variety of temples, and the diversity of religions. Now for so much as I have found out a certain place near the castle of Bubastes upon the plain, where there are great store of materials for building near at hand, and plenty of beasts appointed for sacrifice, it is my humble request, that you will give me leave to purge and demolish a ruinous temple there, that was never consecrated to any deity, and in the place of it to erect another, after the model of that of Jerusalem, with a dedication of it to the most high God, upon condition, that prayers be there offer'd up for the safety and prosperity of your royal persons and family; to the end that all the Jews in your dominions may by this means be more united among themselves, and better enabled to do your majesties service. This is no more than what the prophet Isaiah had foretold, that God would have a holy place in Egypt, and several other things upon that subject."

The petition of Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

Onias begs leave to build a temple in Egypt, after the model of that of Jerusalem.

Grounding his petition upon the prophecy of Isaiah.

It was very remarkable, the piety that the king, and his queen Cleopatra (his wife and sister both in one) expressed upon the receipt of this letter, as will appear by their answer thereunto, wherein they discharged themselves of having any hand in the impious violation of the law, and cast the whole blame of it upon Onias in these terms:

King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, joy and health.

"WE have read and consider'd of your letters of request, wherein you desire to cleanse and purify an old ruinous temple at Leontopolis near Bubastes upon the plain, within the jurisdiction of Heliopolis, and can hardly conceive how a temple in a place so unclean, and haunted with such varieties of detestable animals, should be in any measure acceptable to God. But yet for so much as you refer yourself for

"your justification to the predictions of the prophet Isaiah, we do hereby grant unto you full licence and permission, so far as in us lies so to do, provided it be done without giving offence to God in the breach of his laws."

The king and queen grants his request.

ONIAS had no sooner obtained this concession of the place, but he fell presently to work upon the raising of the temple and the altar, according to the draught of that at Jerusalem, though much short of it both for bulk and state. As to the dimensions of the fabrick, and the holy vessels thereunto belonging, having spoken sufficiently of it in my seventh book of the history and captivity of the Jews, a repetition of it in this place would be needless. This being done, Onias did not want priests and Levites of his own fancy and persuasion to assist him in the offices of divine worship, and in the services of the temple; to say no more of it in this place.

Onias falls to work immediately upon the temple,

and employs priests and Levites in it of his own fancy.

THERE happen'd at Alexandria so fierce and so seditious a dispute, betwixt the Jews and the Samaritans that erected the temple at Garizin, in the days of Alexander the Great, about the temple itself, and the manner of worshipping, that the king was forced upon an appeal to take the matter into his own cognizance, and so to pass judgment upon the merits of the cause. The point was this: The Jews insisted upon it that the temple at Jerusalem was the only temple extant that was warranted and authoriz'd by the laws of Moses. The Samaritans stood up for the temple of Garizin, and both parties by consent remitted themselves to the judgment and arbitration of the king, with his ministers and friends, desiring only that council might be heard on both sides, and that sentence of death might pass upon the party that should be found guilty. Sabbeus and Theodosius were for the Samaritans, and Andronicus the son of Messalan, for the Jews; binding themselves in an oath on both sides, in the presence of God and the king, to offer nothing in proof, but what was according to the law, and desiring that the breach of that oath might be made death to the violator of it. The king call'd his friends and counsellors about him to try the cause. The Jews of Alexandria were mightily troubled, for fear of their advocate, and were extremely concern'd to find the sacred authority of the temple at Jerusalem, the most antient and noble frame and institution in the whole world, brought into question. Upon a debate who should speak first, Sabbeus and Theodosius gave the precedence to Andronicus, who opened the cause, and made a deduction of the sanctity, practice, and venerable antiquity of the temple of Jerusalem, even from the very original, according to the law; setting forth the uninterrupted succession of the priesthood through all ages, with the honour and majesty of the place, as it was celebrated from time to time, with the magnificence and bounty of all the kings of Asia; whereas the temple of Garizin, then in question, was so obscure in all respects, that little more notice was taken of it than if there had been no such thing. With these and the like reasonings the king was prevail'd upon to give sentence in favour of Jerusalem, and to adjudge Sabbeus and Theodosius to death, according

A quarrel at Alexandria betwixt the Jews and Samaritans, about their temple and worship.

The Jews stand up for Jerusalem, the other for Garizin.

They refer the judgment to the king, and council to be heard on both sides.

Sabbeus and Theodosius for the Samaritans, and Andronicus for the Jews, and the guilty to suffer death.

The king gives it for Jerusalem, and Sabbeus and Theodosius condemn'd to abide the penalty.

according to the conditions of the proposal. This was the state of affairs with the Alexandrian Jews in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

CHAP. VII.

After the death of Demetrius, Alexander marries Cleopatra the king of Egypt's daughter, and does all things highly to the honour of Jonathan.

1 Macc. x.

AFTER the death of Demetrius, (as we have said already) Alexander took upon himself the government of Syria; and by a letter to Ptolemy Philometor, sent him a proposal of a match with his daughter, suggesting by-the-by, that it would be no dishonourable or unreasonable thing, after the overthrow of Demetrius, and, through God's favour, the recovery of a kingdom that belong'd to him in the right of his father, to receive him into his alliance. Ptolemy was so well pleas'd with this overture, that he immediately wrote him a letter back again to congratulate him for all his victories and successes, and likewise to promise him his daughter in marriage, appointing Ptolemais for the place of meeting; where he would wait upon him with his daughter Cleopatra, and there consummate the wedding. Ptolemy staid not long after his own letter, but went directly to the place with his daughter, where he found Alexander, and dispatch'd the marriage, with such a treasure of gold and silver for her portion as might become the magnificence of so great a prince. Jonathan the high-priest was invited by Alexander to the wedding, where both the kings had him welcome, with great honour and presents on both sides; Alexander appointing him to change his habit, and put on a purple robe, and to take his place next to himself upon the throne, commanding also the chief of the officers to attend him into the heart of the city, and to make publick proclamation that no man should presume, upon his uttermost peril, either to calumniate or accuse him, or otherwise to give him any the least molestation. Upon this gracious demonstration of esteem the king had for him, his malicious enemies that were come thither on purpose to do him ill offices by defaming him, sneak'd out of the way for fear the mischief they meant him should fall upon their own heads. So particular, in fine, was the kindness and respect that Alexander had for Jonathan, that he reckon'd him among the choicest of his friends.

Alexander marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, at Ptolemais. V. 58.

Great honour done to Jonathan the high-priest; and a proclamation publish'd in his favour. V. 63.

CHAP. VIII.

Demetrius Nicanor carries an army into Cilicia. Alexander makes Apollonius his general. Jonathan the high-priest gives him an overthrow, takes Azotus, and sets fire to the temple of Dagon. Alexander pretends to blame Apollonius for it, and compliments Jonathan. Ptolemy marches to Alexander's relief. A plot upon the life of Ptolemy; who thereupon takes his daughter from Alexander, and gives her to Demetrius, who is received by the Antiochians for their king. Ptolemy and Demetrius give Alexander an overthrow. Ptolemy dangerously wound-

ed. Alexander's head sent him for a present. He dies quickly after that satisfactory sight. Jonathan lays siege to the tower of Jerusalem. He presents Demetrius, and obtains large privileges of him for the Jews. Demetrius discharges his army without pay, and they fall off from him.

IN the year one hundred and sixty five, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, embark'd himself with a body of mercenaries that Lathenes had brought him, and pass'd with them out of Crete into Cilicia. Alexander was not a little startled at the tidings of this expedition; so that he presently hasten'd away from Phenicia to Antioch, to put his affairs in a posture of security before Demetrius could get thither; committing the government of Coele-Syria, in the mean time, to the care of Apollonius, who march'd with an army to Jamnia, and thence sent Jonathan the high-priest a schooling and expostulatory message, to know "what privilege he had to live at ease and liberty, and to withdraw himself from the service of the publick: and the scandal (says he) is laid at my door for suffering this affront without reducing you to your duty. If you are so brave as you would be thought to be, come down for shame out of your hiding-places in the mountains, and meet me like a man in the plain field, with your sword in your hand, and cast the issue of the cause upon that trial. This let me tell you, by the way, that I am now at the head of a body of the choicest men in the empire, and men that in feats of arms have ever had the ascendant of your ancestors. Wherefore I dare you once again to give me a meeting in some indifferent place, where swords, not stones, shall decide the controversy, and leave the vanquish'd party no possibility of saving themselves by flight."

Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, with a powerful army, falls into Cilicia. V. 67.

Apollonius, the governor of Syria, sends Jonathan a contemptuous challenge. V. 69-73.

JONATHAN was so nettled with the insolence of this challenge, that he marched away out of Jerusalem with a select band of ten thousand chosen men, and his brother Simon along with him; and coming up to Joppa, he encamped there: but Apollonius having a garison in the town, they shut their gates against him; so that Jonathan put himself in a posture for an assault; whereupon the inhabitants, for fear of a storm, deliver'd up the place. So soon as Apollonius understood that Jonathan was possess'd of Joppa, he betook himself with three thousand horse and eight thousand foot to Azotus, and thence by easy marches to Joppa; where he drew off a little to engage Jonathan in the open plain, depending upon his odds of horse to over-power him. Jonathan, upon this, advanc'd and follow'd Apollonius towards Azotus; who, when he found the enemy in a plain field, turn'd back upon him, and gave him battle. Apollonius had planted a thousand horse in an ambush near a brook there, to fall upon the enemy's rear; which Jonathan was well aware of, and without any difficulty provided against it: for casting his men into a square figure that fronted every way, they were ready on all hands to receive the charge, front, flank, and rear. They fought it out till toward evening, when Jonathan order'd his brother Simon, with part of his army, to take his time, and charge in upon the enemy's body; having given orders to his own men only to receive

Jonathan and his brother Simon with 10000 choice men advance to Joppa. V. 74.

The inhabitants deliver it up. V. 76.

Jonathan gives Apollonius battle. Ver. 78-83.

receive the darts and arrows of the horse upon their bucklers, without any other resistance. They kept themselves upon their guard, till the enemy had spent all their offensive arms, without doing any execution; for they stood so thick and close, that their darts fell all upon their bucklers, and there was no piercing them through. The enemy was so spent and tir'd out with this way of fighting, to no purpose, from morning till the afternoon, that Simon took that opportunity of attacking their main body; and was so bravely seconded by his soldiers, that he broke and put them to flight. The horse, upon this rout, betwixt the fatigue of the day, and the hopeless condition of the army now the foot was broken, fled and disperfed themselves in the greatest confusion imaginable: Jonathan closely pursuing them as far as Azotus, killing great numbers of them upon the chace, and forcing the rest into the temple of Dagon there, for sanctuary. But he took the city in the same heat, set fire to it, and to several neighbouring villages; and burnt them all to the ground, together with the temple of Dagon itself, and all the people that fled to it for protection, without any regard to the religion of the idol or of the place. The number of those that were either burnt, or fell by the sword, was computed to be a matter of eight thousand men. After the defeat of this army, Jonathan advanced with his troops to Askalon, and pitch'd his tents before the city, the inhabitants coming out to him, and treating him with presents and other tokens of hospitality and respect; which was all taken very kindly, and as an instance of their good-will and affection to him. After this he return'd to Jerusalem, laden with booty, and victorious. Upon this defeat of Apollonius, Alexander pretended to be wonderfully pleas'd at the miscarriage, as a thing done entirely against his approbation, and without his privity, and a most barbarous practice upon a friend and ally: so that as a mark of the honour and esteem he had for him, he sent him a golden clasp or buckle for a present, an honour peculiar only to the royal family; and he gave him also the government of Accaron.

It happen'd at the same time, that Ptolemy Philometor, with both land and sea-forces, came into Syria, to the assistance of his son-in-law Alexander, where he was receiv'd in all places with great honour and respect according to the king's order, save only in Azotus; and there he was entertain'd with nothing but lamentable stories and complaints of the burning of Dagon's temple, every body exclaiming against Jonathan as the author of that outrage, beside the havock he had made in the country by fire and sword, and the destruction of a great many of their people. Ptolemy gave only the hearing to these complaints, and that was all. Jonathan met him at Joppa, and was received with all magnificence and honour; and after conducting the king to the river Eleutherus, he returned to Jerusalem.

UPON Ptolemy's coming to the city of Ptolemais, he was within a very little of being destroy'd by the treachery of Alexander, which was manag'd by his friend Ammonius. This practice being discover'd, he wrote to Alexander to demand justice upon him, according to his desert; but Alexander's refusing to deliver him up, gave him to understand that he

himself had a hand in it. Upon which presumption he contracted a mortal hatred against him; and he had forfeited the good-will of the people of Antioch before, upon the account of the same Ammonius, who had done them many indignities: but at last he came to an infamous end; for he lost his life in the habit of a woman, as he was sneaking away to shift for himself under that disguise, as we have shew'd in another place.

PTOLEMY was by this time so sick of the relation he had to Alexander, and to think of the assistance he had brought him against Demetrius that he presently took away his daughter from her husband, and struck up a league with Demetrius against Alexander, upon condition of giving him Cleopatra in marriage, and putting him in possession of his father's kingdom; who, on the other hand, was well enough pleas'd with the terms, both of the alliance and of the woman. But the people of Antioch had such an aversion to Demetrius upon his father's account, that Ptolemy had a hard task of it to persuade them to receive that man for their king, whom they look'd upon as their enemy. Yet such was their hatred however to Alexander upon the score of Ammonius, and to Ammonius himself also for his own sake, that they were easily prevail'd upon to discharge the city of Ammonius; who thereupon escap'd into Cilicia from Antioch.

Ptolemy, upon this, made his entrance into the place; where he was saluted, proclaim'd, and crown'd king in two capacities, both by the burghers and the soldiery: that is to say, in the right of Asia, and of Egypt. But being a person naturally just, temperate, and discreet, he manag'd his business to the entire satisfaction of his own people; and likewise without giving any cause of jealousy or envy to the Romans: so that he forthwith call'd a general council of the Antiochians, entertaining them with a discourse upon the subject of receiving Demetrius for their king; with large assurances on that prince's part, that the sense of the present obligation would utterly extinguish the memory of all unkindness and misunderstandings gone and past: beside that I myself, says he, will take care that in the administration of the government he shall not so much as offer at any thing unworthy of his royal dignity and trust. As for my own part, the kingdom of Egypt shall content me abundantly. Upon this mediation, the whole body of the people was prevail'd upon to take Demetrius for their king.

ALEXANDER was at this time ravaging Syria, and the country about Antioch, putting all things to the extremities of fire and sword, with a numerous and powerful army that he brought out of Cilicia; when Ptolemy, with his son-in-law Demetrius (the nuptials being now over) encounter'd and routed him, forcing him to fly to Arabia. It happen'd in that battle that Ptolemy's horse, upon a fright taken at the braying of an elephant, cast his rider, and gave his enemies the advantage of giving him many grievous wounds upon the head while he was down; which misfortune would certainly have cost him his life upon the place, if he had not been luckily rescu'd by a party of his guards: but such was his condition, however, that he lay speechless for four days, without speaking one word himself, or under-

The infamous end of Ammonius.

Ptolemy calls away his daughter from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, Ver. 12.

Ptolemy proclaim'd king of Asia, and Egypt, V. 13.

He relinquishes Asia; and Antioch receives Demetrius for their king.

Alexander ravages Syria with a vast army.

Ptolemy and Demetrius fall upon him, and defeat him, V. 15.

Ptolemy in danger of his life by a fall from his horse.

Jonathan routs and pursues Apollonius to Azotus, putting fire to the city and the temple of Dagon, and other places thereabout.

1 Mac. x. 84.

Alexander pretends a detestation of Apollonius for what he had done; joys Jonathan of his victory, and treats him with presents, Ver. 88-89.

Ptolemy passes into Syria to join Alexander, 1 Mac. xi. 1-2

Jonathan meets him at Joppa, and is honourably receiv'd, V. 6.

Alexander and Ammonius contrive the death of Ptolemy, Ver. 10.

Alexander's head cut off, and presented to Ptolemy, 1 Mac. xi. 17.

The death of Ptolemy, Ver. 18.

The ingratitude of Demetrius the successor of Alexander.

Jonathan lays siege to the citadel of Jerusalem. Ver. 20.

Demetrius marches toward Jonathan, and sends for him upon the way to Ptolemais; where Jonathan pacifies him with civilities and presents, Ver. 22-28.

standing what was said to him. Upon the fifth day, when he was coming a little to himself, one Zabelus, an Arabian prince, having cut off Alexander's head, sent it to Ptolemy, who was wonderfully pleased both with the report of the action, and with the spectacle itself. But when he had entertain'd his passion a while with the sight and thought of a dead enemy, he quickly put an end to that satisfaction by dying himself. This Alexander was otherwise call'd * Balles. He reigned about five years, as was noted elsewhere. Demetrius, who was known also by the name of Nicanor, succeeded Alexander; a man of a rough rugged temper, as appear'd by his barbarous usage of Ptolemy's soldiers, without any regard to the obligations and services he had receiv'd from them, upon the credit of an affinity with Cleopatra. The soldiers had such an indignation for this ungrateful way of proceeding, that they quitted him themselves, and went away to Alexandria, leaving only the elephants behind them.

JONATHAN, the high-priest, having at this time drawn together all the force he was able to raise out of Judea, set himself down before the citadel of Jerusalem, with a resolution to dislodge the Macedonian garison, and the fugitive Jews that had taken sanctuary there. They were so bold and confident in the strength of the place, that they bid Jonathan, at first, a most contemptuous defiance; but after a while they were glad to send some of their wicked instruments by stealth out of the town to Demetrius for succour. This intelligence put him into such a chafe, that he immediately march'd out with his army from Antioch toward Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, he sent for him by a letter to come to him. Jonathan, upon this invitation, took with him several rich gratifications in gold, silver, glorious garments, and other precious curiosities, and, attended with the priests and elders, made a compliment of them to Demetrius; the siege going forward all this while nevertheless. The king's heart was so soften'd by this generous way of respect, that he receiv'd both the presents and presenters with great honour, confirm'd and continued Jonathan in the pontificate conferr'd upon him by his predecessors; and was, upon the main, so far from giving any credit to the calumny and suggestions of the rabble of the fugitive Jews against their countrymen, that upon Jonathan's single request for an abatement of the tribute of Judea, together with the dependencies of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, to the rate of only three † hundred talents upon the whole, he caused this following declaration to be dispatch'd away upon the first word, in their favour.

King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan, and to the whole Jewish nation, joy and greeting.

"THIS is to let you understand that we have here sent you the copy of a letter lately

"written to Lathenes, our trusty and well-beloved cousin.

King Demetrius to his father Lathenes, greeting.

"WE are so sensible of the dutiful and affectionate return we have from time to time received from our friends the Jews, in acknowledgment of the good-will we bear them, that it is our good pleasure to give them some signal mark of the esteem we have for them: Wherefore we do by these presents assign the three governments of Aphrima, Lydda, and Ramatha, that were taken from the Samaritans, together with all the land thereunto belonging, to the use and advantage of Judea; discharging likewise the priests at Jerusalem of all the duties by them formerly allow'd to our forefathers, as well upon corn and fruits, as upon salt-pits and crown-taxes, with an express caution and prohibition that nothing of all this be exacted from them for the future. Be sure to send the copy of this letter to Jonathan, and to have it hung up in the most conspicuous place of the holy temple." This was the sum of the declaration.

MATTERS were now brought into so quiet and peaceable a state, that Demetrius, flattering himself into an opinion that there was no longer any danger, discharg'd his army without their full pay, retaining only a body of mercenaries that he had gotten together in Crete, and other of the neighbouring islands: so that dismissing his father's old troops, without any stipend, contrary to the practice of his ancestors, who paid them as well in peace as in war, and so kept them in readiness to serve upon any occasion, he quite lost the hearts of his own people.

Demetrius to Lathenes in favour of Jonathan and the Jews, V. 32-37.

Demetrius loses the hearts of his army for want of pay. Ver. 38.

CHAP. IX.

Tryphon pretends to set Antiochus upon his father's throne. Jonathan plies the siege of the citadel, and sends an enforcement to Demetrius upon the defection of his army. Demetrius coop'd up in his palace; but reliev'd and supported by Jonathan. The ingratitude of Demetrius. Tryphon sets up Antiochus. Demetrius defeated, and beaten back into Cilicia. Jonathan, Antiochus, and Tryphon, obtain a great victory against Demetrius. Gaza renders upon articles. Demetrius draws his army to Cadasa. Jonathan surpriz'd, and his men leaving him; but Mattathias and Judas stood the shock, and recover'd the day. Jonathan renews a league with the Romans and Lacedemonians. The three sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Simon fortifies Askalon and Joppa. The two brothers undertake for the fortifying of Jerusalem. Demetrius routed by Arsaces; his army destroy'd, and himself taken prisoner.

THIS defection of the army from Demetrius was so notorious, that Diodotus,

* If Vossius says, it should be read Balas, according to the best copies of Josephus; and not Balles or Veles, as others have it.

† Three hundred Syrian talents weighed four thousand two hundred and seventy seven pounds, four ounces, two pennyweights, twelve grains; and were in value worth twelve thousand eight hundred and thirty two pounds, seven pence half-penny of our money: but if the talents here meant are to be understood of Hebrew talents, three hundred weighed thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; and in value amounted to one hundred and two thousand six hundred and fifty six pounds, five shillings, of English money.

otherwise

Tryphon.
treats with
Malchus for
the advancing
Antiochus the
son of Alex-
ander to the
throne, 1 Mac.
x. 39, 40.

otherwise called Tryphon, a native of Apamia, and formerly an officer under Alexander, taking notice of that mutinous disposition, applied himself to Malchus an Arabian, who was at that time governor of young Antiochus, the son of Alexander, telling him how desperately the soldiers were bent against Demetrius, and proposing, that if Malchus would put Antiochus into his hands, he made no doubt of getting him restor'd to his father's throne. Malchus was at first a little diffident and scrupulous; but by the force of prayers and pressing instances, he was in a short time drawn over to a compliance.

Jonathan
prosecutes
the siege of
the citadel,
Ver. 41.

JONATHAN the high-priest laid close siege all this while to the citadel at Jerusalem, with a resolution to clear, not only that castle, but other strong holds also in the country, where the fugitive Jews shelter'd themselves in garison; so that he sent an embassy to Demetrius with more presents upon this occasion, desiring him to withdraw all his men that were in any of the fortresses of Judea; whose answer was, that he was ready to gratify him, not only in that, but in a greater matter, so soon as ever he could dispatch the present war, which found him so much work at that time, that he was not at liberty to do any thing else; but adjuring Jonathan by all that was sacred in friendship, to send him a supply of men; for his own troops, he said, were gone over to the enemy. Jonathan soon after this sent the king a succour of three thousand choice men.

Jonathan
sends Deme-
trius three
thousand
choice men
upon the re-
volt of his ar-
my, Ver. 44.

THE people of Antioch were so enrag'd against Demetrius, both for his father's sake and his own, that they desir'd nothing more than an opportunity for a revenge; wherefore upon the news of this relief from Jonathan, and considering the hazard of his growing still stronger and stronger, if they were not beforehand with him, they betook themselves to their arms in a hurry, and immediately begirt the palace with such a countenance and posture, as if they were just ready to give the assault. But their chief business was rather to secure the avenues, and seize him as he was coming out. Demetrius finding himself thus beset, drew up his foreign mercenaries, together with Jonathan's auxiliaries, and made a charge upon the enemy, but met with a smart repulse from the numerous enemy, and was obliged to retreat. The Jews, upon this repulse, retir'd into the palace, where they mounted the battlements; and from thence with darts and arrows so gall'd the enemy, that they forced them from one house to another, without much danger to themselves. The next thing they did, was to fire the city; which, being for the greater part of wooden buildings, and the houses standing close, was presently all in a flame. The inhabitants, finding that the fire was not to be master'd, shifted for themselves as well as they could; the Jews still pursuing them from house to house, and doing wonderful execution upon them. This rout put an end to their fighting; and all they had now to do, was to save their wives and children; but the Jews all this while made advantage of their confusion; and falling upon them at every turn according to the king's order, they killed great numbers of them upon the pursuit, and forced the rest to throw down their arms, and deliver them-

The people
beset Deme-
trius in his
palace, Ver.
45, 46.
He charges
the enemy,
and is beaten
back.

The Jews
fight a while
from the bat-
tlements, and
after that set
fire to the
city.

The citizens
and the
Jews pursue
them, Ver. 47.

selves up at mercy. This victory put an end to the war; the rebellion being pardon'd, and the booty given to the Jews, whom Demetrius sent back again to Jonathan, with a most honourable testimony of their valour, acknowledging that it was to their courage he stood indebted for that success; but this spirit of gratitude did not possess him long; for he did afterward not only break his promise, but threaten Jonathan with a war, if he should not for the future make good those tributes to himself, which the Jews had formerly paid to his predecessors; and he had done as he said too, if Tryphon had not diverted him, by forcing him to make use of that army against himself, which he had design'd against Jonathan, who being now return'd out of Arabia into Syria, with young Antiochus, set the crown upon his head, and by the help of the soldiers before spoken of, who had been defrauded of their pay, he made open war upon Demetrius, worsted him in a pitch'd battle, made himself master of his elephants, and of the city of Antioch, and forc'd him back into Cilicia.

ANTIOCHUS upon this resolution sent an embassy to Jonathan, acknowledging him for his friend and ally, establish'd him in the pontificate, put him in possession of the four governments that were assign'd to Judea, and gave his brother Simon the command of all his forces, from Tyre to the borders of Sidon; presenting Jonathan over and above, with several drinking cups of gold, purple garments with a golden buckle, and the privilege of using and wearing these ensigns of state, adopting him also into the roll of his choicest friends. Jonathan was so sensible of these multiplied bounties, and marks of honour he had received from Antiochus, that he forthwith dispatch'd away an express to Antiochus and Tryphon, both in one; with a most affectionate tender of his friendship and service, with all readiness to join against Demetrius as a common enemy; reflecting upon him also at the same time as the most ungrateful of men, in returning so much evil for so much good.

No sooner had Jonathan his commission for the raising of men, but he presently fell to raising of levies in Syria and Phenicia, and from thence to all the neighbouring towns and cities, where he was received with great honour in appearance, but got no soldiers among them. Upon his coming afterward to Askalon, the people entertain'd him with formalities and presents, where he took occasion to lay before them, (as he did at other places in Cele-Syria,) how much it was their interest and their duty to take up arms against Demetrius for Antiochus, having so fair an opportunity to be revenged of him for the injuries he had done them. He wrought upon them so far by his advice and reasoning, that they promised supplies; but advancing afterward to Gaza upon the design of the same good office to Antiochus, he found, to his great admiration, the gates shut against him, and the people obstinately resolved to abide by Demetrius. Jonathan took this affront so heinously, that he forthwith divided his army upon it, assaulting the town with one part, while the other went up and down to burn and lay waste the country. The inhabitants of Gaza, after a short time, seeing nothing but inevitable destruction before their eyes, no appearance of

Demetrius
ascribes his
victory to Jo-
nathan's suc-
cours, Ver. 51.
The ingrati-
tude of De-
metrius, Ver.
53.

Tryphon
makes war
upon Deme-
trius, in fa-
vour of young
Antiochus,
Ver. 54.

Demetrius
worsted, and
driven back
into Cilicia,
Ver. 55.

The generous
kindness of
Antiochus to
Jonathan,
Ver. 57-59.

Jonathan of-
fers his ser-
vice to An-
tiochus and
Tryphon
against Deme-
trius, Ver. 60.

Jonathan
raises men,
ibid.

Jonathan
makes an
interest for
Antiochus, ib.

Gaza shuts
the gates
against Jona-
than, Ver. 61.

Upon second thoughts they court and embrace his friendship, 1 Mac. xi. 62.

Demetrius in the mean while encamps before Cedasa, V. 63.

Jonathan advances toward him, and leaves Simon to take care of Judea, Ver. 64. Simon attacks Bethsura, 65, 66.

and takes it upon conditions, ibid.

Jonathan falls into an ambush, and his troops forsake him, Ver. 69.

Mattathias and Judas, with fifty choice men, give a stand to the whole army, V. 70.

any relief from Demetrius; nor, in truth, so much as the hopes of any at so remote a distance, they came at last, laying things together, to consult their necessities, and upon second thoughts judg'd it most advisable to make a seasonable and a submissive application to Jonathan by their deputies, who were as frankly received on the other hand into his interest and friendship. It were better if men would govern themselves by a prospect of the reasons and consequences of things beforehand, and to do what they ought to do willingly, before they came to be forc'd to it; but some people are altogether for the after wit, that comes by woful experience. Jonathan, in fine, accepted of their proposals and hostages, and so sent them away to Jerusalem, passing himself through the country to Damascus.

DEMETRIUS in the mean while had a strong army encamped before * Cedasa upon the borders of Tyre and Galilee, with a design to draw Jonathan out of Syria by way of diversion, to the assistance of Galilee, upon a presumption that he would look to his own country in the first place; but this did not hinder Jonathan from advancing with all the speed he could to encounter him, leaving his brother Simon behind him in his absence to take care of Judea. Simon at the same time, with what men he could get together out of that country, marched up to Bethsura, and assaulted it, though accounted the strongest and most defensible place in all Judea, and in the hands, as we have said before, of the faction of Demetrius. So soon as the garison found themselves so press'd with works and engines, that the place seem'd to be in some danger, they sent a messenger to Simon, only for leave to quit the place, and, without any molestation or violence, free liberty to march away to Demetrius. They were brought to these terms, by the apprehension of being all put to the sword, if the place were taken by force. Simon granted them their own conditions, and put another garison in the place of what was there before.

JONATHAN at this time moving from the place in Galilee, near the lake of Genezer, where he had first encamped, advanced into the plain of Asor, not in the least suspecting any enemy upon that quarter; but a party of Demetrius's having gotten intelligence of his design the day before, plac'd an ambush under a mountain, and marched toward him with their body in the plain field. So soon as Jonathan saw them in order of battle, and ready to make a charge, he gave his men the best orders he could in so short a time, how to govern themselves in the action; but when the Jews came to discover the ambush, they turn'd their backs immediately, for fear of being coop'd up betwixt the two bodies, and all cut off. The terror was so general, that Jonathan had hardly a man to stand by him, saving only two captains of his guards, Mattathias the son of Apfalom, and Judas the son of Chapseus, who, with a band of fifty brave fellows, stood their ground, and made so desperate a charge upon the enemy's front, that they fought rather like mad men than soldiers.

* Apoc. Cades.

† The Ephori, of whom there were commonly five in number, were magistrates of the Lacedemonians, who were so great a curb to their kings by their power of interceding, or negative voice, that at last they became as formidable to them, as the Roman tribunes did to the nobility. See Nep. Pausan.

Jonathan's deserters finding the soldiers of Demetrius in confusion, and almost ready to run away, made haste and rallied; and falling in upon them afresh, kill'd a matter of two thousand upon the place, put to flight the rest, and pursued them to Cedasa, up to their very tents.

JONATHAN, after this glorious victory, returned to Jerusalem; and in this height of his successes sent his ambassadors to Rome, with a commission to renew an alliance with them, and with orders to go to Lacedemon in their return, upon the same account. Jonathan's proposals were entertain'd, and his ambassadors honourably treated, and dispatch'd away with letters recommendatory to the kings of Europe and Asia for their safe passage. They called likewise upon the Lacedemonians, in their way back again, and presented them with letters, as follows:

Jonathan the high-priest, and the elders of the nation, the priests, and other people of the Jews, unto the † ephori, the senate, and the people of the Lacedemonians, their brethren, send greeting.

" IF you are well, both in your persons, and in all your affairs, publick and private, we are so too; for we rejoice in your well-being. Jonathan's letter to the Lacedemonians, Ver. 6-18.

" WHEREAS we find in a letter of a date (long since past) from Arius your king, to Onias our high-priest, and presented to him by Demoteles, (a copy whereof we send you here enclosed,) importing a near affinity of blood betwixt us; and whereas it appeareth also by the testimony we then render'd to Arius himself, by the hand of the said Demoteles, with what joy we received the intimation of such an alliance in that letter; (not as a new thing to us neither, for we find mention made of it in the holy scripture:) this is to let you understand, that we should have put in our claim to the honour of your friendship before this, but that we were not willing to prevent you in the glory of leading the example. You may be pleased to take notice, however, that from the first ratification of an amity betwixt us to this day, we have never forgotten you in our prayers to God for your prosperity, health, and victory over all your enemies; and we have been as tender likewise in all our sufferings and distresses, under the vexatious persecution of our covetous and ambitious neighbours, not to involve, either yourselves, or any other of our friendly allies, in our troubles; but our circumstances being now easier, and our wars, by God's providence, over, we have sent Numenius, the son of Antimachus, and Antipater, the son of Jason, being senators and men of honour, to the Romans, and with letters also to yourselves for the strengthening and renewing of a friendly understanding betwixt us. You may be pleased to return us what answer you shall think meet, and to let us understand wherein we may be useful to you; in a full trust and confidence, that you

" shall

"shall find us ever ready to serve you in all offices of affection and respect."

THE Lacedemonians not only gave the Jewish ambassadors a courteous and honourable reception, but a memorial likewise, made and confirm'd by publick authority, testifying and acknowledging the friendship and alliance betwixt the two states.

Of the three sects among the Jews, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

THE Jews were at this time divided into three sects or factions, upon the subject of fate and free-will. The three parties were Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The Pharisees held that men were concluded under a fatality in some cases, and left at liberty in others, either to do, or not to do, as they pleased. The Sadducees did not allow of any fatality at all, in what case soever; but that every man has it in his own power to make his condition better or worse, according as he takes right or wrong measures; whereas the Essenes, on the other hand, acknowledg'd no other power than that of an over-ruling destiny, working according to the predeterminations of an irresistible fate: but we have spoken more particularly to this point in our history of the Jewish wars, B. ii.

See the history of the Jewish wars, B. ii. chap. 7. Demetrius's troops march toward Jonathan, and Jonathan advances to oppose them, 1 Mac. xii. 24, 25.

Jonathan hath intelligence of a design to beat up his quarters, V. 26, 27.

DEMETRIUS's commanders were now advancing toward Jonathan, at the head of a better army than they had before, in hopes of retrieving the reputation they had lost by their late overthrow; but Jonathan having intelligence that they were approaching, made all the haste he could to meet them at Amathis, with a resolution to oppose their passage into Judea, encamping himself within * fifty furlongs of the enemy, and sending scouts abroad for discovery how they were posted, and which way they bent their design. Upon the return of the spies with the best information they could get, and some prisoners they had taken that night, Jonathan found that the design was to surprize him in his quarters; so that he put every thing immediately into a posture of defence, planted his watches and out-guards to the best advantage, and kept his men in arms and in heart all that night; telling them the whole matter beforehand, to the end that if they should be attack'd, they might not be surpriz'd. When the officers of Demetrius came to understand that the plot was discover'd, it put them to their wits end what to do next; for their stratagem being disappointed, they were not in a condition to encounter him by open force. Upon this pinch they could find no better shift than to slip away by night, and under the countenance of several fires, to cover their retreat. The next morning by dawn of day Jonathan march'd up with a resolution to force the camp; when finding it abandon'd, he posted away after the fugitives as fast as he could, but to no purpose; for they had gotten over the river Eleutherus, into a place of safety, before he could reach them. He took his course next into Arabia, ravaged the country of the Nabatheans; took a great many cattle and prisoners, and sold them at Damascus.

But the enemy gave him the slip by night, Ver. 28, 29.

Jonathan posts after them, but cannot overtake them, Ver. 30.

He ravages Arabia, V. 31.

Simon marches to Askalon, and so to Joppa, securing all as he goes, Ver. 33.

SIMON at the same time took a progress through Judea and Palestine, as far as Askalon, where he garison'd all places of defence; and after fortifying and securing the country, marched to Joppa, took possession of the place,

* Fifty furlongs were about six English miles and a quarter.

and clapt a strong guard upon it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, that would otherwise have betray'd the town to Demetrius.

MATTERS being in this disposition, Jonathan and Simon returned to Jerusalem, where the high-priest summoning the people together into the temple, put them upon repairing the ruinous walls, both of the city, and those about the holy place; fortifying them, upon the main, with high and substantial towers; advising them also to erect another wall to cut off all communication betwixt the castle and the city; recommending it to them, over and above, to put good garisons into other convenient places up and down, and keep the country in a defensible condition. The people were highly pleased with the reasons of all he said; so that he made it his own province to take care of the city, and committed the rest to his brother.

Jonathan and Simon fortify the city and temple, Ver. 35-38.

DEMETRIUS, being gotten over the river, advanced into Mesopotamia, with a design of making himself master, not only of the country, but of Babylon itself; proposing also, upon the reducing of the upper provinces, to make that quarter the seat of the war; for the Greeks and Macedonians thereabouts had sent him several embassies and invitations to come over to them, with assurances, that upon his appearing, they would range themselves under his obedience, and assist him with their arms against Arsaces the king of Parthia. Encouraged by these hopes Demetrius moved immediately toward them, concluding it would be an easy matter to beat Tryphon out of Syria, after one home blow given to the Parthians. In the strength of this confidence Demetrius posted away immediately towards him, and was received upon his arrival by the people of that country, with all the cheerfulness imaginable, where he put himself at the head of a brave army, and made war upon Arsaces; by whom he was utterly routed, his whole army destroy'd, and himself taken prisoner, as we have said formerly in another place.

Demetrius makes war upon Arsaces, loses his army, and is taken prisoner, 1 Mac. xiv. 1-3.

CHAP. X.

Demetrius being made prisoner, Tryphon aspires to the crown, by removing Jonathan and Antiochus. He works upon Jonathan's credulity, and most villainously betrays him; makes him a prisoner in Ptolemais, and cuts off a thousand of his people.

THIS miscarriage of Demetrius put an end to Tryphon's pretended faith and allegiance to Antiochus; his business being now only to consider how he might remove his master out of the way, and set up for himself. This could not be effected, he thought, so long as Jonathan (a true friend to Antiochus) was in a condition to oppose it: so that the first thing to be done, was to contrive how to take off Jonathan. To which end he went from Antioch to Bethsan, (in Greek, Scythopolis) where he found Jonathan with forty thousand choice men, ready at hand to serve him in case of need. Tryphon, finding him in this strength and posture, made use of presents and fair words to inveigle and impose upon him; when he saw

The fall of Demetrius encourages Tryphon to set up for himself, 1 Mac. xii. 39. His plot upon the life of Jonathan to the destruction of Antiochus, Ver. 42-45.

there

Tryphon be-
trays Jona-
than under a
mask of
friendship,
1 Mac. xii.
46-48.

there was no good to be done by downright force. He gave it in charge to his officers, to pay the same respect and obedience to Jonathan that they did to himself: propounding, by these ways of insinuation, to cover the treachery of his false heart, and to create in him such a trust and confidence as might probably expose him, for want of caution, to a mortal credulity and surprize. Passing from one thing to another; till at last, in regard all things were now at peace, he said, and the war at an end, he put it into Jonathan's head to discharge his army, as a burden there was no occasion for; but still advising him to retain a competent guard about his person, and that they might go together to Ptolemais, for he was resolved to put him in possession of that city, and all the fortresses thereabouts; "for (says he) I am now come hither on purpose to deliver those places into your hands." Jonathan was too innocent to suspect so base a villany; insomuch that casting himself wholly upon the sincerity and good faith of Tryphon, he dismiss'd his army, all but three thousand men, whereof he left two in Galilee, and carry'd the third along with him in company with Tryphon to Ptolemais. He was no sooner enter'd the town with his people, but the inhabitants, according to their instructions, shut their gates upon him, took Jonathan alive, and cut off all his soldiers, every man of them. Part of the army was afterwards sent to Galilee, with an intent to massacre the other two thousand there, as they had done their fellows; but they having timely notice of their treachery to Jonathan, betook themselves to their arms immediately upon the report, and so made their escape. Tryphon's soldiers were so well satisfy'd in the resolution of these men as to the contempt of death and danger, that they let them go off without any interruption; and so return'd back again as they came.

Jonathan made a prisoner by treachery, in Ptolemais; and a thousand of his men cut to pieces, ib.

CHAP. XI.

Tryphon keeps Jonathan a prisoner, and Simon supplies his command. He turns the inhabitants of Joppa out of the town. Tryphon enters Judea, and offers to set Jonathan at liberty for a sum of money and hostages. Simon delivers the money and the hostages; but Tryphon breaks faith with him, and orders Jonathan to be put to death. The people chuse Simon unanimously to succeed him. He demolishes Gaza, Joppa, Jamnia, and the citadel of Jerusalem; laying the very mountain it stood upon under the command of the temple.

Jerusalem in sorrow and consternation for Jonathan's imprisonment and death, after, V. 52.

THE news of Jonathan's imprisonment, and the massacre of the people that attended him; the loss, in fine, of so great a man, and a person so necessary to the Jews, both for his valour and conduct, struck the inhabitants of Jerusalem, not only with an insupportable affliction, out of the love they bore him, but with a terrible apprehension over and above, of the miseries they lay expos'd to in the consequence of his death: even to the hazard of the whole nation, by letting loose those enemies upon them, on this occasion, that stood in awe of them before. This was the thing they fear'd; and they were not much

out in their conjecture: for so soon as they came afterward to hear that Jonathan was put to death, their neighbours all associated against them, as men without a head, and utterly destitute; the general being lost, and no other commander qualify'd to exercise his charge. Nay, Tryphon himself got an army together to make an inroad with it upon Judea. But Simon observing what a consternation the people were in, for fear of new broils, and out of an affectionate zeal to keep up their hearts against the practices of Tryphon, he call'd the people together, and address'd himself to them in the following manner:

Tryphon prepares for an incursion into Judea, 1 Mac. xiii. 1-2.

"I NEED not tell you, (says he) my friends and countrymen, how vigorously and frankly I myself, my father, and my brethren, have exposed ourselves to the uttermost difficulties and hazards for our common liberty; so that it is no new thing in our family, to lay down our lives in the defence of our laws and our religion; neither am I so insensible of the authority of these domestick examples, as to be wrought upon by any terror to the sacrificing of my honour and my duty, for the saving of my life. Wherefore, without looking any farther for a leader, you have a man here before you, that is ready to do or to suffer all things that are great and glorious, for your preservation and welfare; do but you only follow where I shall lead you. I do not reckon myself to be better than my brethren, neither do I value my life at a higher rate than they have done theirs before me; nor am I so degenerate, as to think of saving that life by cowardice, when my country and my religion are at stake; which our family has ever accounted as the most heroical of their adventures, to part with upon the same occasion. No, no, my friends and brethren, it shall never be said that I have derogated from the dignity of our family. I make no doubt at all yet, but that God in his good time will, even by my hand, avenge you upon the heads of your enemies; deliver you, with your wives and children, from your oppressors, and vindicate the holy temple against all the abominations and violence of your malicious persecutors. And what is it, in fine, that encourages this present confederacy against you, but that they look upon you as sheep without a shepherd; that is to say, an army without a leader?"

Simon animates the people to stand up for their liberties, and offers himself for their general. Ver. 3-6.

THE multitude were so inflam'd at this speech and declaration of Simon, that they presently took courage and confidence upon it; suspended their fears, and reviv'd their spirits with the hope of better things: so that they all cried out with one voice, "None so fit as Simon to succeed to the command of his brave brothers, Judas and Jonathan; and therefore let Simon be our general, and whatever he commands shall be obey'd." The new general got as many of his people together as were fit to bear arms, and so fell to work upon the walling of the city, and the fortifying of it with strong and stately towers; and that being over, he sent Jonathan the son of Absalom, a particular friend of his, to Joppa, with order to turn the inhabitants out of the town, for fear they should deliver it up to Tryphon: while he himself continued at Jerusalem to look to the city.

Simon commands in Jonathan's place. Ver. 8.

The inhabitants of Joppa turn'd out of town, for fear of betraying it to Tryphon, Ver. 11.

TRYPHON Ver. 11.

Tryphon
marches into
Judea, and
takes Jona-
than along
with him in
bonds,
Mac. xiii. 12.

Tryphon of
fers Jonathan
his liberty for
an hundred
talents of sil-
ver, and two
of his sons in
hostage;
Ver. 14-16.

Simon sus-
pects treach-
ery, Ver. 17.

Tryphon
takes the mo-
ney and the
hostages, and
keeps Jona-
than still a
prisoner,
Ver. 19.

The citadel
of Jerusalem
is hard pref-
sed, V. 21.

Tryphon de-
signs to re-
lieve it; but
is hinder'd by
a prodigious
fall of snow,
Ver. 22.

Tryphon
puts Jonathan
to death,
Ver. 23.
Simon orders
a solemn
mourning for
him, and a
glorious mo-
nument, and
seven pyra-
mids,
Ver. 24-30.

TRYPHON was now upon his march with a great army from Ptolemais; and coming into Judea, he brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon met him with his troops near the city of Addida, upon a mountain that overlooks the plain. When Tryphon came to understand that the Jews had chosen Simon for their general, he sent messengers to him to try if he could circumvent him also by a trick. And so he sent him word, that if he had a mind to have his brother Jonathan discharg'd, let him send him a * hundred talents of silver, and two sons of Jonathan along with it for hostages, that when he should be set at liberty, he should not seduce Judea from their allegiance to the king; Tryphon suggesting that he was now to be kept in custody, only till the king's money should be paid. Simon knew well enough there was a cheat in it: but considering, on the one hand, though he run the danger of losing the money without obtaining his brother's release, beside the delivery of his sons to the mercy of an enemy, yet there occurred difficulties on the other hand no less perplexing; for he was afraid that upon his denial of the money for a ransom, or the sons for hostages, he should be branded with the calumny of his brother's death. Upon this deliberation, he call'd a council, told them Tryphon's demands; giving his opinion also beforehand, that there was treachery in the bottom: but intimating, however, that it would be better to send both the money and the sons, at a venture, than to incur a suspicion, upon not hearkening to Tryphon's conditions, of being less zealous than he ought to be for the safety of his brother. So the resolution was taken to send both: tho' Tryphon, after he had receiv'd them, broke his faith, and refused to release Jonathan; ranging up and down with his army, and ravaging the country, till he came at last to Dora, a city of Idumea, with an intention to make that his way to Jerusalem; Simon keeping up with him still wherever he went, camp against camp.

WHILE Tryphon was upon the way, word was brought him from Jerusalem, that the garrison was sore distress'd for want of provisions, and that they desir'd he would immediately hasten to their relief. Upon this intelligence, he order'd his horse to be in readiness, for he would march without any delay to their succour; but there fell so great a snow that night, that the ways were all cover'd and impassable, especially for horse. Upon this disappointment he decamp'd, and went back to Cele-Syria; and passing through the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan, near the city of Basca, to be slain, and buried there: and from thence he return'd to Antioch. Simon took care however to remove Jonathan's bones to his father's sepulchre at Modin, with the solemnity of a publick mourning, where he erected a glorious monument of white polish'd marble to the honour of his family. It was rais'd upon an eminence that overlooks the whole country thereabouts, and encompassed with arched walks, resting upon admirable pillars, each of one entire stone. He rais'd also seven pyramids for his father, mother, four brothers,

and himself, one for each: a work so wonderful, both for the state and beauty of it, that it is yet to be seen, and hath the reputation of a celebrated piece even to this day.

THIS may suffice to shew the care and zeal of Simon in doing right to the honour of his family, by so magnificent a monument; and most particularly to the memory of Jonathan †, who had now governed the people in the quality both of prince and of high-priest for the space of four years, his brother Simon, by the universal suffrage and consent of the people, succeeding him. In the first year of his promotion, he deliver'd them from the tributes he formerly paid to the Macedonians; and this was in the year 170, from the coming of Seleucus Nicanor to the kingdom of Syria. Now Simon had gain'd so great an esteem and authority among the people, that they dated their writings, as well private as publick, in such or such a year of Simon the governor of the Jews, with this addition, And the most deserving patron of the nation. For under his administration all things succeeded well, both in war and peace, by the advantages he brought to his friends, and by the victory he obtain'd over the common enemy; destroying the cities of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia; laying the citadel of Jerusalem level with the ground; and taking it moreover into his care, how to prevent the same inconveniences again for the time to come: that is to say, by putting it out of condition of either annoying the town, or of serving for a place of protection to fugitives and rebels. In order to this end, he gave his advice for the digging up and plaining of the mountain itself that the castle stood upon, so as to leave the temple upon the advantage of the higher ground. Upon this consideration, he call'd a congregation, and laid before them what damage they had already suffer'd from this castle, and what Inconveniences they might reasonably expect from it over again for the time to come, if ever it should fall into the hands of an enemy prince. This plain and short way of reasoning wrought so effectually upon the multitude, that they were presently, one and all, for demolishing the mountain. They fell immediately to work upon it, and ply'd it so hard night and day for three years successively, without intermission (doing duty by turns) that in the end, by the force of indefatigable labour, they brought it under the command of the temple.

Jonathan go-
vern'd the
people as
prince and
high-priest
for four years,
Simon suc-
ceeding him.

Simon the
benefactor
and patron of
the nation,
Ver. 42.

He lays Gaza-
ra, Joppa,
Jamnia, and
the tower of
Jerusalem all
in rubbish,
Ver. 43, &c.

He demolish-
es the moun-
tain itself that
the castle
stood upon,
for the secu-
rity of the
temple, ibid.

C H A P. XII.

Tryphon murders Antiochus, and is chosen king. His soldiers go over to Cleopatra, who marries Antiochus Soter; and he makes war upon Tryphon, and overthrows him in a pitch'd battle, chases him out of Syria, and besieges him in Dora. He makes a league with Simon the high-priest, who assists him in the siege. Tryphon gets away to Apamia, where he is taken and slain.

SOON after the taking Demetrius Nicanor prisoner, Tryphon secretly murder'd his

Tryphon
puts his pupil
privately to
death.

* An hundred Jewish talents weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds, three ounces; and in value amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings, of our money.

† Scaliger, in his notes upon Eusebius, suspects this place to be corrupted in the original; and corrects it so as to make Jonathan die in the fourteenth year of his pontificate, and when he had governed the nation eighteen years.

Tryphon makes an interest for himself,

and is chosen king.

Tryphon answers his name in his manners, i. e. a dissolute wretch. The foldiers go over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius.

Cleopatra marries Antiochus Soter, the brother of Demetrius.

Antiochus drives Tryphon out of Syria, 1 Mac. xv. 25. A league of alliance betwixt Demetrius and Simon.

Tryphon taken and slain.

pupil Antiochus, the son of Alexander, (whom they treated with divine honours) in the fourth year of his guardianship, giving it out that it was only an unlucky accident in his exercises, that brought him to his end. While this rumour was fresh, Tryphon made an interest among the soldiery, by the force of friends and money, to dispose them toward the choice of himself for their next governor. Demetrius, they said, was a prisoner to the Parthians, and Antiochus would never forget the deserters of his brother. By this artifice of insinuation, Tryphon prepar'd his way to the crown; and there needed not much argument in the case, when all people judg'd it would be the making of every man's fortune, that should give his voice for the making of this man king; so that they advanc'd him to the throne without any more ceremony. This elevation made a discovery of that ill-nature in him, now he was a king, which he had concealed all this while in the capacity of a private man, the better to compass his ends by dissembling with the people. So soon as ever he had gain'd his point, the mask was taken off, and he shew'd himself to be a true Tryphon (or a dissolute wretch) in his manners, as well as in his name; and his adversaries laid hold of it very much to his disadvantage; for the soldiers grew quickly weary of his humour, and went over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who had then shut up herself in Seleucia with her children, while Antiochus, (otherwise called Soter, and the brother of Demetrius,) went skulking up and down from place to place, and scarce any body daring to receive him, for fear of Tryphon. Now Cleopatra, what with the encouragement of the military men that deserted him, the instance and persuasion of friends, and the apprehension she herself had of the Seleucians giving up the town to Tryphon, she sent a messenger to Antiochus, with a proposal of marriage, and a tender of her kingdom to him, as well as of her person. Antiochus forthwith embraced the proposition; and upon closing with Cleopatra on those terms, the people came in to him in such numbers, that in a short time he was master of a marching army, and made war upon Tryphon, overcame him in a battle; and beating him out of Syria, pursued him to Phenicia, begirting him at last in Dora, a very strong and a well-fortified hold. He sent ambassadors also to Simon the high-priest of the Jews, upon a treaty of amity and alliance, who frankly accepted of his terms, and soon after sent him a supply of provisions and monies for the carrying on of the siege, which was a service at that time so acceptable to Antiochus, that he look'd upon him as the best friend he had in the world; but Tryphon, in the end, made an escape out of Dora, and fled to Apamia, where the town was taken, and himself slain, after he had held the government three years.

C H A P. XIII.

The treachery of Antiochus against Simon, who still gets the better of him; contracts a new alliance with the Romans, and settles the government in peace.

ANTIOCHUS being naturally covetous, and consequently ungrateful, was now so far from acknowledging the good offices Simon had done him, that he sent an army under the command of Cendebeus, to lay Judea waste, and to seize upon his person. The sense of this perfidious indignity put the good old man so far out of patience, that forgetting the infirmities of his age, he marched immediately at the head of an army with the resolution of a hero in the prime of his youth and vigour, to engage the enemy; sending his son before him with some of his choicest troops, and himself following by several ways with the rest, planting his ambushes every where up and down in the avenues, and all things succeeding to his heart's content; for he had still the better of it upon every encounter; renew'd his league with the Romans, and liv'd at peace afterward all the days of his life.

Cendebeus marches with an army against Simon, Ver. 38, 39.

Simon baffles him upon several encounters, 1 Mac. xvi. 8-10. He renews a league with the Romans, and after that lives at peace, 1 Mac. xiv. 16-19.

C H A P. XIV.

Ptolemy treacherously murders his father-in-law Simon. He seizes his wife and two children; John (call'd Hyrcanus) the third, escapes to Jerusalem, where he is receiv'd and protected, and Ptolemy denied entrance.

WHEN Simon had been eight years governor of Judea, he was treacherously murder'd, in the end, by his son-in-law Ptolemy*, upon an invitation to a treat. He had got his wife and his two sons prisoners already, and had his ruffians abroad also to take his third son John, otherwise called Hyrcanus, and kill him; but the young man having seasonable notice of the danger, took sanctuary in Jerusalem, where the people were doubly kind to him, partly for the love and veneration they had for the memory of his father, and in part for the utter aversion they had to Ptolemy, whom they bravely repulsed upon an attempt to enter at one gate, because they had already received Hyrcanus at another†.

Simon treacherously murder'd by his son-in-law Ptolemy, 1 Mac. xvi. 11-17. His wife and two children made prisoners, and the third escapes to Jerusalem, Ver. 22.

C H A P. XV.

Hyrcanus succeeds to the pontificate. Ptolemy besieged in the castle of Dagon. The mother and brethren of Hyrcanus expos'd upon the battlements, and threaten'd to be cast down, unless Hyrcanus withdrew. The glorious resolution of the mother, who is put to death by Ptolemy, with her two sons, while he flies for protection to Zeno, (otherwise Cotyla.)

UPON this affront Ptolemy withdrew himself to a certain castle not far from

Ptolemy retires to the castle of Dagon.

* This fact is recorded somewhat differently in 1 Mac. xvi. where 'tis said, "Simon and his two sons Mattathias and Judas were all three slain by Ptolemy at a banquet, without making any mention of his wife."

† With this chapter endeth the history of the Bible. The remaining part of the Antiquities therefore are to be read with more caution, since the authors and records our author has followed are of later date, and much less authority.

Hyrcanus succeeded his father in the pontificate.

Jericho, called Dagon. Hyrcanus at the same time enter'd upon the pontificate, and officiated in it as successor to his father. The first thing he did, was to offer up prayers and sacrifices in due manner and form; and that duty being over, he marched away to the assault of the fort; where the only difficulty he met withal, was to contend with the natural piety and tenderness he had for his mother and his brethren, whom Ptolemy exposed from the top of the wall, whipping and tormenting them in the sight of all the people, with menaces to cast them headlong from the battlements, unless Hyrcanus presently quitted the siege. Now the other computing with himself, that the easier he was to the town, the easier Ptolemy would be to his relations, this thought put him to a little stand upon the first impression, which way to incline; but his mother seeing him look and act as if he were deliberating and relenting, called out to him aloud, and encourag'd him both with her hand and voice, to make a right use of that barbarous spectacle, and without any regard to her's and her children's sufferings, to do himself and his family right, in a just vengeance upon the head of that execrable monster; for she herself desired nothing more than to expire in her torments, upon condition that that unnatural tyrant might be plagued and punished according to his desert. The generous and provoking bravery of this woman raised the spirits of Hyrcanus to the highest degree of resolution to push forward the assault. But finding that the more they press'd upon the fort, the fiercer Ptolemy was upon his mother, all other resentments of rage and revenge gave way to the over-ruling softness of a dutiful son; so that by these pauses and intervals, irresolution and distraction, the siege was drawn out at length till the sabbatical year came on, the seventh year being a year of rest to the Jews, as well as the seventh of days; so that Ptolemy was now deliver'd from the war and the siege; and thereupon putting to death the mother and the brother of Hyrcanus, he withdrew to Zeno, surnamed Cotyla, a tyrant who had at that time usurped to himself the government of Philadelphia.

The sabbatical year, or the year of rest.

Ptolemy puts to death the mother and the two sons.

CHAP. XVI.

Antiochus besieges Hyrcanus in the fort at Jerusalem. He grants the Jews a seven days truce. Hyrcanus moves him in favour of the Jews, who comes to terms with him, and raises the siege. Hyrcanus makes an alliance with Antiochus; and, according to Nicolaus of Damascus, does him great service in the Parthian war. Antiochus is defeated and slain, and the kingdom of Syria descends to his brother Demetrius.

Antiochus breaks into Judea, forces Hyrcanus into Jerusalem, and besieges him in it.

ANTIOCHUS had not as yet either forgotten or forgiven the repulses and disgraces he had formerly receiv'd from Simon the father of Hyrcanus; so that he made an inroad into Judea in the fourth year of his reign, the first of Hyrcanus*, and the hundred and sixty second Olympiad, where he first ravaged the country, and then drove Hyrcanus into the city itself, dividing his army into seven bodies round about it. They advanced little or nothing at the beginning, the walls being very strong, and the defendants valiant. The camp was for some short time distress'd for want of water; but that defect was plentifully supplied by a great fall of rain. Upon a thorough consideration of the matter, they found the town most accessible upon the north side of it, and therefore bent their force principally upon that quarter, raising a hundred turrets of three stories high against them, which were well lin'd with soldiers to carry on the attack. They had likewise drawn a double circumvallation of a great length and depth, to cut off the means of communication and relief. But this did not hinder the defendants yet from making frequent sallies, and doing execution too, when at any time they saw the besiegers loose or careless upon their guard; or, however, if they found them in a posture to receive them, they could make their retreat good at pleasure. There were a great many unprofitable mouths in the town, that only wasted their provisions, without doing any manner of service; so that Hyrcanus taking this into consideration, separated those that were fit to bear arms from the rest, and turn'd all the useless people out of the city; where, betwixt Antiochus on the one hand, that stopp'd them from going any further, and Hyrcanus on the other, that would not let them come in again, the poor wretches saunter'd away their time under the wall, till many of them perished for want of bread.

The enemy's approaches and attacks.

All unprofitable people turn'd out of town.

It so fell out, that it was now the time of feast of tabernacles; and upon the occasion of this festival, these miserable creatures were admitted into the town again; whereupon the inhabitants address'd themselves to Antiochus, only to grant a truce for seven days, in honour of the solemnity; which out of a conscience of religion, he allow'd them at first word; and he did not only gratify them in their request, but sent them magnificent presents of beasts over and above for sacrifices; as bulls with gilded horns, cups of gold and silver, replenish'd with all sorts of precious spices and perfumes; and, in fine, treated them with an entertainment much different from that of Antiochus Epiphanes; who, in affront to their religion, upon the taking of the temple, sacrific'd hogs upon the altar, and profan'd the holy place with porridge made of swines flesh, in a flat defiance and contempt of their laws and ceremonies, which prov'd the ground of an animosity betwixt them never to be reconcil'd; whereas the present Antiochus had the character and surname of the Pious given him by all sorts of people, in honour of the reverence he had for religion.

Antiochus surnamed the Pious.

HYRCANUS took encouragement upon this instance of the king's justice and goodness, to move him by an embassy on the Jews behalf, for the liberty only of living one with another, according to the laws and customs of their own country. The court faction, on the contrary, were for having them wholly cut off and rooted out, as an insociable sort of people, that would be thought holier and wiser than their neighbours, and valued themselves upon a singularity from the rest of the world, in

Hyrcanus solicits Antiochus for liberty for the Jews.

* And the second of the hundred and sixty first Olympiad, according to the reading of Petitus in his Eclog. Chronolog. lib. ii. c. 6. See Scaliger's notes upon Euseb. p. 135. Ed. Commelin.

The king comes to an agreement with him.

their lives and manners. But the king had too great a respect for their piety and behaviour, to put them to extremities; so that he sent word back to Hyrcanus, that upon condition the besieged should deliver up their arms, undertake for the taxes of Joppa, and the rest of the cities about Judea, and receive a garison into the town, of his appointment, he was ready to put an end to the war upon their own terms. The Jews agreed to all, but the receiving of the garison, in regard of the scruple they made of intermixing with strangers; but for a composition to be eased of that article, they proposed rather to give the king hostages for the performance of covenants, and five * hundred talents over and above, which the king accepted of; three hundred of them being paid down upon the nail in part; and the brother of Hyrcanus one of the pledges. Upon the finishing of this treaty, the works and the battlements were thrown down, the city dismantled, and the siege rais'd.

The city dismantled, and the siege withdrawn.

Hyrcanus takes three thousand talents out of David's tomb.

He strikes a league with Antiochus, and follows him into the Parthian war.

HYRCANUS after this caused the monument of David to be open'd, (the richest prince that ever was upon the face of the earth,) where he made a seizure of † three thousand talents to his own use, and furnish'd himself with foreign mercenaries, being the first of the nation that ever entertain'd an army of strangers. In the next place he enter'd into a league with Antiochus, invited himself and his army into the city, where he gave them a splendid and a most magnificent reception, and follow'd him afterward with his auxiliaries into the Parthian war, as we have it upon the authority of Nicolaus Damascenus in terms to this purpose: "Antiochus, upon the routing of Indates the Parthian general, erected a triumphal arch upon the bank of the river Lycus, where he rested two days at the request of Hyrcanus a Jew, being just at the time of one of their festivals, upon which day they made a conscience of travelling." The historian was in the right as to this particular; for the feast of pentecost fell out at that time, to be just the next day after the sabbath, and it is not lawful for us to take a journey upon either of those two days.

Antiochus loses his life and his army in a battle with Arsaces. His brother Demetrius succeeds him.

ANTIOCHUS, in fine, came to a battle with Arsaces, the king of the Parthians, in which action he lost both his life and his army. His brother Demetrius, after him, succeeded to the kingdom of Syria, being now set at liberty by Arsaces, upon this invasion of Antiochus, of which we have spoken heretofore.

CHAP. XVII.

Hyrcanus makes himself master of Idumea, and brings over the people to the Jewish laws and discipline, and contracts a new alliance with the Romans. Demetrius is beaten out of the field, and flies to Ptolemais for protection; and thence to Tyre, where he is made a prisoner, and put

to death. A league betwixt Alexander and Hyrcanus. Alexander routed and kill'd in a battle with Antiochus Gryphus. Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus (two brothers) perpetually in war one with another.

HYRCANUS, after the death of Antiochus, march'd away immediately with his army into Syria, presuming within himself, as afterward it prov'd, that he should find the country in some measure deserted and unmann'd. In six months time, though with some difficulty, he took in Medaba; and after that, Samega, and other places thereabouts; and then Sichem and Garizin, with the land of the Chuthites, where the temple stood, that with Alexander's leave, was built after the model of that at Jerusalem by Sanballat, one of his governours, to gratify his son-in-law Manasses, the brother of the high priest Jaddus, as we have said before; which temple was destroy'd about two hundred years after. Hyrcanus took also several strong places in Idumea, as Adora and Marissa; and at last, when he had subdued the whole province, made proclamation for all people to depart the land that would not submit to be circumcis'd: So that rather than quit their country, they not only comply'd in the point of circumcision, but in a conformity also to all the other rites and ceremonies of the Jews: And that was the first time they were reckoned among the Jews.

Upon the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus marches immediately into Syria.

He subdues the whole province of Idumea.

HYRCANUS the high priest, being now about to renew a league with the Romans, sent his ambassadors to the senate, with letters upon that subject. These letters being read and debated, an amity was concluded in manner, and upon the conditions following: "Fanius the son of Marcus Prætor, called a senate in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the ides of February; present Lucius Manlius the son of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius the son of Caius Falerna, upon the business of the embassy of Simon the son of Dositheus; Apollonius the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, persons of honour and probity, and deputed by the nation of the Jews to treat about an alliance, and other publick matters with the senate of Rome: Whereupon it was agreed that Joppa, and the ports Gazara with the fountains, and other places that had been taken away by Antiochus contrary to a decree of the senate, should be all restored, and the king's soldiers not to pass thorough either that, or any other part of the Roman territory without leave: That whatever had been done by Antiochus in the late war, should be declared void, and commissioners appointed to take an estimate of what the people had suffer'd in their lands and goods by his depredations; and to see satisfaction made for all losses." Upon these conditions, the senate was pleas'd to accept of the proposals, that were presented them by these honourable persons, in the name of their good friends and

Articles of alliance betwixt Hyrcanus and the senate of Rome.

* Five hundred Hebrew talents weighed fifty seven thousand, thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to an hundred seventy one thousand ninety three pounds, fifteen shillings, English money. Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; and in value amounted to one hundred two thousand six hundred and fifty six pounds, five shillings.

† Three thousand talents weighed three hundred forty thousand one hundred sixty seven pounds, six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one million, twenty six thousand, five hundred sixty two pounds, ten shillings, of our money. A story so very improbable to be true, that Josephus has incur'd the censure of several learned men for taking notice of it.

allies, the people of the Jews. As to the matter of returning an answer in form, it should be done, they said, at their first leisure, and care taken that no wrong should be offer'd them for the future. Fanius had orders likewise to furnish the ambassadors with money for their charges back again, out of the public stock; which he did accordingly, with recommendatory letters over and above, to all governours and officers in their way, for the convenience and security of their passage.

Ptolemy sends Alexander Zebina to make war upon Demetrius.

WHILE matters stood thus with Hyrcanus the high-priest, there was no want of goodwill in Demetrius to pick a quarrel with him, if he had but had seconds to stand by him in it; but for the Syrians, and his own soldiers, they hated him to that degree for his lewdness, that they join'd in a confederacy against him, making it their request to Ptolemy, otherwise called Physcon the king of Egypt, only to send them some branch or other of Seleucus's family, and they would make him king. Upon this application, Ptolemy sent them one Alexander, surnamed Zebina, with a considerable body of men. It came to a battle, and Demetrius being routed, he fled to his wife Cleopatra, who was then at Ptolemais, for protection; but the gates being shut against him, he fled to Tyre, where he fell into the hands of his enemies, who kept him a while in the anguish of a miserable life, and then put him to death.

A league betwixt Alexander and Hyrcanus.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA being now possessed of the kingdom of Syria, enter'd into a league with Hyrcanus the high-priest, who was engaged some short time after, in a war with Antiochus Gryphus, the son of Demetrius. They brought it to a battle, and it was Alexander's hap to be slain in the engagement. Antiochus, by this providence, came to be king of Syria; but durst not as yet make any attempt upon the Jews; for he heard that Antiochus Cyzicenus (a brother he had of his own name) was at that very time drawing an army together against him at the town of Cyzycus. Wherefore without attempting any thing against the Jews, he thought it most advisable to keep himself upon his guard against his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, from the name of the place where he had his education. The father of this man was Antiochus Soter, who lost his life in an expedition against the Parthians. Now Cleopatra, as we have said already, had been wife to the two brothers. Upon the coming of Antiochus Cyzicenus into Syria, the brethren were perpetually at war the one with the other, and Hyrcanus consequently in the possession of a profound peace; for after the slaughter of Antiochus he fell off from the Macedonians, and had no more to do with them, either as an ally, or as a subject. But in the days of Alexander Zebina, affairs prospered with Hyrcanus according to his own heart's content, and more yet in the reign of the two brothers: For while they were harassing one another, Hyrcanus enjoy'd the revenues of Judea to himself, whereby he hoarded up an inestimable mass of treasure; beside that while Cyzicenus lay ravaging the country, on the one hand; and his brother had no relief all this while out of Egypt on the other, he fairly left them to themselves to confound

Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus.

one another; which was the very thing he aimed at, and so despis'd them both.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hyrcanus besieges Samaria. A miserable famine there. Antiochus Cyzicenus presses to relieve it. Aristobulus puts him to the rout, and then goes back to Samaria to continue the siege. Ptolemy sends Antiochus six thousand Egyptians, that ravage the country of Hyrcanus. Antiochus commits the war to Callimander and Epicrates. The former is routed and slain, and Scythopolis betray'd by the other. Samaria taken and laid waste. Chelcias and Ananias are Cleopatra's confidants and captains. Hyrcanus treats the Pharisees. Eleazar affronts him. Jonathan inflames Hyrcanus against him; whereupon he goes over to the Sadducees. The death of Hyrcanus.

HYRCANUS, under these circumstances, marched with an army up to the strong city of Samaria, call'd Setaste, after its being rebuilt by Herod, of which we shall say more in convenient time and place. Hyrcanus was so irritated against the Samaritans by the indignities they had put upon the people of Maritima, who were inhabitants and allies of Judea, though subject to the king of Syria, that he resolved to attack the place with all the vigour imaginable. Upon sitting down before it, he begirt the town with a large ditch, and a double wall of eighty * furlongs compass, and gave the conduct of the siege to his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus, who plied it so hard, and kept them in so close, that they were forced by extremity of famine to keep life and soul together with carrion and dogs meat; so that in the end they implor'd the assistance of Antiochus Cyzicenus, who came in all haste upon their request; but being routed by Aristobulus, and pursued by him and his brother as far as Scythopolis, he made a very narrow escape. The brethren, after this action, returned to Samaria, and forcing the people into the town again, renew'd the siege, which put them upon an application to the same Antiochus once again for succour, who prevailed with Ptolemy, surnamed Lathurus, for a matter of six thousand men; but so much against his mother's will and approbation, that he was within a very little of losing his kingdom for it. With this band of Egyptians, Antiochus went at first ranging and ravaging up and down the country of Hyrcanus, not being at that time in a condition to look him in the face. Now the thing he aim'd at, was by this diversion to draw him from the siege; but what with surprizes, desertions, and other casualties, he found his party in a short time so shrunk and weaken'd, that he committed the charge of the Jewish war to Callimander and Epicrates, and went off from thence himself to Tripoli. Callimander, after this, with more bravery than discretion, ventur'd upon a rash encounter, where his people were wholly cut off, and himself slain: Epicrates at the same time treacherously betraying Scythopolis and several other neighbouring towns there, for money, to the Jews; so that, in fine, there

Hyrcanus lays siege to Samaria.

A terrible famine in the town.

Antiochus Cyzicenus marches toward their relief. Aristobulus gives him a defeat.

Antiochus with six thousand Egyptians ravages Hyrcanus's country.

Antiochus leaves the manage of the war to Callimander and Epicrates. Callimander's people cut off upon an encounter, and himself slain.

* Eighty furlongs were ten English miles, and an hundred and twenty paces.

was no possibility of relieving the place. Hyrcanus had been a full year before Samaria when he took it, and it was not enough, he thought, to be master of the city, without razing the very memory of it from off the earth; for he not only made it a heap of rubbish, but drew several trenches of water through it, which so disfigur'd the face of every thing, that there was not the least mark left of any building that had ever been there. There goes a wonderful, if not an incredible story of this same Hyrcanus the high-priest; which says, that upon the day of the battle which his sons had with Cyzicenus, it was revealed to him by a voice from heaven, as he was alone in the temple, and offering incense, that his sons had gotten a fresh victory over Antiochus. He went out immediately, and told the people what he had heard, which was confirm'd a while after beyond all dispute. This was computed to be just upon the precise instant of the success; and let this suffice for the state of things at that time with Hyrcanus.

Samaria taken after a year's siege.

No memorial left that ever there was such a place.

A voice from heaven tells Hyrcanus of his sons victory.

The Jews prosper every where.

Chelcias and Ananias, two of Cleopatra's captains and counsellors.

See Strabo the Cappadocian.

Hyrcanus envied by the Jews and Pharisees.

The wonderful credit of the Pharisees with the common people.

Hyrcanus treats the Pharisees.

THE Jews found this a favourable season for them, not only at Jerusalem, but at Alexandria also, and the rest of Egypt, Cyprus, &c. For the queen Cleopatra, upon a difference with her son Ptolemy Lathur, committed the command of her troops to Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who erected a temple in the territory of Heliopolis, after the platform of that at Jerusalem, of which we have spoken before. These two persons were the queen's advisers and directors in all she did, as we have it upon the credit of Strabo the Cappadocian, in words to this effect: "A great many of those, says he, that either came formerly with us to Cyprus, or were sent thither afterward by Cleopatra, immediately quitted the queen's interest, and went over to Ptolemy; only the Jews that were of Onias's party, stood firm, out of a reverence they paid the queen for the respect she shew'd to Chelcias and Ananias, their friends and countrymen." Thus far Strabo.

Now the credit and good fortune of Hyrcanus drew upon him, in a high measure, the envy of the Jews, the Pharisees especially, who had no great kindness for him before; but this is a point that I have formerly touch'd upon. The authority of that faction, in fine, is so sacred among the common people, that let them treat their king, or their high-priest, at never so coarse a rate, the multitude would be sure to approve their proceedings. Hyrcanus, however, having been train'd up in that school, and being look'd upon as a person much in their favour, took a fair occasion to invite them to an entertainment, where he treated them with all possible humanity and respect. So soon as good company and good cheer had put them into the humour of a free and open conversation, he took the opportunity to make them a short discourse somewhat to this following effect: "I need not tell you, says he, my worthy friends, that a man of your own principles, desires nothing more than to approve himself acceptable to God, and just to his neighbour, which is but according to the result of your own doctrine; but if you shall find, however, that I have in any thing departed from my duty, as it is your part to admonish and instruct me, I

"shall account it mine to amend and reform." This generous candor was received with such applause, that Hyrcanus did not a little value himself upon the reputation of so honourable a testimony.

AFTER some short pause, Eleazar, one of the guests, an ill-natur'd malicious man, stood up and broke silence. "Since you are pleased, says he to Hyrcanus, to profess yourself so great a lover of truth and plain dealing, be but so just also as to lay down your pontificate, and content yourself with the character of your civil administration." "And I beseech you, says Hyrcanus, why this proposal?" Because, says the other, we have been told by our elders, that in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, your mother was a slave." Now the report was false, and so much the more offensive, as well to the Pharisees, as to Hyrcanus himself. There happened to be in the company, one Jonathan, Hyrcanus's particular friend, but a Sadducee, and consequently a mortal enemy to the Pharisees. This Jonathan would needs have it that the calumny of Eleazar was a thing concerted, and that the Pharisees were all privy to it. Now this you will find to be true, says he, if you do but put it to them what punishment they think a man may deserve for so scandalous a defamation. Hyrcanus put the question, to feel how they stood affected, and whether or not they were privy and consenting to the affront. Their answer was, being men generally inclin'd to mercy in such cases, that they did not find defamation to be a capital crime, and so they thought whipping and imprisonment might serve for satisfaction. This way of qualifying the matter put Hyrcanus into a violent passion, and gave him to understand, that they had every one of them their part in this infamous reflection upon his family. Jonathan plied Hyrcanus in this heat, and embitter'd him against the Pharisees to such a degree, that he absolutely renounc'd the sect, and went over to the Sadducees; abrogating all their ordinances and constitutions, with a penalty upon those that should presume to observe them. This was it that put both himself and his sons quite out of credit with the common people, as will be seen in its proper place. We are here to take notice, that the Pharisees had many traditions handed down from father to son, which are not to be found among the laws of Moses. Now these traditions are rejected by the Sadducees, upon a persuasion, that only the written laws are authoritative and binding. We are now come to the very root of the main controversy betwixt the two parties, the Sadducees being supported by men of quality and substance; the Pharisees only by the favour of the multitude. But of these sects, and of the Essenes, a full account may be seen in our history of the Jewish wars, B. II.

THE remainder of Hyrcanus's life, after the composing of this sedition, was happy and quiet to the very day of his death, which happened in the year of his government thirty one. He left behind him five sons, and God was pleased to honour him with three eminent dignities; the civil government of the Jews, the high-priesthood, and the spirit of prophecy; foretelling by a divine revelation, that his two eldest sons should not long enjoy the government liv'd.

Eleazar passes a bitter reflection upon Hyrcanus.

Jonathan, a Sadducee, irritates Hyrcanus against the Pharisees, who renounces them, and turns Sadducee.

The great men side with the Sadducees, and the multitude with the Pharisees.

Hyrcanus govern'd one and thirty years, and left five sons; foretelling that the two eldest should not be long liv'd.

ment after the death of their father. It succeeded in the event according to his prediction; but it will be worth the while, for the credit of his presage, to shew how they came to their end.

C H A P. XIX.

Aristobulus the eldest son of Hyrcanus, makes himself to be crown'd king. Antigonus, the second brother, is his favourite. He keeps the other three brothers in prison, and starves his mother. Antigonus is put to death, and his death foretold by one Judas a prophet, both for time and place. Aristobulus seiz'd with a horror of conscience, and a vomiting of blood, which he confesses to be a just judgment upon him.

Aristobulus changes the Aristocracy into a monarchy.

He takes Antigonus into the government with him.

His barbarous cruelties.

He puts Antigonus to death upon the instigation of his enemies.

A malicious calumny.

HYRCANUS being now dead, his eldest son Aristobulus form'd a resolution of new modelling the government, and turning the principality into an absolute monarchy; setting the crown accordingly upon his own head. This happen'd four hundred and eighty one years and three months after the return of the Jews from the captivity of Babylon. He had so great a tenderness for Antigonus, his next brother, that he made him a kind of a partner with him in the government. The other three he kept all this while in bonds; casting his mother into prison also, whom he look'd upon as a rival upon a pretence of claim, Hyrcanus having left her at his death, the mistress of all he could confer upon her. His cruelty, in short, was so horrid and unnatural, that he starv'd his mother to death in her confinement, and afterward put his dearly beloved brother and favourite Antigonus himself to death, only upon the malicious suggestions of evil tongues. It was a good while before he would give any heed to those invidious stories, in regard both of the affection he had for Antigonus, and that in his conscience he look'd upon them all to be only the inventions of malevolence and envy; but Antigonus happening once to return from the army in great pomp and glory, just upon the solemnity of the feast of tabernacles, Aristobulus at the same time lying sick in his bed, his brother Antigonus went up to the temple, with his guards about him, in mighty splendor and state; only upon the account of religious worship, and in the first place to offer up his prayers and vows for the health of his brother. The fame and reputation of Antigonus, and the magnificence of his parade upon this occasion, furnished as fit matter for a faction of sycophants and court-parasites to work upon, as they could wish; so that they went immediately to the king, with all the virulent pretences and aggravations they could think of. "This was not a behaviour, they said, that became the condition of a private man, but rather a most notorious evidence of a design upon the crown; and that the guards he had then about him, would in a short time advance from this invasion upon his royalty, to a violence upon his person; and he was not so impolitick neither as to stop at a part of the government, when he might have it whole to himself." Aristobulus was so divided betwixt the fear of being either too secure, or too credulous, that though he could not believe every

thing they told him, he could not yet but suspect there might be something in it upon the main, and so took a middle course of providing for his safety, without seeming to be jealous of any danger. He had his apartment in a tower that hath been since known by the name of Antonia, where he posted a guard in a dark place under ground, with particular orders, that they should watch his brother in his passage, and that if he came without arms, no body should meddle with him; but if he came armed, they should kill him. So Aristobulus sent for his brother to come to him, charging the messenger to bid him come without arms; but the queen, and the rest of the conspirators tamper'd with the messenger, and bad him tell Antigonus on the contrary, that his brother had heard of a very brave suit of armour he had gotten, and that he had a great mind to see how they became him. Antigonus depending wholly upon the good faith of his brother, and suspecting no treachery, went immediately armed, just as the messenger found him, to shew himself. Upon his coming to the tower of Straton, the soldiers fell upon him in a dark passage, and slew him. This disaster may suffice to shew the force of envy and slander, and how the very best of natures may be corrupted by those temptations. But the most wonderful circumstance of all was the prediction of one Judas, a famous prophet of those times, whose presages never fail'd. This Judas, upon the sight of Antigonus, coming to the temple, broke out into exclamations among his disciples, that he was now weary of his life; for Antigonus, whose death he had presag'd upon that very day at Straton's tower, was yet alive; the place six * hundred furlongs off, and the day more than half spent; so that he had utterly lost the credit of a prophet for ever. While he was in this perplexity for the reputation of his oracle, came the news of Antigonus's being slain in a subterranean passage under the tower. Now this was call'd Straton's tower, it seems, as well as that upon the coast, which was afterwards known by the name of Cesarea; and this salvo set the prophet right again.

A plot of the queen and the conspirators upon his life.

Antigonus murder'd in Straton's tower.

A strange prediction of one Judas, concerning his death, with the very time and place. *Six hundred furlongs amounted to near seventy six English miles.

THE thought of this execrable murder wrought upon Aristobulus immediately a conscientious detestation of the fact, and enflamed his distemper, insomuch that his agonies increasing upon him, he fell at last into a vomiting of blood; and as one of his servants was carrying part of it away in a basin, by a strange providence he made a stumble upon the way, and spilt it upon the very blood of his master's brother. There was such an outcry upon this accident, (as if the servant had done it on purpose,) that Aristobulus himself over-hearing it, could not be easy till they told him the meaning of it; and the more unwilling they were of owning the truth, the more eager was he to know it, as men are naturally more curious in such cases. But in the conclusion, betwixt importunity and menace, he extorted it from them, and in the horror of an afflicted conscience, enter'd with groans and tears into an anxious expostulation upon it to this purpose: "No, no, says he, the all-seeing eye of God hath found me out in my wickedness, and my brother's blood hath already brought down a vengeance upon me. How long shall this shameless car-

Aristobulus struck with a remorse of conscience.

Aristobulus vomits blood.

His last agony, and confession of his wickedness.

"case

"cass of mine entertain a life so justly forfeited to the ashes and memory of my dear mother and brother! Why do I not rather die once for all, than bleed to death thus drop by drop, as if my sufferings could be an atonement for the foulness of a parricide!" He had no sooner uttered these words than he gave up the ghost, having govern'd only one year, under the surname of Philellen; that is to say, A lover of the Greeks. He brought many advantages to his country; made war upon Iturea, and laid a considerable part of it to the territory of Judea, forcing the people, upon pain of banishment, to submit to circumcision, and to live in a conformity to the other rites and practices of the Jews. He was accounted to be otherwise a person of modesty and justice, as Strabo vouches for him out of Timagenes, in these words: "He was a righteous man, and in many respects a friend to the Jews; for he enlarged their jurisdiction by annexing to it Iturea, uniting the people also into one common bond of circumcision."

A good man upon the main, and a friend to the Jews.

CHAP. XX.

Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, sets the three brothers at liberty, and places Janneus Alexander upon the throne. Alexander puts one of his brothers to death, and provides for the other. He besieges Ptolemais: Ptolemy Lathur advances to relieve them; but they shut their gates upon him. Alexander quits the siege, and plays a politic game betwixt the interest of Cleopatra and Ptolemy. Ptolemy sets down before Ptolemais, and takes the city Azochis by assault.

Salome sets the three brothers at liberty, and advances the eldest to the throne.

Hyrchanus contracts a mortal aversion for Alexander, upon a dream.

AFTER the death of Aristobulus, his wife Salome, (by the Greeks called Alexandria) set the brothers at liberty, whom her husband had made prisoners (of which already) and placed Janneus, otherwise called Alexander, upon the throne; the eldest, and the most temperate of the three. It was his ill hap to incur his father's aversion, almost as soon as he was born, to the degree of not being suffer'd to appear in his sight. The reason, they say, was this: Hyrcanus had a dream one night of God's appearing to him, and that upon his enquiry who should succeed him in the government, he was answered with the lively representation of the person, and so the vision disappear'd. Aristobulus and Antigonus were his favourites; and Hyrcanus finding that neither of them was design'd by this figure, he apply'd it to Alexander, under the affliction of a double disappointment, in regard both of the dignity and of the fortune, falling, as he accounted it, into a wrong hand. Upon this occasion, Alexander was sent away to be brought up in Galilee; but the event however answer'd the prediction; for Alexander, upon the death of Aristobulus, enter'd upon the administration; and taking off one of his brothers that would have supplanted him, treated the other with great honour in the contented state of a private life.

Alexander cuts off one of his brothers, and provides for the other.

So soon as he had settled the state to his mind, he marched with an army to Ptolemais, where he encounter'd a body of the enemy in the field; beat them into the town, and then

coop'd them up in it. There was only this place and Gaza, of all the sea-coast towns that stood out, beside Dora, and the tower of Straton, in the hands of Zoilus. As for Antiochus Philometor, and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus, they were so engaged and wasted in a war one with another, that there was no thought of any relief to the people of Ptolemais from them. But Zoilus, that play'd his own game all this while, and lay upon the catch to make advantage of these divisions, sent them some sort of assistance, though not much to the purpose. It was at this time with the two enemy-kings as it is with a couple of sword-men fighting a prize: they were so intent upon cutting one another down, that they never thought of any thing else; and let them be never so much batter'd and weary'd, there must be no yielding at last; but when they have fought as long as they can stand, their way is to lie down by consent to take breath, and to it again. The besieged, in fine, had no prospect of any hope or possibility of relief, but from Egypt, and especially from Ptolemy Lathur, that had been driven out of his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, and was now withdrawn into Cyprus: so that they presently sent away ambassadors to Ptolemy to desire his aid against Alexander; making no doubt, they said, but as soon as ever he should set foot in Syria, the people of Gaza and Ptolemais would all declare in his favour; beside that, Zoilus, the Sidonians, and other people thereabouts, would be sure to join with him over and above. The king was so elevated with these assurances, that he sent his people immediately upon the equipping of a fleet for the expedition: but while this was a doing, one Demenetus, a person of great credit with the citizens of Ptolemais, brought the people, upon second thoughts, to a better understanding of the matter, by reasoning with them about it after this manner. "The question, says he, in short, will be this; whether you had not better stand to the fate of the war you are engag'd in with the Jews, and venture the uncertain issue of it, than by calling in and delivering yourselves up to the protection of a foreign power, to incur a certain slavery; and not only become involved in a present broil, but run the risque of a more dangerous incumbrance that threatens you from Egypt; for you cannot think that Cleopatra will ever stand still, to see Ptolemy form his troops into a body; but the queen will rather get beforehand with him, and have a potent army at his back, before he is ready for it; beside the hazard he runs of being driven out of Cyprus too. Or to take it another way; suppose Ptolemy should fail in his design, and be forced back again to Cyprus, there are you left to shift for yourselves, expos'd to the greatest dangers and difficulties that can be."

THIS discourse brought them quite off from their opinion of the embassy, and Ptolemy was told as much at sea upon his passage; but however, since he was now in motion, he continu'd his course to Sycamin, where he landed an army of about thirty thousand horse and foot, marching thence to Ptolemais, with an intent to send an embassy to the city; but when he found that they would have nothing to do with him, either by message, or by word of mouth,

He lays siege to Ptolemais; which with Gaza, Dora, and the tower of Straton, under Zoilus, did yet stand out.

An embassy to Ptolemy Lathur for relief.

Ptolemy upon this equips a great fleet. Demenetus puts off the people from treating with Ptolemy.

Ptolemy lands with 30000 horse and foot; but citizens will have nothing to do with him.

Ptolemy attacks Sycamin, beaten

Alexander quits the siege, and betakes himself to stratagems.

He tampers under hand with Cleopatra, and treats with Ptolemy to deliver up Zoilus.

Ptolemy lays siege to Ptolemais.

Ptolemy takes the city of Asochis by assault.

it put him to his wits end what to do next. While he was in this perplexity, there came to him Zoilus, and some deputies from Gaza, to implore his help against the Jews and Alexander, that were making havock in their country. Alexander, upon this, was forc'd to raise the siege for fear of Ptolemy: and when he saw there was no good to be done by downright force, he marched his army back again, and betaking himself to his politicks, play'd his game another way. He treated with Cleopatra under-hand against Ptolemy, and at the same time kept fair with Ptolemy, in appearance, under the countenance of a friend and an ally; proposing to give him four * hundred talents of silver, upon condition of delivering up the usurper Zoilus into his hands, and restoring to the Jews those lands of theirs, which he had in possession. Ptolemy, without any hesitation, embraced the friendship of Alexander, and seiz'd upon Zoilus; but coming to understand, that there was an intrigue carry'd on all this while betwixt Alexander and Cleopatra, he look'd upon the league as broken, and without more ado, laid siege to Ptolemais, where the gates were shut against him. Upon this, he divided his army, leaving one part of it before the town to make good the siege, and marching off with the remainder of it himself, to destroy the country of Judea. Now, Alexander, on the other hand, to encounter this design of Ptolemy, levy'd an army of his own people; some say of fifty, others of eighty thousand men, and so advanced with it against the enemy. Ptolemy, in the mean time taking the advantage of a sabbath-day, fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, at unawares, and took it by assault with about ten thousand prisoners, and a vast booty.

CHAP. XXI.

Ptolemy Lathur gives Alexander an overthrow, and takes Ptolemais by assault. Cleopatra joins with the Jews against him, and makes Chelcias and Ananias her generals. Ptolemy is forc'd out of Egypt, and slain in the pursuit. Cleopatra reduces Ptolemais, and strikes a new league with Alexander, who takes Gadara and Amathoon. Gaza besieg'd. Apollodotus makes a brave sally, and is beaten back. Lyfimachus murders him, and betrays the town. A barbarous massacre. Alexander returns to Jerusalem. Antiochus Gryphus slain. Seleucus routs Antiochus Cyzicenus; takes him prisoner, and puts him to death. Demetrius Eucerus made king of Damascus. The death of Antiochus by the Parthians. Philip and Demetrius succeed him. Alexander affronted by his own people; destroys six thousand of them, and falls into an ambush. A rebellion that cost the Jews six thousand lives.

Ptolemy attacks Sepphoris, and is beaten off.

AFTER the taking of Asochis, Ptolemy went and attack'd Sepphoris, a place a little way off; where he was repuls'd with a considerable loss, and from thence marched directly away to try a battle with Alexander,

whom he found about * Asophus near the river Jordan, and encamped just over against the enemy. Alexander had in his van eight thousand of those they call Hecatontomachi, armed with brazen bucklers, and Ptolemy's men in the front had the same sort of shields; but the generality of his people not being so well armed as their adversaries, were not over-eager of engaging, till one Philostephanus, an excellent officer who had the ordering of them, and understood ranging an army perfectly well, led them on and encourag'd them. The first word of command was to pass the river that parted the two armies; which Alexander did not pretend to oppose, in confidence of getting the day, if he could but engage the enemy with river behind them to cut off their retreat. When it came to the shock, the fortune of the battle was a while doubtful, and it was fought with great loss on both sides; till (upon the shrinking of a division of Ptolemy's) the victory seemed to incline to Alexander: But Philostephanus coming up to their relief with a seasonable enforcement, that wing of the Jews was overlaid by numbers, and broken; and no succour appearing, they were forced to shift for themselves, and the whole field presently followed their example; Ptolemy's men pressing so hard upon the fugitives that their arms were tir'd, and their swords blunted with the execution. They speak of thirty thousand men slain in that battle. Timagenes in his history makes them to be fifty; the rest either taken prisoners, or saving themselves by flight.

The Hecatontomachi.

Philostephanus engages them.

Alexander put to the rout, with the loss of 30000 men.

AFTER the pursuit of this bloody victory as far as merciless rage and day-light could carry it, Ptolemy, in the evening, went into some of the Jews villages and habitations; and finding them well stock'd and crowded with women and children, order'd his soldiers to cut their throats, one with another, promiscuously, and then hack them into goblets and quarters, and so boil them in pots and kettles over the fire, for a terror to those that escap'd from the battle, when they should find themselves fallen into the hands of an enemy that liv'd upon human flesh. Strabo and Nicolaus make mention of this barbarous cruelty. The same people took Ptolemais also by assault, as we have said elsewhere.

A barbarous butchery of Ptolemy.

Ptolemais taken by force.

CLEOPATRA was so sensible of the overgrown greatness of her son, he having reduced Gaza, and laid waste the land of Judea, that she thought it now high time to put a stop to his ambition; especially being come to the gates of Egypt itself, with a design upon the kingdom too. Upon this precaution, she muster'd without any delay, all the strength she was able to make, both at sea and land; constituting Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, for generals. She sent the greatest part of her treasure with her grandchildren, and her last will and testament into the isle of Coas; and order'd her son Alexander with a powerful navy into Phenicia, to keep that province in obedience, while she herself went to Ptolemais; and being refused admittance, she order'd an assault upon the town. Ptolemy, upon this, quitted Syria, and hasten'd away into Egypt; flattering himself, that coming so unexpected-

Cleopatra levies an army against Ptolemy, and makes Chelcias and Ananias her generals.

Ptolemy quits Syria and marches away into Egypt.

* Four hundred Hebrew talents weigh'd forty five thousand six hundred twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred thirty six thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds of English money.

† It should be Asochis, according to Ortelius in his Thesaurus Geograph. v. Asophus.

ly, and in the queen's absence too, he should find the country unguarded; but he was much mistaken in his surmise. Cleopatra had the fortune at this time to lose Chelcias, one of her generals, as he was in the pursuit of Ptolemy in Cele-Syria.

Ptolemy forced quite a way out of Egypt. Cleopatra takes Ptolemais by assault, and treats Alexander with great respect.

UPON Ptolemy's miscarriage in this attempt upon Egypt, the queen sent a strong detachment after him, that drove him quite out of his country, now a second time, and forced him to take up his winter-quarters in Gaza: she herself, in the mean time, taking the city and garison of Ptolemais by assault, where she was highly presented by Alexander, and the presenter also received with a dignity becoming so great and generous a queen, to an unfortunate prince under the persecution and oppression of a common enemy, and that had no other sanctuary to repair to. Some of the queen's friends were for persuading her to follow different measures, suggesting to her to make the best advantage of her opportunity, by seizing Alexander, urging how impolitick it would be to leave such a number of Jews under the command of one single man: but Ananias loudly declaim'd against the unreasonableness of such a proceeding, as highly injurious to all the ties and duties of hospitality and common faith; especially to a friend and a kinsman, under so sacred a trust: beside, that one such act of injustice would turn against her the hearts of all the honest Jews upon the face of the earth. The queen was so mightily pleased with this plain-dealing simplicity of Ananias, that she did not only forbear pressing any thing that was hard upon Alexander, but renew'd a league of friendship with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Cele-Syria.

No sooner did Alexander find himself out of the power and fear of Ptolemy, but he immediately undertook an expedition into Cele-Syria; where, after a siege of ten months, he took Gadara, and after that, Amathus, by much the strongest fort upon the river Jordan, and the place where Theodorus the son of Zeno, in an outrage of revenge, fell upon the Jews by surprize, cut off ten thousand of their men, and took Alexander's baggage: but this unexpected disaster did not yet divert the king from his design upon Raphia, a sea-coast town, and Anthedon, which was afterwards by Herod called Agrippiades; both which he reduced by force. Ptolemy had by this time left Gaza, and betaken himself again to Cyprus, his mother Cleopatra also being gone back to Egypt: so that Alexander took this occasion of revenging himself upon the people of Gaza for calling in Ptolemy to their succour against him; laid siege to the town, and at the same time ravaged their country. While Alexander was before the place, Apollodotus their commander made a stout sally one night with two thousand mercenaries, and ten thousand of the citizens well armed, upon the camp of the Jews; and so long as it was dark, the besieged had the better of it, upon an apprehension of Ptolemy's being come up with relief: but so soon as ever they had day-light to shew them the truth of the matter, the Jews rally'd, and made so furious a charge upon the garison, that they destroy'd a thousand of their men: but the courage of these people was

He besieges Gaza. Apollodotus makes a stout sally upon the Jews, and an obstinate defence.

proof still against all the difficulties of number, force, nay, and famine itself; being resolved among themselves rather to abide all extremities, than to shrink, or yield to an enemy. And for a further encouragement to this obstinacy, they were held in hand by Aretas an Arabian king, with the promise of a timely succour. But all came to nothing; for before any supply could be brought, Apollodotus was kill'd, and the town taken. This Apollodotus was murder'd by the hand of Lyfimachus, his own brother, out of mere spite and envy, for the reputation he had gained among the people. After the fact committed, he got a party together, and so deliver'd up the city to Alexander. This prince, upon his first entrance, behaved himself as if he meant them nothing but moderation, good-will, and fair quarter. But this peaceable humour did not last long, for he turn'd his soldiers loose among them immediately after, with a commission at large to kill, burn, and destroy at pleasure. This licence they extended to a direct massacre, though it cost them dear enough too; for there died as many of the Jews, as of the townsmen. Some, in short, set fire to their own houses, that the enemy might not be the better for them; others laid violent hands upon their very wives and children, chusing rather to have them die free, than live slaves. The magistracy of the town happen'd to be in council when these barbarous troops came into the city, and the senators, to the number of five hundred, fled immediately to the temple of Apollo for sanctuary; but they were all slaughter'd to a man, the town sack'd and levell'd; and Alexander, after a year spent before it, returned to Jerusalem.

MUCH about this time it was that Antiochus, otherwise called Gryphus, was kill'd by the treachery of Heracleon, in the year of his life forty five, and the nine and twentieth of his reign. His son Seleucus succeeded him, who waged war with his uncle Antiochus, call'd Cyzicenus, whom he worsted and took prisoner in a battle, and put him to death. Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, whose surname was Eusebes, came a while after to Arad, where he was crown'd; and making war after this, upon Seleucus, he beat him at one battle out of all Syria, whence he fled for safety to Celicia: And in requital for the protection he receiv'd among the Mopseates, he laid heavy taxes and impositions upon them, which they took in such indignation, that they put fire to his palace, and burnt master and servants all together alive.

WHILE Antiochus Cyzicenus was in possession of the government of Syria, there was another Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, who made war upon him, wherein he lost his life and his army; after which his brother Philip took the crown to himself, and govern'd part of Syria. Ptolemy Lathur upon this sent for his fourth brother Demetrius Eucerus, to Gnidus, whom he constituted king of Damascus. Antiochus, for the time he liv'd, made a stout resistance against his brothers; but being call'd upon soon after to the assistance of Laodice, the queen of the Galadenes, who was then in war with the Parthians, he was * slain in the field with his sword in his hand, behav-

Aretas holds the Jews in hand with hopes of relief.

Lyfimachus murders his own brother Apollodotus, and delivers up the town.

A bloody massacre.

Alexander goes back to Jerusalem. The death of Antiochus Gryphus.

Seleucus routs Antiochus Cyzicenus; takes him prisoner, and puts him to death.

Ptolemy makes Demetrius Eucerus king of Damascus. Antiochus slain by the Parthians.

* Vaillant in his Nummi Seleucidarum, p. 376. endeavours to shew that Josephus is in a mistake here.

Philip and Demetrius succeeded to the government of Syria. Alexander affronted by his own people.

He puts six thousand of them to death.

He demolishes Amathus, and makes war upon Obed.

A six year's rebellion that cost the lives of fifty thousand Jews.

They call in Demetrius to their assistance.

ving himself like a man of honour and resolution; and after his death the government of Syria descended to his two brothers, Philip and Demetrius, as has been said heretofore.

THERE was about this time a most seditious affront put upon Alexander by his own people. It was a customary thing among the Jews to march with boughs of citron or palm-trees in their hands upon the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and as Alexander was upon his preparation to sacrifice, and assist at the solemnity, the multitude fell to pelting him with citrons, and with such provoking language of slave, and the like, that in a rage he caused a matter of six thousand of them to be put to death, and was forced to set up a partition of wood about the temple and the altar, to the very place where only the priests were admitted, to keep off the crowd. He made use of Pisidians and Cilicians for his mercenaries; but for the Syrians, he did not love them, and durst not trust them. He got the better, in fine, of the Arabians; laid the Moabites and Galaadites under contribution, and destroy'd Amathus without the least opposition from Theodorus. He made war also upon Obed the king of Arabia, but falling into an ambush near Gadara in Galilee, he was forced by a press of camels into the mouth of a narrow craggy passage; from whence, with infinite difficulty, he made a shift to clear himself, and so got safe to Jerusalem. This disaster of Alexander's was follow'd with a six years rebellion, which cost the Jews no less than fifty thousand lives. The king was weary of the war, and would fain have been at quiet; but the more he fought for a reconciliation, the further were they from it; insomuch, that asking them at last what it was possible for him to do to content them, they bad him with one voice cut his own throat; and thereupon he invited Demetrius Eucerus to their aid.

C H A P. XXII.

Demetrius Eucerus marches against Alexander, and defeats him in a battle. His auxiliaries are all slain to a man. Six thousand Jews repair to him in the mountains. Demetrius retires, and the Jews make head against Alexander, who shuts them up in Bethama, and carries them prisoners to Jerusalem. Eight hundred Jews put to death for a spectacle. Alexander nick-nam'd Thracidas, for his butcherly cruelty. Philip besieged in Berea by his brother Demetrius, who is himself assaulted in his camp by Zizus and Mithridates, and carried away prisoner to the king of the Parthians. Demetrius dies, and his brother Philip enters upon the government of Syria.

DEMETRIUS EUCERUS, in conjunction with those who called him in, marched to their assistance with an army of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, and encamped near Sichem, where Alexander, with about six thousand and two hundred foreign mercenaries, and some twenty thousand of his own faction, went out to meet him. The armies being now drawn up, it came to a trial of skill upon the point of stratagem and address betwixt

the two parties, whether Demetrius could bring over more of Alexander's foreigners to him, (being all Greeks,) or Alexander, on the other hand, gain over more of Demetrius's Jews to himself. They spent some time in making use of this sort of policy, but finding that there was no good to be done on either hand that way, they brought it to a battle, and Demetrius got the day; Alexander's auxiliaries doing as much however as it was possible for brave men to do; for they died every soul of them upon the spot with sword in hand; and the loss on the other side was also very considerable. Alexander, upon this defeat, was forced to fly to the mountains for refuge; where, by a strange turn of compassion for his misfortune, a matter of six thousand Jews came up to him, and join'd him. Demetrius took such an apprehension at this enforcement, and the inclinations of the people, that he presently quitted, and retir'd. But the Jews, after all this, stood their ground still, nevertheless, and carried on the war against Alexander upon the stock of their own resolution and credit; notwithstanding that they were perpetually baffled and cut to pieces as often as they fought. They were forced in the conclusion, with the best of their men, to betake themselves to Bethama for protection, where Alexander coop'd them up; and taking the town, carried the people prisoners to Jerusalem, where he committed the most execrable barbarities that can be imagin'd. As he was feasting himself, and his concubines, in a turret that had the advantage of a large prospect, he made it part of his entertainment, to treat his company with the spectacle of the gibbeting of eight hundred Jews, with their wives and children, and the cutting of their throats in the sight of one another yet living. It was a terrible provocation, 'tis true, for subjects not only to rebel, but to join also with strangers against their lawful prince, to the extreme hazard of his life and dignity, as this was the case; and then to reduce him at last to the necessity of giving up again to the king of Arabia, what he had taken from the Moabites and Galaadites, as a composition not to assist his revolted subjects against him; to say nothing of other outrages innumerable of the same kind. These were all very great provocations, but not sufficient yet to warrant so unnatural an inhumanity. The rigour, in short, was so detestable, that the Jews gave Alexander the name of * Thracidas for it. There were about eight thousand of the army, however, that made a shift to get away by night, and spent their days afterward in a kind of banishment, so long as Alexander liv'd; but this tumult once over, he had a peaceable reign of it ever after.

DEMETRIUS went from Judea to Berea, where his brother Philip was, and with an army of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, laid siege to the town. Straton, the prince of the place, and a friend of Philip's, called in to his assistance Zizus an Arabian prince, and Mithridates Sinaces, the Parthian general, who with a powerful army attack'd Demetrius, and distress'd him so hard both with darts and arrows, and with drought for want of water, that Demetrius with his people

He retires to the mountains, and six thousand Jews repair to him.

Demetrius withdraws, and the Jews maintain the war against Alexander.

Alexander coops them up in Bethama, takes the town, and carries the people prisoners to Jerusalem.

Eight hundred Jews crucified for a spectacle.

Alexander, for his barbarity, nick-nam'd Thracidas.

Demetrius besieges Berea, with his brother Philip in it, while he himself is attack'd, and taken prisoner in his trenches, and sent to the king of Parthia.

* Because the Thracians were remarkably cruel and bloody, as appears from Thucydides and other historians.

A battle fought betwixt Demetrius, and Alexander worsted.

were forced to surrender, himself being kept a prisoner, and afterwards sent for a present to Mithridates, a Parthian king. What Antiochians were found in the tents, were left at liberty to go back to Antioch. The king of Parthia treated Demetrius with great honour and respect; but he soon after fell sick, and died. Philip after this battle immediately repair'd to Antioch, and enter'd upon the government of the whole kingdom of Syria.

CHAP. XXIII.

Antiochus Dionysius makes himself king of Damascus. His brother Philip, by the help of Milesius, supplants him. The ingratitude of Milesius, who afterward shuts the gates upon Philip, and keeps it for Antiochus. Alexander fortifies all the avenues from Caparsaba, or Antipatris, to Joppa. Antiochus breaks in upon Alexander; a bloody battle ensues; Antiochus is kill'd, and his army routed. Aretas chosen king of Cele-Syria. He falls into Judea, and gives Alexander an overthrow, and then comes to an agreement with him upon terms. Alexander takes in several places by assault; deposes Demetrius, and returns to Jerusalem. The large possessions of the Jews. Pella destroyed. Alexander falls sick of a debauch at the siege of Ragaba. Alexander deplores her condition to her husband, who advises her to cast herself wholly upon the Pharisees, and so he dies.

ANTIOCHUS, otherwise call'd Dionysius, and the brother of Philip, took the opportunity of his brother's being then engaged with his army in an expedition against the Parthians; and having an eye upon Damascus, got possession of the place, and himself declared king there. The tidings of this adventure brought his brother Philip immediately in all haste to Damascus, where, by a secret intelligence with Milesius, the governor of the fort, he was quietly received into the town; but to disguise the matter, he gave the officer no reward, for fear he should be thought to come in rather by treachery, than by the force of his authority and credit; but Milesius was even with him for it afterward; for Philip being abroad once at the Circus for his exercise and diversion, Milesius shut the gates upon him, and reserv'd the city for Antiochus; who, upon the first news of it, posted instantly back again out of Arabia, and with an army of eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, marched directly into Judea. Alexander, upon this incursion, drew a large and deep ditch from Caparsaba, now called Antipatris, up to the very sea of Joppa, which was the only accessible way to the town. He erected a wall also with intervals of several wooden towers, which he carried on for an hundred and fifty * furlongs in length, and there he waited for Antiochus, who, without more ado, set fire to these wooden contrivances, and so pass'd his army into Arabia, where the enemy gave way upon the first encounter; but advancing afterward with a body of ten thousand horse, Antiochus charging in directly

upon them, it came to a bloody dispute; but pressing in too eagerly to the relief of one of his wings that he found over-power'd, it was his fortune to be kill'd, when he was as good as sure of the victory. The death of the general discouraged the hearts of the whole army, who instantly upon his fall fled in a rout to Cana, where the greater part of them perish'd for want of bread.

ARETAS next obtain'd the government of Cele-Syria, being call'd and invited thereto by the people of Damascus, out of a spite and opposition to Ptolemy the son of Menneus. He enter'd Judea with an army, overthrew Alexander near Addida; and then upon conditions betwixt them two, return'd back from whence they came.

ALEXANDER went on, and took Dion by assault; marching thence to Essa, where Zeno's treasure lay, and all he had that was rich and precious. He ran first three walls about it, and then made himself master of it by storm, as he did afterwards of Gaulana, and Seleucia, the vale of Antiochus, and the fortrefs of Gamala. And in regard that there were many grievous misdemeanors laid to the charge of Demetrius, formerly the master of these places, he divested him of his royal authority. When he had spent some three years in this course of action, he carried his army back again, to the great satisfaction of the Jews, in regard that they saw every thing succeeded so well in his hands.

THE JEWS were at that time in possession of Syria, Idumea, and Phenicia; the tower of Straton upon the sea, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocura; and in the midland, of Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; all Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr. And beside these, of Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and * Gabala. And in the land of the Moabites, of Essebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Telithon, Zara; and in Cilicia, Aulon and Pella. This last they demolished for refusing to conform to the laws and customs of the Jews. They had likewise other considerable places in Syria, that came but lately to be under their jurisdiction.

ALEXANDER deliver'd up himself toward the end of his reign, to intemperance and debauch, and drank himself into a quartan ague, that held him for full three years; but yet at the same time he attended the affairs both of his army and government, which betwixt the distemper of his wine, and the fatigue of his cares, brought him quickly to his end. He died upon the frontiers of the Gerasens, at the siege of the castle of Ragaba, on the further side of the river Jordan.

WHEN the queen Alexandra found him reduced to the last extremity, and out of all hope of recovery, she fell into a passionate transport of weeping, beating her breasts, and lamenting the miserable condition of herself and children, in terms to this effect: "Alas, my dear, says she, what will become of your poor helpless wife and children now, without so much as one friend in the world to trust to, and left in the hands too of your mortal enemies." "Well, says Alex-

* An hundred and fifty furlongs amounted to about nineteen English miles.

† Card. Noris, in his book de Epocha Syromaced. reads Gamala.

Alexander
advise the
queen what to
do.

“ander, if you would be safe and happy
“when I am dead and gone, and you and
“your children quietly succeed to the go-
“vernment, mind what I say now, and be
“sure to follow my counsel. In the first place
“keep my death conceal’d from the soldiers
“till the castle is taken, and then do you go
“triumphant to Jerusalem with the news of
“it, and make your first court to the Phari-
“sees, as the only way to make yourself po-
“pular; for your character rises or falls ac-
“cording to their opinion of you; for there are
“no such friends where they love, or enemies
“where they hate: whether they speak
“true or false, good or evil, ’tis all a case
“to the multitude, that believes them all
“alike, whatever they say. I speak this up-
“on experience; for it has been my morose-
“ness to this sect, and nothing else, that has
“turn’d the hearts of the whole nation against
“me; therefore, says he, when you come to
“Jerusalem, send for some of the leading men
“of that party, lay the corps before them,
“and tell them in words as near the truth as
“the matter will bear, somewhat to this pur-
“pose; that is to say, that out of the reve-
“rence you have for their generosity, piety,
“and justice, you do now deliver up the body
“to be disposed of as they in their wisdom
“shall judge meet, whether for scorn and in-
“famy, without the rites of burial, or by
“any other way of exemplary justice upon it
“for past indignities, or otherwise, at their
“pleasure; assuring them that you shall ever
“reign yourself to their authority and pru-
“dence, not only in this, but in all other
“matters of a publick nature. Do but fol-
“low these measures, and depend upon it
“there will be a care taken for the decencies
“of an honourable and a magnificent funeral,
“and for the settling of yourself and your
“children in the exercise of your rightful
“power. Let them but have the ruling of
“you, and it will be their business to establish
“you in a peaceable rule over others.” As
soon as he had given this advice to his wife he
died, in the nine and fortieth year of his age,
and the twenty seventh of his reign.

Alexander
dies in the
twenty se-
venth year of
his reign.

CHAP. XXIV.

*The state of Judea under Alexandra. She con-
sults the Pharisees about her husband's body
and the government. Alexander leaves two sons,
Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and the regency to
the queen. Hyrcanus is made high-priest. The
Pharisees govern in the queen's name. Aristobulus
remonstrates against them. Several strong
holds put into the hands of the male-contents;
only Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Macherus,
the queen reserves to herself. Aristobulus sent
with an army against Ptolemy. Tigranes sets
down before Ptolemais with a prodigious army.
Alexandra compliments Tigranes with an em-
bassy. Cleopatra makes head against him. Lu-
cullus gives Mithridates an overthrow. Ti-
granes returns with his army. Alexandra falls
sick. The queen's three sons declare for Ari-
stobulus. Alexandra claps up his wife and
children. The people come flocking into him.
Hyrcanus and the elders complain of him to the
queen. The death and character of Alexandra.*

SO soon as the castle was taken, Alexandra
applied herself immediately to the Phari-
N^o 12.

sees, according to her husband's directions,
leaving the whole affair of the body, and of
the government, to their disposal. Upon this
insinuation, the Pharisees, who before had
been the greatest enemies she had in the world,
became her greatest friends; addressing them-
selves presently in an harangue to the people
upon the glorious exploits of Alexander, the
irreparable loss of so just a prince; and by
these rhetorical flourishes of condoling, rais'd
the passions of the multitude to such an ex-
treme pitch of sorrow, that they thought him
worthy of a funeral solemnity beyond all that
ever went before him.

THIS prince left at his death two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but devolved the re-
gency by his last testament to his wife Alex-
andra. Hyrcanus, the elder brother, was a
lover of his ease, and a man not qualified for
the cares and administration of publick affairs.
Aristobulus, on the contrary, was naturally
daring and industrious; but the mother all this
while was the favourite of the people, for the
dislike she shew'd in her husband's life-time to
his male-administration. By her assistance and
advice, Hyrcanus was promoted to the ponti-
ficate, not for seniority or parts, but upon the
account of his natural indolence. Upon the
whole matter, the queen did but execute the
Pharisees orders; and at the same time when
she sign'd and seal'd, the other govern'd; nay,
and the common people had it in charge to
pay them all obedience. She appointed also
the revival of the Pharisees ordinances and
traditions, which her father-in-law had abo-
lish'd; and at this rate every thing was done
in the queen's name by the others power; for
at their instance exiles were recall'd, prisoners
set at liberty, and the like. In some few cases,
'tis true, she acted by her own proper autho-
rity; that is to say, she kept a mercenary ar-
my in pay, and augmented her forces to such
a degree, that the kings, her neighbours, stood
in awe of her, as appear'd by the security they
gave her in hostages for their good behaviour.
Her reign, in short, would have been quiet
enough, but for the troublesome importunities
of the Pharisees, that would still be putting
her upon one mischief or another. As when
they press'd her for justice upon those that ad-
vised the death of the eight hundred persons
before mentioned; upon which instigation,
Diogenes was cut off in the first place, and so
one after another, till at last several of the
most eminent men concern'd went directly in
a body to the queen herself, with Aristobulus
at the head of them; who shew'd in his coun-
tenance, the disgust he had at such proceedings,
and that he wanted only power and opportu-
nity to bring his mother to reason. His fol-
lowers took this occasion of remonstrating to
the queen, what proofs they had given their
late master of their faith and loyalty, through
all extremities and hazards, acknowledging
also the generous returns they had received
in honours and rewards for their services; and
they were now in hopes, they said, that all
this should not be turn'd to their disadvan-
tage; and after escaping the swords of their
enemies in an open war, to be deliver'd up
for sacrifices like beasts, to the malice of
treacherous enemies at home in a time of peace,
and there to perish without any manner of re-
dress. Nay, they said further, that if their
adversaries would but stop there, and content
S s s s them-

Alexandra
commits all
to the Phari-
sees.

Alexander
leaves two
sons, Hyrcanus and Ari-
stobulus, and
the queen re-
gent.

Hyrcanus ad-
vanced to the
pontificate.

The Pharisees
direct, and
the queen
executes.

A proud and
a cruel sort of
people.

Aristobulus
and other
eminent men
address to the
queen against
them.

themselves with the blood they had spilt already, such was the reverence they had for their superiors, that they would patiently sit down without so much as complaining of any thing that was past; but if they should be allowed still to persist, they would only beg leave to withdraw, which, without the queen's permission, they durst not presume to do, though they were sure otherwise to lose their lives, even in the palace itself: To say nothing how highly it would reflect upon her majesty's honour to countenance the sworn enemies of her dead husband, against his tried friends; or how welcome a hearing it would be to Aretas the Arabian, and other enemy princes, to find that Alexandra had clear'd her court of a sort of a people, whose very names had been formerly a terror to them. But, said they further to the queen, if this be yet too much, and that you are absolutely resolv'd to indulge the pride and ambition of the Pharisees, in preference to all other considerations, you may be pleas'd to dispose of us only into castles and garisons elsewhere; for if this be the fate that attends Alexander's friends, we shall be content for the remaining part of our lives to live in privacy and obscurity.

THESE words and many more to the same purpose, drew tears from all that were there present, partly out of grief for those that were slain already, and partly out of an apprehension for the rest that were yet in danger, calling out, in general, upon the ghost of Alexander. There was no man spoke so freely as Aristobulus, both upon the main cause, and in particular reflections upon his mother. But all this was their own fault at last, in gratifying the impetuous passion of a malicious woman against all right and reason, with the reins of government, especially where there was no danger of a failure for want of a successor.

Alexandra puts Aristobulus in possession of several strong places, saving three castles to herself. Aristobulus advances against Ptolemy.

THE queen was so hard put to it for an answer to these expostulatory proposals, that she could not do better than to put the malecontents into strong holds and garisons, upon condition that Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Macherus, where she deposited her jewels, treasure, and rich goods, might be none of them. She sent her son Aristobulus a little while after this, with an army toward Damascus against Ptolemy, surnamed Menneus, a very troublesome prince to his neighbours; but he returned soon after from that expedition, without doing any thing of moment.

Tigranes threatens Judea with an army of five hundred thousand men. Alexandra sends an embassy to him at Ptolemais. Cleopatra resolves to oppose him.

WHILE things were in this posture, came a report that Tigranes the king of Armenia was fallen into Syria with an army of five hundred thousand men, and with a design to march suddenly into Judea. Alexandra was so surpris'd at this intelligence, (as indeed she had reason to be,) that she forthwith sent ambassadors with a compliment and presents to Tigranes, who was at that time before Ptolemais. The queen Selene, otherwise called Cleopatra, who had then the government of Syria, animating her subjects to stand upon their guard, and to oppose Tigranes's entrance into the country. The ambassadors acquitted themselves so well toward the king on the behalf of Alexandra and the whole nation of the Jews, that with great instances of acknowledgment and good-will for the honour and respect of the embassy, (and at such a distance too,) he gave them an assurance of all good

offices in return. In short, he took Ptolemais, and was no sooner master of it, but word was brought him of the rout of Mithridates by Lucullus, his escape upon the pursuit into Iberia; and that when Lucullus saw he could not overtake him, he struck off into Armenia, where he was at that time ravaging and destroying the country. Upon this intelligence, Tigranes immediately marched off with his army, and returned home again.

Lucullus routs Mithridates.

Tigranes goes home again. Alexandra falls sick.

THE queen Alexandra fell some time after this into a dangerous fit of sickness, which gave Aristobulus as fair an opportunity of playing his own game as his heart could wish; so that slipping out in the night, attended only by one servant, he arriv'd privately at the forts and castles, where his father's friends were in garison, as hath been said already. Aristobulus had been a long time very much unsatisfied with his mother's way of government; but considering her present indisposition, and the danger of the whole family's lying at the mercy of the Pharisees, in case of her death; Hyrcanus, the next in succession, being their property and creature to all manner of purposes, and utterly unqualified for the exercise of any publick charge, he found himself more uneasy under these circumstances than ever. No mortal knew any thing of his design but his own wife, whom he left behind him at Jerusalem, with his children, and so went to Agada, where he was very generously received by Galestes, a person of eminent quality there. Alexandra miss'd him the very next day after his departure, but not so much as suspecting what he was about, till they came to understand by one messenger after another, that this, and that, and t'other fortrefs were gone over to him; and there was no more in it at last neither, than as one led the way, for the rest to follow. This turn put the queen and the people into a desperate confusion; for they look'd upon Aristobulus as a person likely enough to set up for himself, and in as fair a possibility of carrying his point; beside the dismal apprehension of being call'd to a bloody account for the outrageous barbarities they had committed upon several of his particular friends. In this consternation they could think of no better expedient than to secure the wife and children of Aristobulus under a guard in the citadel, near the temple. While this was in agitation, the people came flocking to him in such throngs, that there seem'd to be something in it, both of the tumult, and of the pomp of a court. In short, in fifteen days he made himself master of two

Aristobulus gains the three forts over to him.

Alexandra makes his wife and children prisoners.

Two and twenty castles declare for him in fifteen days.

Hyrcanus and the elders press the queen for relief.

and twenty castles; and when he had thus secured himself, both of a stand and a retreat, he quickly got an army together from Mount Libanus, Trachonitis, and the princes thereabouts, who were forward enough upon this occasion to help the stronger side, in a prospect of the advantages they might reasonably expect for the service of raising a new king to the throne. Upon this pinch of affairs, Hyrcanus and the elders of the Jews applied themselves to the queen for advice and directions what to do. They told her that Aristobulus, by virtue of the places he had already taken, was as good as master of all the rest; that they found her, to their great grief, in extremity; but, however, so long as she liv'd they could do nothing without her, even tho' they

they saw themselves upon the very brink of ruin. The queen's reply was, "That not being in condition either of body or mind to charge herself with the publick, she had laid all those cares aside, and remitted it wholly to themselves, to consult the necessities of the government. They had the means of defence, she told them, in their own hands, the strength of the nation entire, and wanted neither men nor money." These were her last words; and soon after she died, in the ninth year of her reign, and the seventy third of her life.

The death
and character
of Alexandra.

THIS princess was a woman of a character even above her sex, ambitious both of honour and of command, beyond measure; but withal, intent upon her business, and highly industrious, to the reproach of the ignorance and male-administration of but too many masculine governors. She made the present state the greatest part of her care, without wandering

unnecessarily into the uncertainty of things to come. She kept herself strictly to moderation, even in the very stretch of her power, and continued living and dying in an untainted reputation for her integrity and justice; but in her family she was yet so unfortunate, as to leave nothing of that dignity and power to her posterity, that she had acquired with so much difficulty and hazard, only, in truth, to gratify a more than feminine ambition. The thing, in short, that ruin'd all, was the taking of her enemies for her advisers; by which miscarriage the government was left without a head. But the mistakes of her reign appeared more eminently in the calamities that ensued upon them to the royal family after her death. This must be said, however, for her, that so long as she liv'd, she kept the people in peace. And we are now come to the end of the life of queen Alexandra.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XIV.

From the Year of the World 3898 to 3929.

CHAP. I.

A battle betwixt Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, wherein the former is defeated. They come afterward to an agreement; Aristobulus to govern, and Hyrcanus to enjoy his peace and liberty in a private state of life.



HERE is enough said in the foregoing book, of the reign, life, and death of Alexandra: We shall now take the following part of the history, in order as it lies before us; with all possible care, as near as we can, neither to suppress nor to omit any thing material, for want of recollection or information. The memorials of antiquity are much in the dark, and in many cases tiresome to the reader, as well as obscure; wherefore whoever enters upon this office, should do well to make the work as easy and as entertaining as he can, in the very ornament of stile and language; but with a reverence to truth in the first place, for fear of abusing and misleading the world, under a pretence of informing them.

It was in the third year of the Olympiad one hundred and seventy seven, Q. Hortensius, and Q. Metellus Creticus, consuls, that Hyrcanus took upon himself the pontificate, and Aristobulus immediately made war upon him. They fought a battle at Jericho, and

a great many of Hyrcanus's soldiers deserted, and went over to his brother; himself being driven into the citadel, where the wife and children of Aristobulus were kept prisoners, by the order and direction of his mother, as we have said before; and the remainder of the faction took sanctuary for a while within the verge of the temple, but render'd themselves soon after. As matters cool'd by little and little, the brothers enter'd upon a treaty of an accommodation, and came in the conclusion to this agreement, that Aristobulus should be establish'd in the possession of the government, and Hyrcanus be allow'd to live at ease and liberty upon his own particular fortune, without any molestation. This contract was sign'd and ratified in the temple itself, with all the formalities of joining hands, and promises reciprocally interchang'd for the performance of covenants, concluding with a mutual embrace in the sight of all the people, and so departing, the one to his palace, the other to his private apartment, under the roof of Aristobulus.

Hyrcanus defeated by Aristobulus in a battle near Jericho.

They treat, and come to an accommodation.

The articles formally sign'd and ratified in the temple.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Antipater makes an interest for Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, and sets the people against him. Hyrcanus applies himself to Aretas for assistance and protection. Antipater agrees with Aretas about the receiving of him, and settles the matter with him at Petra in Hyrcanus's favour.

NOW there was a certain Idumean of Hyrcanus's faction, a man of wealth, yet a very busy and troublesome fellow, his name Antipater, and a deadly enemy to Aristobulus. Nicolaus of Damascus makes him to be of the first stock of Jews that came out of Babylon into Judea, out of a compliment probably to his son Herod, who had the fortune afterward to be advanced to the throne; of which we shall speak farther in its proper place. This Antipater was at first call'd by his father's name, Antipas, who, they say, was prefer'd by the favour of king Alexander and his wife, to the government of Idumea; where by the force of fair words, and large presents, he made a considerable interest with the Arabians, Gazeans, and the people of Askalon; in truth, standing in some awe of Aristobulus, as well for his power to do him mischief, as for a grudge there was betwixt them. Young Antipater, finding that there was no good to be done upon Aristobulus, but by lessening him in his reputation among the people, betook himself by the secret ways of calumny and detraction, to the making of parties, and stirring up fears and jealousies against him. He would be saying now and then, "How unreasonable a thing it was for the younger brother to supplant the elder, strip him of his birth-right, and usurp the government to himself; nay, and how mean a thing it was for so many noble Jews of power and credit to look on and suffer it." The very same words serv'd him for Hyrcanus too; but advising him withal, to get out of the way in time; for the other party had most certainly a design upon his life, being all agreed upon it, that Aristobulus could never be safe so long as Hyrcanus was in being. Hyrcanus was an easy good-natur'd man, and having no guile in himself, was not apt to suspect it in others; so that this discourse did not work upon him as it was expected it should; but the softness of his nature, and the love he had for peace and quietness, was invidiously imputed to him as a want of spirit and common sense. His brother Aristobulus was just the reverse, being of a bold, daring, enterprizing temper. Antipater saw well enough, that with all his insinuations, he had not yet gain'd his point upon Hyrcanus; but this did not divert him however from plying him with fresh cautions and importunities, to have a care of his brother; insomuch, that he prevail'd upon him at last to apply himself for protection to the Arabian king Aretas, with the offer of his own friendship and service over and above; which proposals seem'd the more plausible, in regard that Arabia borders upon Judea. The resolution being taken, Antipater goes his way immediately to Aretas, to treat with him about the reception of Hyrcanus; and upon the security both of his oath and honour, that he would not upon any terms de-

liver him up into the hands of his enemies, Antipater went back again to Hyrcanus with an account of his business. When he had been some short time at Jerusalem, he took Hyrcanus with him one night out of the city, and conducted him by long journies to the city of Petra, where Aretas kept his court; and here he employ'd his uttermost credit with the king, (which was very great,) in favour of Hyrcanus, and in order to the establishing of him in his paternal right. He follow'd him so close, in fine, with pressing instances and gifts, that at last he brought him over; Hyrcanus promising him at the same time, that if ever he came to be settled in his kingdom by his means, he would restore to him the country and the twelve cities, which had been taken from the Arabians by his father; that is to say, Medaba, Naballo, Livias, Tharabasa, Agalla, Athone, Zoara, Oronæ, Marissa, Rydda, Lufa, and Oryba.

CHAP. III.

Aretas gives Aristobulus battle, forces him into Jerusalem, and besieges him in the temple. The paschal feast being at hand, the Jews withdraw into Egypt. Onias ston'd to death by the rabble, for refusing to curse Aristobulus. God's judgment upon the people for their perfidy and murder.

UPON the encouragement of these promises, Aretas advanced against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot; fought, and overcame him; insomuch, that finding himself abandon'd by his soldiers going over to Hyrcanus, he was forc'd to fly for refuge to Jerusalem; where Aretas, with his whole army, attack'd him in the very temple; the people unanimously joining with Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, the priests only excepted. Aretas, on the other hand, with his Jews, as well as Arabians, pushing on the assault with the uttermost vigour. While this action was in hand, the feast of unleavened bread coming on, (that which we call the Paschal,) the chief men of the Jews withdrew themselves out of the country, and went into Egypt; at which time, one Onias, a holy and a righteous man, upon the apprehension of a civil war at hand, went out of the way, and hid himself. The Jews reflecting upon the piety of this man, and how he had obtained rain from God in an extremity of drought, brought him out into the camp, and there made it their request, that as he had formerly deliver'd them from the judgment of a famine, so he would now relieve them from a most destructive war, by denouncing a malediction upon Aristobulus and his whole faction. He oppos'd it a great while, till at last being overruled by the multitude, he stood up in the middle of them, and deliver'd an ejaculatory prayer to this purpose: "Lord, says he, thou art the king of kings; and since it is so, that both we that stand here before thee are thy people, and they that are besieged in the temple, are thy priests, I do humbly beseech thee not to hear the prayer of either of them one against the other." Upon which words some of the vilest Jewish rabble that stood by, ston'd him to death. This barbarity

Antipater makes an interest for Hyrcanus against Aristobulus.

Ill offices done betwixt the brothers.

Aretas gives Aristobulus an overthrow, drives him into the temple, and assaults him there.

The Jews retire into Egypt.

Onias ston'd to death by the multitude.

A sacrilegious treachery in the besiegers.

A judgment from Heaven overtakes them.

barity of theirs was followed immediately by a divine justice, and the murder of Onias avenged in manner as follows: While Aristobulus with the priests were thus beset in the temple, the paschal festival came on; at which time, according to custom, the Jews offer'd up a great number of sacrifices; but the besieged, not having so many as they had occasion for, desir'd their brethren to supply them at their own price; and so they agreed at one thousand * drachma's a head, each beast, and the money to be paid down. Aristobulus and the priests agreed to the price and the conditions, and so let down the money to them with a rope and a bag from the temple wall. When the besiegers had the money, they refused to deliver the victims; and such was their shameless impiety, that they did not only break faith with men, but sacrilegiously robbed God himself of a service that was dedicated to his honour. The priests upon this perfidy, imposed upon them under the countenance of a contract, joined in a prayer to God, that this iniquity might not escape unpunish'd. Their prayers were heard, and the judgment not defer'd; for there fell immediately a violent tempest, that destroy'd all the fruits of the earth through the whole province; so that one measure of wheat was sold for fifteen † drachma's.

CHAP. IV.

Pompey sends Scaurus for Syria; who, upon the taking of Damascus by Metellus and Lollius, posts away toward Judea. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus propose an alliance with Scaurus, who closes with Aristobulus, and bids Aretas withdraw from the siege of Jerusalem at his peril. Aristobulus falls upon Aretas and Hyrcanus, cuts off seven thousand of their men, and Cephalio the brother of Antipater among the rest.

Pompey in war with Tigranes. Damascus being taken by Metellus and Lollius, Scaurus advances toward Judea.

Scaurus enters into a league offensive and defensive with Aristobulus, and makes Aretas quit the siege.

POMPEY himself was at this time detained in Armenia, by the war he had there with Tigranes; but in this interim sent Scaurus into Syria. When he came to Damascus, he found the city newly taken by Metellus and Lollius; and so he posted forward without any stop toward Judea. As he was upon the way, there came ambassadors to him from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, both of them soliciting an alliance offensive and defensive. Aristobulus offer'd four ‡ hundred talents, and Hyrcanus just as much. Scaurus inclin'd rather to Aristobulus, as the more generous and solvent of the two, beside the terms he insist'd upon were more practicable and easy; but he look'd upon the other to be poor and stingy, his conditions higher than his brother's, and himself at last not so responsible; for it was a much harder matter to carry so strong and so well fortified a city by assault, than to beat a vagabond parcel of Nabatheans and fugitives, not well provided nor accouter'd for the car-

rying on of that war. For these reasons Scaurus agreed with Aristobulus, took his money, and discharg'd the siege; ordering Aretas to withdraw, upon the peril of being accounted an enemy to the Roman people in case of refusal. Scaurus, after this, went back to Damascus, and Aristobulus advanced with a mighty army against Aretas and Hyrcanus; and engaging them in a place called Papyron, he gave them an overthrow, with the loss of about seven thousand of the enemy, and Cephalio the brother of Antipater among the rest.

Aristobulus gave Hyrcanus and Aretas a great overthrow.

CHAP. V.

Pompey goes to Damascus, and so to Cele-Syria. Great court made to him all the way he goes. Aristobulus makes him a magnificent present. Gabinus and Scaurus charg'd with corruption. Pompey takes the cause into his own hand. Ptolemy Menneus pays a thousand talents composition for his head. The cause of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus brought to Damascus. Pompey gives them a hearing, and adjourns the trial; but Aristobulus goes away in a huff, without waiting for the issue.

UPON Pompey's coming to Damascus and Cele-Syria, a while after there came ambassadors thronging to him from all quarters; that is to say, from all Syria, Egypt, and Judea. Aristobulus, above all the rest, sent him a most glorious present, a golden vine of || five hundred talents, which Strabo the Cappadocian gives an account of in these words: "There was a present made to Pompey out of Egypt, of a crown that weighed four hundred pieces of gold; and another out of Judea, of a golden vine, or garden, to which they gave the name of Terpole, or delight. These presents were brought by ambassadors, and I myself saw the vine at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, Alexander king of the Jews. It was valued at five hundred talents, and pass'd for the present of Aristobulus the prince of the Jews."

Application to Pompey from all quarters, upon his way into Syria.

A rich present from Aristobulus.

See Strabo.

THERE came to Pompey not long after this other ambassadors, Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus for Aristobulus, who charged Gabinus and Scaurus with taking sums of money, the former ** three hundred talents, and the other four, thereby obliging them both. Pompey took the cognizance of the cause into his own hand, and appointed the parties to attend him about it. The spring coming on, Pompey drew out of his winter quarters, and marched to Damascus, destroying the fort of Apamia, a fortification of Antiochus Cyzicenus by the way, having an eye likewise upon the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and worse, if possible, than his kinsman Dionysius Tripolitanus, who lost his head by the hand of justice. But this man had the good fortune to

Gabinus and Scaurus charged with corruption. Pompey sets a time for hearing the cause.

* A thousand Jewish drachma's amounted to about twenty nine pounds English money.

† Fifteen drachma's amounted to about eight shillings and nine pence of our money.

‡ Four hundred Hebrew talents weighed forty five thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred thirty six thousand eight hundred and seventy five pounds English money.

|| Five hundred talents weighed fifty seven thousand and thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in gold amounted to two millions, seven hundred and thirty seven thousand, five hundred pounds, English money.

** Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred two thousand, six hundred and fifty six pounds, five shillings, English money.

Ptolemy com-
pounds for
his head.

redeem himself for a * thousand talents, which Pompey divided among his soldiers. He raised the fort of Lycias also, where Silas the Jew had gotten possession; and so passing from thence toward Heliopolis and Chalcis, he took the way of the mountain that lies betwixt them, and so pass'd into Cele-Syria, and then from Bella to Damascus, where the controversy betwixt the Jews and their princes was brought to a hearing, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus being at odds one with another, and the common people against them both. "They

Pompey gives
Hyrcanus and
Aristobulus a
hearing at
Damascus.

"were not to be govern'd by kings, they said, but by God's priests, according to the laws and constitutions of their country. They did not deny the sacerdotal extraction of the two brothers; but they charged them with a design of enslaving the people, and subverting the fundamentals of the government."

Hyrcanus's
plea.

HYRCANUS insisted upon it, that he being the elder brother, Aristobulus had violently, and against all law and justice, seiz'd upon his hereditary dignity and estate; and depriving him of the prerogative of his birthright, reduced him to the condition of a pensioner at his mercy and allowance; setting forth how troublesome and vexatious he was to his neighbours both at sea and land, as a man born for mischief, and that it was only the turbulence of his ambitious humour that animated and transported the people into this revolt. You have here the substance of his plea, and he had at least a thousand of the most eminent Jews that Antipater had engaged in his interest, to stand by him in it.

Aristobulus's
defence.

ARISTOBULUS pleaded, on the other hand, that Hyrcanus was not set aside with any thought of usurpation or encroachment, either upon his title, or upon his inheritance, but purely upon the account of his incapacity for the necessary offices of government, being fallen to such a degree of scorn and contempt among the common people, that I had no other choice before me, says Aristobulus, but either to take the administration into my own hands, or venture the translating of it into another family; and for the appellation of king, I only kept it as I found it, in the same stile of dignity that my father Alexander us'd before me. Now this I am ready to make good; says he, by several witnesses here, producing at the same time a company of gaudy foppish young fellows, sparkling in the vanity of their dres and trappings, such as all men of sobriety hated and despised, and fitter in appearance for that we call a ball, or an assembly, than to give testimony in a court of justice.

Pompey gives
them a fair
dismissal for
the present,
and puts off
the trial to
another time.

POMPEY, upon the hearing of all parties, was in his judgment against the intemperate proceeding of Aristobulus; but gave them however for the present a fair dismissal, with a promise, that so soon as ever he should have reduc'd the Nabatheans into order, he would visit their country, and do somewhat farther in it; requiring them in the mean time to be-

have themselves peaceably, and so discharg'd Aristobulus with civility and respect, for fear he, being disgusted, might obstruct him in his passage. But he was not to be wrought upon by fair words it seems, for he went away presently to Delion, and so to Judea, without waiting any further upon what Pompey had promis'd him.

Aristobulus
goes his way
into Judea,
without wait-
ing any long-
er upon Pom-
pey.

C H A P. VI.

Pompey finding himself affronted, sends a summons to him in Alexandrion, to come down, and speak with him. Pompey demands the possession of all the fortresses in his power, and Aristobulus delivers them up; but presently withdraws to Jerusalem, and prepares for a war. While this was a doing, comes the news from Pontus of Mithridates being poison'd by his son Pharnaces.

THE mockery of this way of proceeding provoked Pompey to such a degree, that he took the army he had provided against the Nabatheans, and joining them with the auxiliary troops that he had rais'd at Damascus, and the rest of Syria, together with the Roman legions that he had under his command, and marched with them directly toward Aristobulus, passing by Pella and Scythopolis, till he came to Coreæ, which enters into the heart of Judea; where he found upon the top of a mountain, a strong and a famous castle, call'd Alexandrion: And being told that Aristobulus had made choice of that place for his retreat, he gave him a summons to come down and speak with him; which he was prevail'd upon to do by the people he had about him, for fear of being engag'd in a war with the Romans. There pass'd some discourse betwixt them, upon the subject of the dispute between the two brothers; and after that formality was over, Aristobulus, with Pompey's leave, return'd safely back again to the castle; and this he did over and over again, to keep fair with Pompey, in all reasonable compliances, as the most likely way to compass his end: But this did not hinder him yet from putting himself into a posture of defence in case of the worst, out of a fear and jealousy he had of Pompey's declaring for his brother. Pompey, after this, order'd him to deliver up all the castles that he was master of, and to signify such his will and pleasure to the governors under his own hand, that there might be no place left for scruple or excuse. Aristobulus did as he was appointed; but took it so heinously, that he went away forthwith to Jerusalem, to prepare, as he understood the matter, for a certain war. It was not long before Pompey, marching against him, at the head of his army, was met upon the way with an express from Pontus, giving him an account of the death of Mithridates slain by his son Pharnaces.

Pompey, in
an indigna-
tion, marches
against Aris-
tobulus.

He finds him
in Alexan-
drion, and
summons
him down to
speak with
him.

After several
discourses,
Aristobulus
delivers up
all the castles
in his posses-
sion.

He goes away
in a disgust to
Jerusalem.

Pompey fol-
lows him.

Mithridates
slain by his
son Pharna-
ces.

* A thousand Syrian talents, for such we suppose are here meant, weigh'd fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty seven pounds, nine ounces, fifteen pennyweights; and their value in silver amounted to forty two thousand seven hundred and seventy three pounds, eight shillings, and nine pence, English money.

CHAP. VII.

Pompey incamps at Jericho, and so marches towards Jerusalem. Aristobulus offers him money, and the possession of the town. Pompey complies, and sends Gabinius to receive the money; but the gates are shut against him. Aristobulus is made a close prisoner upon it, and Pompey lays siege to the city in person.

Pompey moves toward Jerusalem.

POMPEY pitch'd his first camp at Jericho, a place famous for palm-trees and balsam, which is the most precious of gums, and only a distillation from a little shrub upon an incision made in it with a sharp stone. The next morning he moved toward Jerusalem. Aristobulus, by this time repented himself of what he had done, and went out to meet him with a compliment of offering him a sum of money, and the command of the town; and whatever satisfaction he should further desire for the preventing of a war. Pompey accepted of his proposals, and sent Gabinius with a body of men into the city to receive the money: But he had only his labour for his pains; for the gates were shut against him, and he came back empty-handed as he went out; the fault being laid upon the soldiers that would not stand to the agreement. Pompey had such an indignation for this affront, that he kept a stricter guard upon Aristobulus, and went himself to Jerusalem, which was very strong by situation, and well fortify'd; only it lay a little expos'd toward the north, where there was a large and a deep valley about the temple, and a substantial stone-wall to encompass it.

CHAP. VIII.

Jerusalem divided; part for Pompey, part for Aristobulus. Pompey proposes a peace, and it is rejected. The situation of the temple, and the taking of it by assault. The piety and modesty of the conqueror. Jerusalem made tributary. Straton's tower, or Cesarea. The faction of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Pompey carries Aristobulus a prisoner to Rome.

Jerusalem divided; part for Pompey, part for Aristobulus.

Pompey's proposals for a peace rejected.

WHILE Pompey was before the town, the citizens were mightily divided how to behave themselves: Some were for yielding; others for holding out, and preparing for a war; especially considering that Aristobulus was kept a prisoner. So that without more ado they prepossess'd themselves of the temple, and broke down the bridge betwixt that and the city; while the other party not only gave entrance to the army, but deliver'd up both city and palace into the hands of Pompey; who presently sent away Piso his lieutenant with part of his army to take charge of both; which he did effectually, by fortifying the houses and buildings of the temple that were next at hand. When things were come to this pass, Pompey, in the first place, made them a proposal of peace; but upon their refusal to treat, he provided for an assault; Hyrcanus supplying him very frankly with what he had occasion for. The north-side of the temple being the weakest quarter, Pompey proposed to begin his attack there. It was

encompassed with high towers, and forc'd a ditch, over and above the afore said valley. Upon the city side, toward Pompey's station, there was no passing, now the bridge was down, for craggs and precipices; but the Romans, with infinite labour and difficulty, made a hard shift yet to fill up the ditch with timber, and other materials that they got together, and so to raise platforms and ramparts to such a prodigious height, that with engines of battery which they brought from Tyre, they play'd great stones upon the temple-wall; and yet if it had not been for the advantage they took of our seventh day's sabbath, the Romans would have had much ado to have gain'd their point: For notwithstanding that in case of aggression, the law allow'd us to defend ourselves upon that day, and to repel force by force, we durst not do any work upon it however yet, though but to cross and hinder one work with another. When the Romans came to understand this once, and to observe, that we made no opposition to the advancing of their bulwarks, and the fixing of their machines upon that festival, they employ'd the sabbath wholly upon safe and quiet preparations for the action of the next day, without attempting any manner of violence upon us at present. This is enough to shew the infinite difference we have for the religion and laws of our country, when the dread of death itself is not able to divert us from the very rule and method of our devotions; for the priests have their solemn sacrifices twice a day, morning and afternoon, with all their prescript forms of worship, without any dispensation or excuse, in what extremity soever, for the omission. This temple was taken upon a fasting-day, in the third month of the siege, the hundred seventy ninth Olympiad; Caius Antonius, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, being consuls. Upon the enemies forcing the place, they put every man to death before them: And all this cruelty was not enough yet to deter those officiating at the altar, from going on with their devotions; accounting it the less evil of the two, to fall into the hands of an unmerciful enemy, than to abandon their holy profession, or fail in the least scruple of obedience and respect to their country's rites and ceremonies. Now for the authority of this relation, and to shew that there is nothing in it of fiction, we have it attested by all the authors of note that pretend to give any account of the actions of Pompey, and among the rest by * Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Titus Livius the famous Roman historian. They fell to work with their engines upon the great tower, till by the dint of repeated batteries they shook it to pieces, and brought it down to the ground, carrying away a great part of the next wall along with it in the ruins. This breach was no sooner made, but the enemy press'd in great numbers to enter it. The first that mounted was Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his company; and then upon another quarter, the centurion Furius, with his men, and Fabius then betwixt them both with another strong party; the place being all cover'd with dead bodies; some killed by the Romans, others by consent dispatching one another; some again casting themselves down headlong from the walls, and others setting fire to the houses over their heads, rather than to be specta-

The situation of the city and temple.

The Jews ruined by their superstition.

* lib. xvi.

The temple taken by assault.

tors of the barbarities that were committed. There were slain about twelve thousand Jews, and not many Romans. Absalom, the uncle, and the father-in-law of Aristobulus, was made a prisoner. These outrages were accompany'd also with several indignities to the very mysteries of our religion, by the admittance of prophane persons into the place, and to the sight of those privacies, which none but priests had ever been eye-witnesses of before. Pompey and his train were of the number that came in there, where they found a golden table, a candlestick, and cups of the same metal; varieties of incense, and perfumes in abundance, beside a matter of two * thousand talents in the treasury: but he look'd upon all this provision as sacred; and out of a veneration he had for holy things, he did not only forbear touching or seizing any of it, but with a generous piety order'd the officers of the temple next day to purge the place, and to offer sacrifices according to their own customs and ordinances. He restored Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood, partly for the good offices he had received from him himself, and partly for the service he had done him in hindering the Jews from taking up arms for Aristobulus. He cut off the heads then of the incendiaries of the faction that were the promoters of the war, and took care to see Faustus, and others that behaved themselves bravely upon the assault, rewarded according to their deserts. As for Jerusalem itself, he made it tributary to the Romans, and reduced all the places that he found the Jews possess'd of in Cele-Syria, under their allegiance, confining also that populous and powerful nation within the compass of their antient bounds. He caused Gadara, (lately destroy'd,) in favour of his freed man Demetrius that was born there, to be rebuilt; and as for Hippon, Scythopolis, Dion, Samaria, Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethusa, being inland places, he deliver'd them up into the hands of their former inhabitants, together with other places that were ruin'd by the war; but for the maritime towns, as Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton's tower, Pompey made them all free, and laid them to the province. Now this tower

The piety and modesty of the conqueror.

Jerusalem made tributary.

The tower of Straton, afterwards Cesarea. The faction of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus the ruin of the Jews.

FROM this feud betwixt Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, we may date the ruin of Jerusalem, with the loss of our liberty to the Romans, we being forced to give all back to the Syrians, which we had taken in a fair war, the imposition of above ten † thousand talents which it cost us in a short time after to the Romans; and the translation of the sovereign authority, which had ever till then descended in the high-priesthood, to the very dregs of the people. But we shall have occasion to speak of all this in another place.

POMPEY, after this, committed the government of Cele-Syria, as far as Euphrates and the borders of Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, while he himself hastened to Rome by the way of Cilicia, carrying Aristobulus along with him a prisoner, with two sons, and two daughters; but Alexander, one of the sons, made his escape; but Antigonus, the younger, was carried to Rome, together with his two sisters.

Cele-Syria committed to Scaurus. Pompey carries Aristobulus to Rome.

CHAP. IX.

Scaurus marches against Petra, and comes to a composition with Aretas, to the high satisfaction of both parties.

THE passage to Petra, the capital of Arabia, is very craggy and difficult; infomuch, that Scaurus, upon his march thither with an army, was forced to ravage the country thereabouts to provide bread for his soldiers. Antipater, by the order of Hyrcanus, furnish'd him with corn and other necessities out of Judea; and being well known to Aretas, Scaurus sent him upon an embassy to him; and he acquitted himself so well in his commission, that he prevail'd upon him for a composition of three ‡ hundred talents, to save his country from ruin, which put an end to the war, even before it was begun, to the great satisfaction of Scaurus, as well as of Aretas.

Scaurus marches against Petra.

CHAP. X.

Gabinus's expedition against Alexander, whom he routs and besieges in Alexandrion. Gabinus offers an amnesty, and orders the repairing of what cities had been damaged. Alexander submits. Hyrcanus is restor'd to the pontificate, and five courts of justice erected.

SOME time after this, Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, falling into, and harrassing Judea with frequent incursions, Gabinus was sent from Rome into Syria, with the commission of general; and upon an expedition against Alexander, wherein he performed many memorable exploits. Hyrcanus the high-priest was not now in any condition to make resistance, though he had it in his thought to repair and re-edify the walls of Jerusalem that Pompey had destroy'd; but the Romans would not suffer him to go forward with it. Alexander ranging up and down the country, made a shift in a short time to get together a mix'd body of Jews, and others, to the number of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. He stor'd and fortified the castle of Alexandrion near Coreæ, and Macherus on the borders of Arabia. Gabinus advanced to fight him, sending Marcus Antonius, with some

Gabinus's expedition against Alexander.

* Two thousand talents weigh'd two hundred twenty eight thousand, one hundred and twenty five pounds; and their value in gold amount'd to ten millions, nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds English money.

† Ten thousand talents weigh'd one million, one hundred and forty thousand, six hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in gold (supposing talents of gold to be here meant) amount'd to fifty four millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but if of silver, three millions, four hundred twenty one thousand, eight hundred seventy pounds, English money.

‡ Three hundred talents weigh'd thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in gold amount'd to one million, six hundred forty two thousand, five hundred pounds; but if silver ones be here meant, to a hundred and two thousand, six hundred and fifty six pounds, five shillings, English money.

Alexander routed, and besieged in Alexandrion. Gabinius offers an amnesty, and orders the repairing of what cities he had damaged.

other officers, before; who being join'd with the faithful part of the Jews, under the command of Pitholaus and Malichus, taking also the auxiliaries of Antipater, came up to Alexander, Gabinius following with the rest of his army. Alexander drew off to be nearer Jerusalem, where they came to a battle, in which Alexander lost about three thousand men, that were kill'd upon the spot, besides as many that were taken. Gabinius, after this, laid siege to the castle of Alexandrion, but with an offer and promise of pardon to the defendants for all that was past, if they would render up the place. The besieged kept a strong out-guard under the walls of the castle, which the Romans attack'd, and cut off a great many of them; Marcus Antonius behaving himself very bravely upon that occasion. Gabinius was loth to lose time; so that leaving part of his army behind to attend the siege, he went himself to take a view of the rest of the country, and to give order for the rebuilding of what cities had been destroy'd; as Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, Gaza, and divers other places. This was done by the direction of Gabinius; and these places came to be a very convenient and safe habitation, after they had been for a long time deserted. Gabinius, having put the country into this order, returned to Alexandrion, in prosecution of the siege, where Alexander took the opportunity of begging pardon by his ambassadors, upon condition of delivering up to him the castles of Hyrcania, Macherus, and Alexandrion, which he accepted of, but razed them all three to the ground. After this there came to him the mother of Alexander, who was a well-wisher to the Romans, her husband and the rest of her children being then prisoners at Rome. Gabinius denied her nothing; and after the settling of matters, Hyrcanus was brought to Jerusalem, and restored to the office and exercise of his priesthood. There were then constituted five courts of justice, and a division made of the whole province into five equal parts; so that some went for law to Jerusalem, others to Gadara, and others also to Amathus, Jericho, or Saphora, which is a city of Galilee. They came by this means to be deliver'd from the tyranny they complain'd of, and so return'd to the form of an Aristocracy again.

Alexander submits, and delivers up the castles he had in his hand.

Hyrcanus restor'd to the pontificate. Five courts of justice erected.

CHAP. XI.

Aristobulus makes his escape from Rome. Commissioners are sent after him. He is routed by the Romans, and taken a second time prisoner. He defeats the Nabatheans; after which he goes to Rome, and Crassus succeeds him.

Aristobulus escapes from Rome to fortify Alexandrion. Commissioners sent to look after him.

UPON the flight of Aristobulus from Rome to Judea, with an intent to repair and fortify Alexandrion afresh after the late ruins, Gabinius sent a body of men thither under the command of Siscenna, Antonius, and Servilius, to maintain the place, and to endeavour the securing of Aristobulus himself. Betwixt the authority of so great a name, and a popular itch of novelty, there came great numbers of the Jews flocking over to him;

and in particular Pitholaus the governor of Jerusalem, with a thousand men well arm'd; as for those that were not so, of which there were a great number, he discharged them as unserviceable and useless. He marched with a body of eight thousand men, to attempt the taking of Macherus. The Romans following him very closely, came up with him and fought him; and after an obstinate resistance upon the first shock, gave him a terrible overthrow; kill'd five thousand upon the place, while the rest did what they could to save themselves by flight. Aristobulus, upon this rout, with a matter of a thousand men, fortified the castle as well as he could, and kept up his heart still in the extremity of his ill fortunes; but in two days the castle was carried by assault, himself grievously wounded, and by a capricious fatality of ill luck, carried away prisoner with his son Antigonus his companion in his escape, and so brought to Gabinius; by whom he was now sent a second time prisoner to Rome, having been three years and a half, both in the possession of the kingdom, and of the pontificate, and acquitting himself with great honour and magnificence in both charges. But the senate set his children at liberty, however, upon the intimation of Gabinius, that he had promis'd the mother as much, upon the delivery of certain castles; so that they came back again into Judea.

Aristobulus routed by the Romans.

Himself, with his son, taken and sent a second time to Rome.

GABINIUS was now enter'd upon an expedition against the Parthians, and gotten over the river Euphrates, when upon second thoughts he chang'd his mind, and bent his course toward Egypt, for the restoring of Ptolemy, as is said elsewhere. * Antipater furnish'd him for this enterprize with corn, arms, and money, and brought over a great many of the Jews about Pelusium into an alliance with him, this Pelusium being the very key to Egypt.

Gabinius proposes the restoring of Ptolemy.

AT his return Gabinius found Syria all in an uproar; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having made himself master of the kingdom, harass'd the country with a powerful army, and forced a great many of the Jews over to his party, killing all the Romans he could come at in his passage, and besieging the rest upon the mount of Garizin, who fled thither for sanctuary. Gabinius finding the Syrians in this disorder, sent Antipater, being a man of known prudence and integrity, to deal with them, and to try if he could bring them to their wits again. He behaved himself in this commission so effectually, that he brought off several of the revoltors, but Alexander himself he found was not to be mov'd; for having gotten together an army of thirty thousand Jews, his resolution was to hazard a battle with Gabinius. They fought, in short, at the Mount Itabyr; and the Jews lost ten thousand men in that engagement.

Alexander makes terrible havock in Syria.

MATTERS being thus settled in Jerusalem, the victor, by the advice of Antipater, marched away against the Nabatheans, and gave them a notable overthrow, discharging two noble Parthians, Mithridates and Oranes, that came over to him for protection; giving it out that they were fled into their own country. Gabinius having now acquitted himself with honour in all his commissions, went back to Rome, and Crassus succeeded him in his command.

Gabinius gives him a notable overthrow, and defeated the Nabatheans also.

Gabinius goes back to Rome, and Crassus succeeds him.

* According to bishop Montague's correction it should be, Hyrcanus and Antipater furnish'd him, &c. See Appar. iv. ad Orig. Ecclesiast.

The achievements of Pompey and Gabinius may be seen in the histories of Nicolaus Damascus, and Strabo the Cappadocian; and they write both to the same purpose.

C H A P. XII.

Crassus rifles the temple, contrary to his oath. Strabo, the Historian. Crassus and his army cut to pieces by the Parthians. He retreats into Syria. Taricheæ taken by assault. Pytholaus taken and put to death. The character of Antipater.

Crassus rifles the temple against his oath.

CRASSUS, being now upon the preparative for a war with the Parthians, came into Judea, and seized not only the * two thousand talents that Pompey made a conscience of so much as meddling with, but he pillag'd the temple of all the gold he could lay his hands on, to the value of † eight thousand talents more. He carry'd away with him also a wedge of gold of ‡ three hundred mina's, reckoning every mina, according to the Jewish computation, at two pounds and a half. Eleazar the priest, who had the keeping of this holy treasure, deliver'd it up to Crassus; not out of spite, or ill-will, for he was a righteous and a just man: But this bar of gold being lodged in a wooden beam that was made hollow on purpose to receive and conceal it, and no mortal privy to the secret but himself, Eleazar had no other thought, seeing Crassus's heart so wholly set upon the money, but to deliver up this wedge as a composition for all the rest; for there were hangings also of an inestimable value fasten'd to this timber, and other rich ornaments for the service of the temple, which were all likewise in Eleazar's custody. And he did not deliver this bar of gold at last neither, but upon the declaration of Crassus, that he was abundantly satisfy'd with what he had already; and upon the solemnity of an oath and promise, that he would not meddle with any thing else. But, it seems, he made no account of his oath; for he rifled the temple from top to bottom, and stript it to the bare walls.

THE mass of money that was lodged in this temple, how prodigious soever it may appear, will not be found so great a wonder, considering how long the Jews were a getting it together, and that it came from all quarters of the world, wherever the worship of the true God was known: Beside that the report of this immense value is so far from vanity and ostentation, that it is a truth attested and confirm'd by the authority of several historians; as of Strabo the Cappadocian for one. "Mithridates," says he, sent to the isle of Coos for some mo-

ney of Cleopatra's, that she had deposited there; and for eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now we have no publick treasure, but what is sacred, and dedicated to God; and it is as clear as day, that the Asiatick Jews transmitted this treasure from thence to Coos, upon the apprehension of a war with Mithridates: For it cannot be imagined that the Jews of Judea, that had so much a stronger, and a safer place near hand, that is to say, the temple and city of Jerusalem, would ever have sent their money away for better security to Coos: Neither can it be supposed, that it came from the Alexandrian Jews; for they were too far off to have any apprehension of Mithridates.

STRABO has it in another place, "That Sylla passing through Greece to carry on a war against Mithridates, sent Lucullus to Cyrene, that was then torn to pieces with feuds and factions among the Jews, a people that had spread themselves over the face of the whole earth. He ranges the Cyrenians in another place into four divisions; burghers, husbandmen, strangers, and Jews. The last sort of them are so universally dispersed, that there's hardly any habitable part where they have not got footing, and a considerable establishment. As for Egypt and Cyrene, while they were under the jurisdiction of the same prince, and several other countries also, they embraced in many places the Jewish laws, rites, and customs; gave them the liberty of populous congregations, and trained up their children in a conformity to the Jewish way of discipline. In Egypt they had whole colonies of them, beside a right of propriety that they have by a formality of assignment in a considerable part of the city of Alexandria, with magistrates, judges, and courts of justice of their own, and ways of deciding differences in cases of propriety, peculiar to themselves, and all in as good method as if it were in a form of government. Now Egypt agreed the better with this nation, both for extraction sake and neighbourhood; for the Jews came out of it, and they easily became one again; so that it was but making a step to either, only as one borderer does to another; and in this manner, not only as neighbours, but as formerly members of the same body." Thus far Strabo.

See Strabo again.

WHEN Crassus had done what he pleased in Judea, he advanced against the Parthians, and gave them battle, where he was cut off himself, and his whole army, as we have related elsewhere. But Crassus made his retreat into Syria, where he gave a stand to the progress of the Parthians, that were now grown insolent upon their success. He went afterward to Tyre, and so to Judea, where he took Tari-

Crassus and his army cut to pieces by the Parthians.

Crassus retreats into Syria, and puts a stop to the Parthians.

Strabo the historian.

* The weight and value of two thousand talents is given in our notes on Chap. viii. of this book, which see.

† Eight thousand talents weighed nine hundred twelve thousand five hundred pounds; and their value in gold amounted to forty three millions eight hundred thousand pounds English money.

‡ An Hebrew mina of gold, according to Calmer's tables, weighed one pound, one ounce, thirteen pennyweights, eighteen grains, and in value amounted to fifty four pounds fifteen shillings; three hundred therefore must weigh no more than three hundred forty two pounds, two ounces, five pennyweights; and their value amount only to sixteen thousand four hundred twenty five pounds English money: But even allowing what Josephus says, viz. that every mina weighed two pounds and an half, the weight of the whole would amount to no more than seven hundred fifty pounds; and the value, reckoning gold at four pounds four shillings an ounce, but to thirty seven thousand eight hundred pounds; which, compared with the rest of the treasure, said to be taken away by Crassus, will appear to be very inconsiderable, and no way adequate to the idea the description gives us, which says, it was a wedge so large that it fill'd one of the beams of the temple, which was made hollow on purpose to receive it; and that it was a treasure of so great a value, that no mortal was privy to the secret but the high-priest himself.

Taricheæ taken by assault, and thirty thousand prisoners.

The character of Antipater.

cheæ by assault, upon the first attack, and a matter of thirty thousand prisoners; and among the rest Pitholaus, Aristobulus's friend, whom he caused to be put to death by the advice of Antipater, who over and above the power he had with him as a friend, was a person very considerable with the Idumeans, upon the account of a match with an Arabian lady of a most illustrious extraction; her name was Cypron, and by her he had four sons, Phasael and Herod, (afterwards king,) Joseph and Pheroras, and an only daughter Salome. This Antipater had so generous and obliging a way with him, that all the princes and great men about him had a high esteem for him, the king of Arabia especially, to whose charitable goodness he recommended the government of his children, during the war with Aristobulus. Crassus having by this time recruited and reinforced his army, advanced to the river Euphrates to make head against the Parthians, according to the report of several historians.

CHAP. XIII.

Pompey and the senate abandon Rome. Cesar discharges Aristobulus. Pompey's faction poisons him. Alexander's head cut off by Pompey's orders. Philippion marries his sister Alexandra; after which Philippion is slain, and Ptolemy marries the widow.

Rome abandon'd by Pompey and the senate. Cesar sets Aristobulus at liberty.

Pompey's faction poisons him.

Alexander's head cut off by Pompey's order.

Philippion, Alexander's son, marries his sister Alexandra. Philippion slain, and Ptolemy marries the widow.

SOME time after this when Cesar came to be master of Rome, and to find the city abandon'd by Pompey, and the whole senate, who all shifted away beyond sea upon the fright, he bethought himself of setting Aristobulus at liberty, and dispatching him away into Syria, with the command of two legions to keep that province in order. But the comfort he promis'd himself in the honour of being Cesar's favourite was not long liv'd; for Pompey's faction found a way in a short time to dispatch him by poison, and the Cesareans took care of the funeral. His body lay embalm'd with honey a long time, till Anthony sent it into Judea, to be interr'd among their kings.

Scipio caused the head of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to be cut off by the order of Pompey, for former seditious practices against the Romans, and the execution was done at Antioch; but Ptolemy Menneus, the governor of Chalcis near Libanus, dispatch'd his son Philippion to the widow of Aristobulus at Askalon, to have her send him his son Antigonus and his sisters. Philippion fell in love with one of his sisters, whose name was Alexandra, and married her; but he being afterwards slain, his father Ptolemy himself took her to wife, and provided nevertheless for the family.

CHAP. XIV.

Pelusium taken by Mithridates, and Antipater the first man that enter'd the breach.

Antipater did Cesar eminent service in his war with Egypt.

ANTIPATER was a man of great authority in Judea, and one that after the overthrow and death of Pompey, did Cesar

many considerable services, at the instance of Hyrcanus, in his war upon Egypt; for Mithridates the Pergamenian being forced to stop once at Askalon, because there was no passing for him by Pelusium with the succours that he had for Cesar, Antipater join'd him with an armed body of three thousand Jews, and brought in several of the prime men of Arabia, and effectually all Syria, to his assistance; as there was Jamblicus, a prince of the country, and his son Ptolemy; and Tholomy of Libanus, the son of Soheinus; with the cities, almost all in general, who came in a kind of emulation to serve him, and happy was he who could present himself first. Mithridates, being now in a condition to march, advanced out of Syria into Pelusium, where the inhabitants refusing him entrance, he sat down before the place, assaulted it, and batter'd a piece of the wall down. Antipater was the brave man that first enter'd the breach, and was so well seconded in the action, that the town was taken upon it; but as Antipater and Mithridates were hastening away to Cesar, the Egyptian Jews, who live in the country of Onias, as they call it, opposed their passage, till by the power and interest of Antipater, as their countryman, but especially upon the sight of a letter from Hyrcanus the high-priest to them, they were prevailed upon to use Cesar kindly, and to supply him on his march with whatsoever necessities his army might have occasion for. Upon the credit, I say, of Antipater's mediation and advice, and upon that of the high-priest's letter, they cheerfully complied; the people of Memphis, upon this, applying themselves to Mithridates, and espousing the same interest.

Pelusium taken by Mithridates. Antipater the first that enter'd the breach.

CHAP. XV.

Mithridates worsted; Antipater rescues him, and wins the day. Hyrcanus and Antipater highly in Cesar's favour. Antigonus complains to Cesar of Hyrcanus and Antipater, who hears both sides, and determines in favour of the defendants.

AT a place called Delta, and upon a particular spot of ground, known by the name of the Jews Camp, Mithridates and Antipater came to a battle with the enemy, the former commanding the right wing, and the other the left. Mithridates was so hard press'd, that his men gave way, and the disorder was very near coming to a total rout; but Antipater, in the very nick of time, came up along the bank of the river, with an enforcement to his relief; rescued his friends, and in one word put an almost victorious enemy to flight, and pursued them with so much fierceness and precipitation, that he made himself master of their camp, calling in Mithridates, who was left a great way behind, to take his part of the booty, who lost a matter of eight hundred men, and Antipater not above fifty. Upon the report of this action, Mithridates gave Cesar frankly to understand, that he was indebted both for the preservation of the army, and for the glory of that day, to the bravery of Antipater; which Cesar was so sensible of, that throughout the whole course of the war, he was sure to be employ'd upon a post of honour ever after; and he carried the marks of

Mithridates worsted. Antipater rescues him, and wins the battle.

Hyrcanus Antipater high far's

Strabo Cap

Antigonus complains Cesar canus Antipater

Cesar both pa and de mines i your of canus a Antipater

Cesar gi Hyrcanus leave to build Jerusalem.

it in the many wounds he received in that service.

Hyrcanus and Antipater highly in Cesar's favour.

So soon as this was over, Cesar went back by sea into Syria, treating both Hyrcanus and Antipater with a singular grace and respect; the one he confirmed in the pontificate, and the other he made a freeman of Rome, with all the privileges of the city. Some will have it that Hyrcanus was personally in this war, and came actually into Egypt. Strabo the Cappadocian tells us as much out of Asinius. "Upon the coming of Mithridates into Egypt," says he, Hyrcanus the high-priest of the Jews came along with him." He says in another place, upon the credit of Hypsicrates, "That Mithridates came first thither alone, and then sent for Antipater, the governor of Judea, to Askalon, who brought him three thousand men; and that upon his counsel and persuasion, divers of the princes and great men of the country went over to him, and Hyrcanus the high-priest among the rest." Thus far goes Strabo.

Strabo the Cappadocian.

About this time came Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, with a complaint to Cesar, how his father had been poison'd by a faction, for bearing arms in his service, and how a brother of his had his head chopp'd off at Scipio's instigation; setting forth how he was disinherited and ejected, and presented himself as an object of his compassion. He reflected also upon Hyrcanus and Antipater, for usurping upon the liberties of the nation, and particularly for wrongs done to himself; but Antipater, being then present, wiped off these reproaches, by exposing the turbulent and seditious humour of Antigonus, and how busy he was in all factious cabals, to embroil the publick peace; not forgetting neither to mind Cesar by a modest insinuation, of his own merits, appealing only to himself upon the proof he had given of his disposition and integrity, by the service he had done in the late war. As for Aristobulus, he was always known to be a profess'd and an implacable enemy to Rome; so that the Romans, in keeping him a prisoner, did no more than what necessity of state, common prudence, the law of arms, and the practice of nations obliged them to do; and then to the point of Scipio's beheading his brother, he was convict of several robberies, and it was no more than a capital punishment for a capital crime. Cesar, in fine, upon a full hearing of Antipater's discourse, pronounced Hyrcanus to be high-priest, gave Antipater his choice of any command he had a mind to, and conferr'd upon him the lieutenantancy of Judea over and above.

Antigonus complains to Cesar of Hyrcanus and Antipater.

Cesar hears both parties, and determines in favour of Hyrcanus and Antipater.

CHAP. XVI.

Cesar gives Hyrcanus leave to rebuild Jerusalem. An alliance betwixt the senate of Rome and the Jews. A league betwixt Athens and the Jews. Antipater's exhortation to the people.

Cesar gives Hyrcanus leave to rebuild Jerusalem.

THE walls of Jerusalem lying at this time all in rubbish and ruin, just as they were left upon Pompey's breaking them down, Hyrcanus offer'd up a request to Cesar for leave

to re-edify them, which was immediately granted with all the forms of ceremony and respect, and letters dispatch'd away to the consuls at Rome, for the entering of the resolution in the records of the capitol; the copy of the decree running as follows:

A decree of the senate assembled in the Temple of Concord, on the thirteenth day of the month of December, present L. Coponius, the son of Lucius, and Caius Papirius Quirinus.

WHEREAS it appeareth unto this senate, upon the report of Valerius the son of Lucius, Prætor, that it is requested and proposed by Alexander the son of Jason, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, ambassadors on the behalf of the Jews, good men, and our faithful allies, that the ancient league of friendship may be renewed betwixt us; and that in token of their good-will and disposition, they have brought a present of a golden cup and buckler, valued at fifty thousand crowns; desiring letters also of recommendation to all governors and free towns, for a safe passage both by sea and land, through all their ports and territories. Be it therefore order'd by this senate, that the same league of friendship and society be renewed and established, all the desires of the said ambassadors agreed unto and granted, and their presents accepted." This was in the ninth year of the pontificate and principality of Hyrcanus, and in the month of Panemus.

An alliance betwixt the senate of Rome and the Jews.

THIS prince of the Jews had great honour done him also by the republick of Athens, in acknowledgment of their obligations to him; for they sent him a decree to this following purpose:

*A decree of the Athenians, bearing date the twenty fifth day of the month Panemus; Dionysius Asclepiades being president and high-priest, and Agathocles, * Archon; reported by Eucles the Alimussian, the son of Menander the scribe, on the eleventh of the Prytanea, in the month Munichion; a council of the † Prohedri being met in the theatre; and after gathering the suffrages of the people by the high-priest Dorotheus, and his assessors, Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, made publication as follows:*

FORASMUCH as Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, and high-priest and prince of the Jews, hath upon all occasions, both publick and private, as well in the generous reception, entertainment, and accommodation of our ambassadors, as otherwise, given proof of a singular affection and esteem, both for our nation in general, and the citizens of Athens in particular, whereof we have received many instances; and forasmuch as we have received credible information from Theodosius the son of Theodorus of Sunium, of the virtue of the said excellent prince, and of his friendly disposition to do us all the good offices in his power, we have resolved to present him with the honorary ac-

A league betwixt Athens and the Jews

* The Archon was a person among the Athenians, invested with sovereign power.

† The Prohedri were chief magistrates, who had the direction and regulation of publick affairs, and to whom the rest gave place in sitting.

“knowledge of a crown of gold, and to erect a brazen statue to him in the temple of the * people and the graces, for the fame of his memory, and to have it notified by proclamation at the exhibiting of any new show, in all theatres and places of publick exercises, and spectacles in honour of Bacchus, Minerva, Ceres, &c. that we have presented him with this crown out of a veneration for his virtue. And we do further will and require all our governors and magistrates to be aiding and assisting in the effectual improvement of these our concessions to the best advantage of our friends and associates, so long as this amity shall continue betwixt us; for the manifestation of our gratitude, piety, and justice toward all men of worth and honour, and the encouraging of good offices and inclinations toward us for the future. We do likewise order, that a fit choice be forthwith made of ambassadors from among the Athenians, to attend Hyrcanus in our name, and with this our decree and presents, and to provoke an emulation to outdo us in this generous way of competition.” And so much for the intercourse of friendship that pass’d betwixt the Romans and the Athenians with Hyrcanus.

Antipater’s
exhortation
to the people

WHEN Cesar had order’d his affairs in Syria, he went back again with his navy, and Antipater along with him, who immediately upon his return to Jerusalem gave orders for the repairing of the walls that Pompey had thrown down; taking a tour at the same time up and down the province, to try what might be done with menaces and fair words, toward the keeping of a divided and a factious people quiet. “He laid before them the blessings of a dutiful obedience to their prince, in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties and possessions, and the dangerous consequences of seditious practices and innovations, which would force governors to turn persecutors, Hyrcanus himself to turn tyrant, and the most necessary of their patrons and allies, even the Cesars, and the senate of Rome themselves, to become their implacable enemies; for depend upon it, says he, they will be obey’d.” With these admonitions he quieted the whole country.

CHAP. XVII.

Phasaël and Herod governors of Jerusalem and Galilee. Herod’s character. Ezekiah a famous rover. Phasaël’s character. Antipater’s reputation draws envy upon him. Complaints of Antipater to Hyrcanus. Herod cited before the judges. A brave and a bold speech of Simeas. Herod transported against Hyrcanus. Proclamations publish’d in favour of the Jews. Cesar slain in the senate-house, by Brutus and Cassius.

Phasaël and
Herod govern-
ours of Je-
rusalem and
Galilee.

ANTIPATER, under these circumstances, took an occasion from the natural heaviness of Hyrcanus to contrive a way for the advancing of his own family and fortunes by putting his two eldest sons Phasaël and Herod into two eminent commands; the

former into that of Jerusalem, with the adjoining country, and Herod his second son into the government of Galilee, being at that time † fifteen years of age; but of such a pregnancy of wit, and so enterprising a spirit, that his youth did not at all hinder him from searching out honourable occasions for so heroical a disposition to work upon. The borders of Syria were in those days very much infested with robbers; so that the first instance of his prowess was upon that vagabond troop of highwaymen, wherein he took Ezekiah, their commander in chief, prisoner, with several of their companions, and put them all to death. This action gain’d him so mighty a reputation among the people, that his name was celebrated through all the towns and villages as their deliverer, and the author of their security and repose. By the fame of this exploit, he became also known to Sextus, the kinsman of Cesar the Great; who had then the administration of Syria: Beside that it kindled an emulation in Phasaël likewise, to do somewhat that was great too, after the example of his brother; applying himself accordingly to the arts of popularity, as the most likely way for the compassing of his end. He was a man of a publick spirit, and made for business; affable in his conversation, and so temperate in the exercise of his power, that never any good man was the worse for it. By this dextrous way of address, Antipater came to be treated by the whole nation, rather as an absolute prince than as a proxy; and with a reverence also becoming the dignity of so great a master. And he had this virtue peculiar to himself from the rest of the world, that prosperity never alter’d him, but from first to last he stood firm to his faith and to his friend.

Herod’s cha-
racter.

Ezekiah a fa-
mous thief ta-
ken, and put
to death.

The charac-
ter of Phasaël.

THIS over-grown greatness of Antipater, and the elevation of his family to such a degree of wealth, credit and power, together with the esteem the people had for himself and his children, and his vast revenue in money from Hyrcanus, created so malicious an envy against him among the great men of the Jews, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; especially when they came to find what an interest he had made, not only among the people of Rome, but in the very hearts and good opinion of the emperors themselves. They endeavoured to traduce him by saying he got money from Hyrcanus for the use of the Romans, and then engross’d the thanks for it to himself, as if it had been a present out of his own coffers, without so much as naming the other in the case. This was invidiously hinted to Hyrcanus, who was so far from taking it ill, that he seem’d pleas’d with it. But the thing of all the rest that gave them the greatest disturbance, was the violent, daring, ambitious humour of Herod; insomuch that in the heat of this indignation, they went to Hyrcanus with a complaint, and openly accus’d Antipater. “How long, said they, shall every thing go to wreck thus, and you take no notice of it? Do not you perceive all this while, how the dignities, profits and prerogatives of royal power, are wholly shared betwixt Antipater and his two sons; and that

Antipater’s
reputation
draws envy
upon him.

Calumnies
rais’d against
him.

Complaints
of Antipater
to Hyrcanus.

* See Meursius’s *Athenæ* Attic. lib. ii. c. 11.

† Casaubon has shewn, that instead of fifteen, we should read twenty five, or twenty six. See his first *Exercit.* against Baronius, towards the end. And bishop Mountague’s *Exercitatio* x. as also Harduin de Nummis, *Herod.* p. 23.

"you yourself have only the empty name and title of a prince? Have a care of letting things go too far, and being over secure; for most certainly the safety of your person and government lies equally at stake. You mistake yourself, if you look upon these sparks to be any longer your deputies, for they are effectually your masters. What was Herod's outrage upon Ezekiah and his companions, but an affront to publick justice? For it is no better than direct murder by our law, to put any man to death, let him be never so great a villain, without the formality of a tryal: But this man had the face to exercise an arbitrary power, even without the least colour of any power at all."

Hyrcanus sets a day of hearing, and refers the cause to the judges. Herod appears.

WHAT with this discourse and the clamour of the mothers in the temple, that lay day after day there, calling out both to prince and people for justice upon Herod, for the murder of their children, Hyrcanus was at last prevail'd upon to appoint a day of hearing, and try the cause indifferently betwixt Herod and his accusers before a bench of Judges. Herod appeared upon the first call; though not altogether as a private man, but, according to his father's precaution, with only such a train as might secure the prisoner, without affronting the court. Sextus Cesar, having at that time the command of Syria, wrote a letter to Hyrcanus in Herod's favour, adding menaces, if they did not acquit him; which was no hard thing to obtain; for Hyrcanus lov'd him as his own flesh and blood. When Herod with his people about him, had stood a long time facing the court, and not one mouth open'd against him, it put the whole assembly to their wits end, what to think of that profound silence, till in the conclusion, there stood up one Sameas, a man too just to be corrupted, and too innocent to fear any thing; and he deliver'd himself in terms to this purpose:

A bold speech of Sameas.

"WITH the favour, says he, of yourself, Sir, and of this honourable court, this is the first time that ever I saw a prisoner at the bar, behaving himself with such an air of vanity and confidence; and I am of opinion that you will hardly match this man, all things consider'd, in the whole course of your observation and experience. It has been the practice formerly of persons in his condition, to demean themselves in their habits, countenances and behaviour, with some regard to the sobriety, severity and resignation that becomes men in the hands of the law, and under the awe of a legal animadversion: But we have a criminal here that values himself upon his guards, his ornaments and his purple, and stands in a posture to make publick justice more dangerous to the court than to the criminal. But I do not blame him so much neither, for consulting his own safety, before that of the law and the government, as I do those that suffer'd him to go on in those liberties: that is to say, the king and the judges. Take notice however, says he, turning to the judges, of what I am about to tell you: God is a God of righteousness and power; and the time will come, when this very man that you are now stickling to bring off in favour of Hyrcanus, shall be the ruin of you, both king and judges."

AND so it came to pass not long after; for upon Herod's getting possession of the government, he put the king himself to death, and all the judges, save only Sameas; for whom he had a singular honour, in regard both of his integrity and justice; and more particularly, as the person, that, after the besieging of the city by himself and Sosius, was instrumental to the admitting of him into the place: With this further declaration, that it was a judgment upon them for their sins, and a punishment not to be avoided. But of this elsewhere.

Herod pays Sameas a great respect.

HYRCANUS, finding how the judges stood affected, and that it was likely to go hard with Herod, he adjourned the court till next day, and gave him a private hint, by all means to get out of the way, for he was a lost man else.

Hyrcanus adjourns the court.

Herod, upon this, withdrew to Damascus, for fear of Hyrcanus, as he pretended; and upon some discourse with Sextus Cesar, and the settling of his own affairs, he publicly declar'd, that if ever they cited him again to that court, he would disclaim their jurisdiction. This contempt put the judges in a rage; and they fell presently to suggesting it to Hyrcanus, that his ruin was the very bottom of the design; but though the thing was as plain as plain could be, and that he himself was convinced of it, he had not either conduct or resolution to make any use of the precaution to his advantage. Herod was by this time safe and easy under the care and protection of Sextus Cesar, and settled also in a purchase for a sum of money, of the government of Celestria. This was the first thing that open'd Hyrcanus's eyes, and gave him terrible apprehensions of mischief from that quarter; neither were his apprehensions groundless; for Herod was so exasperated at the indignity of being expos'd to a trial, that he march'd against him with an army; and if it had not been for the importunities and the intercessions of his father, and his brother, he had most certainly fallen upon Jerusalem itself; but upon their instances and entreaties, that he would content himself with the fright he had put them in, and stop there without offering any farther violence to the author of his dignity and fortune, they pacified and diverted him from his purpose. "Tis true, they said, he had been cited; but he was brought off to, and lay under some obligation for his deliverance." They advis'd him likewise to consider the uncertain chance of war, and how providence gave victories many times beyond and against human expectation; and that he had little to hope for in this cause from divine justice, considering that he fought not only against his prince, but against his very nourisher and upholder, and one that had deserved all good from him, without doing him any injury; or if he took any thing amiss from him at present, it was rather to be imputed to the malevolence of evil counsellors he had about him, that had transported Hyrcanus into an evil opinion of him. Herod was so wrought upon by this way of advice and reasoning, that he contented himself with shewing the people what power and reputation he had upon this occasion; and this was the state of affairs with the Jews at that time.

Herod withdraws.

Herod transported against Hyrcanus.

CESAR being now return'd to Rome, was preparing for an expedition into Africa, against Scipio

Scipio and Cato, and saluted upon the way by ambassadors from Hyrcanus to solicit the renewing of a former league of friendship. It will be proper enough in this place to take notice of the honours our people have from time to time received from the Roman emperors, and the alliances that have pass'd betwixt us, to the end that the whole world may see what opinion the kings of Europe, as well as Asia, have ever had for the faith and courage of the Jews.

THE histories of the Persians and Macedonians are not publickly known and dispers'd, 'tis true, and the authority of them may appear the less authentick; so that though we ourselves have their books, and they are to be had also elsewhere, and make honourable mention of us upon many occasions, we shall rather decline making any advantage of it, and cast the credit of our cause upon the decrees and proclamations of the Romans, the monumental inscriptions in their capitol, and upon pillars of brass; which are all testimonies and evidences, beyond contradiction; and so was that memorable inscription of Julius Cesar's, upon the brazen pillar in Alexandria, which serves as a record to perpetuate the privilege of free citizens, which was allow'd the Jews as a prerogative in that famous place. I shall now prosecute my purpose with the particular instances of certain orders and decrees of the senate, and of Julius Cesar, to the advantage of Hyrcanus and our whole nation.

Caius Julius Cesar, emperor, Pontifex Maximus, and the second time dictator, to the magistracy, senate, and the people of Sidon, greeting.

I Myself, and my army are in health; and if you are well, all is well. I send you the copy of a letter of ours to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the prince and high-priest of the Jews, to be engraved upon a brass table, the inscription in Latin and Greek, and to remain among your registers for after-times. The letter itself in substance is as follows:

C. JULIUS CESAR, emperor, the second time dictator, and Pontifex Maximus, hath, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed the publication of this decree.

FORASMUCH as Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander a Jew, hath in all times, as well in war as in peace, approved himself to be our trusty good friend and ally, as appear-eth by several attestations of unquestionable credit, and particularly by the supply of fifteen hundred choice men that he sent to Mithridates, to my assistance in the late Alexandrian war: these services and good offices duly consider'd, I do hereby confirm and establish unto Hyrcanus, and his heirs, the perpetual government of the Jews, both as their prince and high-priest, after the manner and method of their own laws; and from this time forward, enroll them among my * trusty and well-beloved friends, and ratify an affinity with them as my associates. And it is my pleasure likewise, that all the † legal pontifical rights and privileges be devolved upon him and his sons for ever; and

in case any controversy shall arise among the people concerning the Jewish discipline, himself and his family, in the course of succession, to be the only judges of it. It is moreover my will and pleasure, that the Jews be discharged the burden of winter quarters, and of all publick payments." We shall come now to some of his particular grants, resolutions, and decrees.

It is ordered, Caius Cesar being consul, that the government of the Jews shall descend from Hyrcanus to his heirs for ever, with all the possessions, grants, and emoluments, belonging or annexed to the pontificate, the high-priest to have the judgment of all causes. And it is likewise appointed, that ambassadors be forthwith sent to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high-priest of the Jews, with instructions to treat about a friendly alliance with him; and that these particulars be fairly inscrib'd upon brazen tables in Latin and Greek, to be set up in the capitol, at Tyre, Sidon, Askalon, and in the temples, to the end that this our pleasure may be duly made known through all our dominions, and that none may pretend ignorance; and for the honour of our friends, and for a recommendation of their agents and ministers, to a singular respect and esteem in all places where they shall come.

CAIUS CESAR, emperor, dictator, and consul, taking into his consideration the honour, the friendship, and the ‖ good services of Hyrcanus, doth hereby, for the benefit and advantage of the senate and people of Rome, grant unto Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and to his sons after him, by an hereditary right of succession, the authority and office of princes and priests of Jerusalem, and of the whole nation of the Jews, to be by them exercised and enjoy'd, in such manner as their ancestors enjoy'd and exercised the said dignities before them.

CAIUS CESAR, the fifth time consul, hath ordained and appointed that the city of Jerusalem shall be repair'd and fortified; and that Hyrcanus the prince and high-priest of the Jews, and the son of Alexander, shall have the administration of the government, with an abatement upon the duty every second year, of a part of their taxes, and an exemption from carriages and other tributes.

CAIUS CESAR, emperor, hath likewise ordained, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall pay a yearly tribute for itself and all its dependencies, saving only the city of Joppa, with an exemption of all duty from the seventh year, which they call sabbatical, or the year of rest; in which they neither sow, plant, nor reap, either fruit or grain; and it is his pleasure also, that the Jews in Sidon pay a tribute of the fourth part of their fruits every second year for a duty, beside the tenths to Hyrcanus and his sons, as they have paid formerly to their predecessors. And farther, that no governors, military officers, or ambassadors, presume to raise any soldiers, or impose any charges upon the lands of the Jews, whether for winter quarters, or upon any other pretext whatsoever; but that they may hold all their

* See Cotelerius's notes upon the second volume of his Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 346.

† 'Tis in the original, as Cotelerius corrects it, ἀρχιεπισκοπῆ καὶ ποιμαντικῆς, ibid. p. 395.

‖ See Cotelerius's notes to the second volume of his Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 325.

" purchases and acquisitions peaceably and
 " quietly to themselves, without any let or
 " molestation whatsoever. It is also our far-
 " ther will and pleasure, that the city of Jop-
 " pa, which the Jews were possess'd of at their
 " first entrance into an alliance with the Ro-
 " mans, remain under the government of Hyrcanus the son of Alexander and his family,
 " with all the revenues and advantages arising
 " from it, whether upon husbandry, port du-
 " ties, taxes, customs, anchorage, impositions
 " upon goods, and exportations of corn for
 " Sidon, once in two years, saving only the
 " sabbatical year, wherein (as it is said before)
 " they neither plow, plant, sow, reap, nor
 " gather. As to the villages that Hyrcanus
 " and his ancestors formerly possess'd in the
 " great plain, it is the will of the senate, that
 " they continue to Hyrcanus and the Jews in
 " manner as before, and that the same laws
 " and customs be still preserved and exercised
 " betwixt them and the priests, and all ad-
 " vantages made good that had been formerly
 " granted to them by the senate and the peo-
 " ple of Rome, the same privileges extending
 " even to Lydda itself. And whereas the
 " Romans had formerly bestow'd upon the
 " kings of Syria and Cilicia, certain lands and
 " estates, in respect of an alliance betwixt
 " them, it is the pleasure of the senate that
 " they still continue in the possession of Hyrcanus the prince of the Jews. And farther,
 " that he himself, his son, and his ambassa-
 " dors, shall have places assign'd them among
 " the senators, to see the gladiators, and other
 " publick spectacles; and that upon any oc-
 " casion of applying themselves to the senate,
 " the dictator, or the master of the horse,
 " shall introduce them to their audience, and
 " an answer to be returned them within ten
 " days, if the senate shall come to any reso-
 " lution upon the matter.

" CAIUS JULIUS, the fourth time emperor,
 " the fifth time consul, and perpetual dicta-
 " tor, makes this mention of Hyrcanus the
 " son of Alexander, the prince and the high-
 " priest of the Jews.

" WHEREAS my predecessors, as well in
 " the provinces as in the senate, have former-
 " ly born witness to many honourable reports
 " on the behalf of the high-priest Hyrcanus,
 " and the generality of the Jews, who have
 " thereupon received the thanks of the senate
 " and people of Rome, in acknowledgment
 " of their worth and goodness, we look upon
 " these friendly offices and respects, as obli-
 " gations never to be forgotten; and upon
 " ourselves, as bound in the name of the se-
 " nate and people of Rome, to give Hyrcanus, his family, and countrymen, all pos-
 " sible demonstrations of the sense we have of
 " their amity and esteem."

*Caius Julius, dictator and consul, to the magistracy,
 senate, and body of the Parians, greeting.*

" WHEREAS application hath been
 " made unto us at Delos, by great
 " numbers of the Jews from several quarters,
 " complaining against you in the hearing and
 " presence of your own ambassadors, for de-
 " nying the Jews the liberty of their country
 " laws, and the free enjoyment of their rites
 " and sacrifices, they having likewise shew'd

" us the instrument of interdiction itself; these
 " are to let you understand, that we will not
 " suffer any such unreasonable rigour to be
 " practis'd toward our friends and allies; but
 " our pleasure is, on the contrary, that they
 " be let alone in the free and peaceable en-
 " joyment of their customs, festivals, and sa-
 " crifices, being no more than the allowance
 " of a privilege which they enjoy in Rome
 " itself; for in the edict of Caius Cesar, con-
 " sul, prohibiting all publick meetings and
 " congregations in the city, the Jews alone
 " were permitted to meet together, feast and
 " make merry; and I myself, in another case
 " of prohibition, excepted the Jews likewise
 " out of that restraint, and left them to their
 " own ways and manners; wherefore if so it
 " be, that you have pass'd any order to the
 " prejudice of our allies, in the privileges that
 " we have thought fit to allow them, it is
 " but just and reasonable that you revoke, and
 " make void any such decree out of a respect
 " to us, and to them for our sakes, as they
 " are our friends and associates."

AFTER the death of Cesar, Marcus Anto-
 nius, and Publius Dolabella, being then con-
 suls, call'd a senate, and gave an audience to
 the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, upon the subject-
 matter of their instructions and desires, struck
 up a new league with them, and came to a
 resolution at last, in favour of all their de-
 mands. This Dolabella having received let-
 ters from Hyrcanus, took an occasion from
 thence to send dispatches all over Asia, and
 particularly to Ephesus, the metropolis of that
 province, in terms much to this effect:

*The * emperor Dolabella to the magistrates, se-
 nate, and people of Ephesus, greeting.*

* The stile of
 generals in
 those days.

" WHEREAS we are given to under-
 " stand by Alexander the son of Theo-
 " dorus, and ambassador of Hyrcanus the
 " high-priest and prince of the Jews, in the
 " name of the said Hyrcanus, that the Jews
 " being tied up by the religion, laws, and
 " constitutions of their country, not to bear
 " arms, travel, or so much as provide them-
 " selves necessaries for life, upon the day of
 " their sabbath, are thereby render'd incapa-
 " ble of attending the duties and services of
 " the war, we do therefore order and appoint,
 " according to what our predecessors have
 " done before us in the same case, that the
 " said Jews be from this time forward ex-
 " empted from all military charges, and per-
 " mitted the liberty of meeting, worshipping,
 " and sacrificing, according to their own rule
 " and way. And hereof you are to cause
 " due notice to be given through all the cities
 " of your province."

" We find these privileges granted to our
 " people by Dolabella, at the instance of Hyrcanus; and Lucius Lentulus the consul pro-
 " nouncing upon the whole matter, in form,
 " that the citizen Jews in Ephesus should be
 " allow'd the free exercise of their religion,
 " with an immunity from all offices and im-
 " positions relating to the war."

Given in court the 18th day of September.

Y y y

W

We might produce several other imperial resolutions and decrees of senate in favour of Hyrcanus and the Jewish nation; with letters recommendatory to the governors of cities and provinces, upon the subject of our rights and claims; for which we can shew authorities not to be doubted of by any equal and impartial judge, in justification of what we have here deliver'd. The proofs, in fine, of an amicable understanding of antient date, betwixt us and the Romans, are so firm and clear, that the record of it is yet to be seen to this day, upon brazen tables and pillars in the capitol, in perpetual memory of that alliance. It would be time lost to be more particular in a case where there are so many undeniable evidences extant, in confirmation of the matter here exhibited; so that I shall rather cast myself upon what I have said already for the credit of what I could say farther, than tire out the reader with a tedious story for the clearing of a thing that is indisputable; wherefore let this suffice to shew the friendly correspondence that pass'd in former times betwixt the Romans and the Jews.

THERE happened at or about this time a desperate sedition in Syria, and it was upon this occasion: Cecilius Bassus, a Pompeian, enter'd into a plot upon the life of Sextus Cesar. He got him treacherously murder'd, and immediately drew out his troops upon it, and took possession of the province. This outrage was follow'd with a bloody war upon the borders of Apamia. The Cæsareans march'd against Bassus with horse and foot; Antipater with his sons joining them, in honour to the memory of his illustrious benefactor; accounting himself bound both in honour and justice to take his revenge upon the murderer of so generous a friend. While the war was drawing out at length, * Marcus sets up for successor to Sextus; and in the mean time, Brutus and Cassius, with a band of other conspirators, assassinated Cesar in the senate-house. He had now been three years and a half in his government, as appears by the whole current of historians.

CHAP. XVIII.

The death of Cesar was follow'd by a civil war. Cassius enters into a faction, and joins with Herod in horrible oppressions. People as well as places exposed to sale. Marcus in a plot against Antipater, and brings himself off by a false oath.

The death of Cesar is followed with a civil war.

Cassius makes a party, and draws Marcus and Bassus into it.

UPON the death of Cesar, the senators and the chief men of Rome fell presently all into parties and factions, every man shifting and setting up for himself, till the confusion broke out into a civil war. Cassius got possession of the army in Syria, which was then before Apamia; raised the siege, and brought over Marcus and Bassus into his interest; took his progress from place to place, picking up

men, money, and arms, more or less, wherever he came, but oppressing Judea above all the rest, by an imposition of betwixt † seven and eight hundred talents of silver. In the hurry of this distraction and confusion, Antipater committed the care of levying one part of this money to his two sons, and the rest of it to Malichus, (one who had no great kindness for him,) together with some others. Herod, who was willing to oblige the Romans at other people's cost, began with the most acceptable presents to Cassius, of the contribution of Galilee, as the first-fruits of his service; but for several cities under other governors, they were exposed to publick sale, and sold as by an outcry, people, places, and all, to him that would give most; as particularly the cities of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamna, where the inhabitants, by Cassius's order, were sold by auction; and he was so exasperated against Malichus, upon this occasion, that if Hyrcanus had not pacified him with a composition of a hundred ‡ talents out of his own coffers, by the hands of Antipater, it would have cost Malichus his life. So soon as Cassius was gone off with his treasure, Malichus enter'd into a practice against the person of Antipater, infering, that if he were once out of the way, Hyrcanus would find himself more easy and secure in his government. Antipater had such an apprehension however of this design upon him, that for prevention sake he forthwith pass'd the river Jordan, and put himself at the head of as many Jews and Arabians as he could gather into a body; but Malichus, who was a bold and a cunning fellow, finding himself suspected, went to Antipater and his sons, barefac'd, and without more ado clear'd himself of the jealousy by the dint of downright perjury. "Can any body imagine," says he, that I should be so arrant a fool, as to entertain so much as the least thought of a plot, or a conspiracy, when at the same time Phasaël had the command of Jerusalem, and Herod that of the arms and magazines?" So that by this impudence, failing of his main end, he made his peace with Antipater. Marcus had at this time the government of Syria, who coming afterward to hear of new practices of Malichus in Judea, had certainly put him to death, if it had not been for the intercession of Antipater on his behalf.

Horrible oppressions under Cassius and Herod.

People and places all put to sale.

Malichus in a plot against Antipater.

Malichus makes his peace by a false oath.

CHAP. XIX.

Marcus and Cassius give Herod the command of the lower Syria. Malichus gets Antipater poison'd, but forswears it. A bloody malice well dissembled.

ANTIPATER's good nature in this act of tenderness, was more than his discretion; for, as it fell out, he sav'd Malichus only to destroy himself. When Marcus

* By Marcus we are to understand Marcus Crispus, or otherwise to read Murcus, as Mr. Spanheim conjectures. To this purpose see Casaubon's Exercit. An. DCCVI.

† Seven hundred Jewish talents weighed seventy nine thousand eight hundred forty three pounds, nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to two hundred thirty nine thousand five hundred thirty one pounds, five shillings, English money.

‡ An hundred Jewish talents weighed eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds, three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings of our money. and

Marcus and Cassius give Herod the command of the lower Syria.

Malichus gets Antipater poisoned;

but forswears it. The two brothers resolve upon a revenge.

Malice well diffembled on both sides.

and Cassius had gotten an army together, they gave Herod the command of it both by sea and land, and at the same time made him governor of all Cele-Syria, with a further promise of the kingdom of Judea, so soon as the war should be over with Anthony, and the younger Cesar, afterward Augustus, which they were then engaged in. This promotion of Herod put Malichus into such an apprehension and jealousy of Antipater, that he got him poison'd for a sum of money, by Hyrcanus's butler, one day at his master's table; and thereupon, with a guard of soldiers about him, took possession of the city. This was the end of Antipater; a just and a good man, and a true lover of his country. Herod and Phasaël resented this barbarous practice upon the person of their father, as they ought to do; but Malichus had the confidence however to forswear all upon the main, and stand upon his justification. The two brothers were both agreed in the determination of a revenge; but the question was, in what manner it was to be effected. Herod was for doing of it at the head of an army; but Phasaël rather by stratagem and surprize, for fear of embroiling the people in a civil war: So that he behaved to Malichus with an air of complacency, without discovering any suspicion he had of him for the murder; employing himself at the same time upon the erecting of an illustrious monument to the honour of his dead father. Herod came about this time to Samaria, and finding every thing in great disorder, he made it his business to set matters to rights again, and to compose all controversies and disputes among the inhabitants, by a regular course of law and justice. There came on soon after this, a solemn festival at Jerusalem; upon which occasion, Herod advanced with his army toward the city; where Malichus in a dread on the other hand, earnestly press'd Hyrcanus not to give him admittance; who was accordingly prevail'd upon to refuse him entrance, upon a pretext, that it would be a prophanation of the holy religion to communicate in their ceremonies and worship with strangers. But Herod made light of this interdiction, and got into the town by night. This surprize put Malichus under dreadful apprehensions; but he had the cunning however, to stick to his disguise of tears and exclamations for the loss of his dear friend Antipater, and at the same time privately to provide a guard for the security of his person. Herod's friends under these circumstances, had no better expedient than to encounter his presence of sorrow and affliction on the one hand, with an artificial semblance of friendship and confidence on the other.

C H A P. XX.

Cassius and Herod join to revenge Antipater's murder. Malichus stabb'd under a colour of friendship.

Cassius joins with Herod to revenge Antipater's murder.

THE character of Malichus was so well known to Cassius, that he order'd Herod, immediately upon the news of Antipater's death, to revenge it upon the head of the murderer, privately commanding the troops also that were then at Tyre to his assistance.

Upon the taking of Loadicea afterward by Cassius, and the people thronging to him with money and presents, Herod made no doubt of an opportunity to gain his point upon that occasion: But as Malichus was upon the way near Tyre in Phenicia, his heart misgave him, and that apprehension put him upon other measures. He had a son at that time an hostage in Tyre; and he thought with himself that if he could but steal him away into Judea, the Jews might be tamper'd to a revolt; and he himself take his advantage, while Cassius was engaged in a war with Anthony, to possess himself of the government. The project was bold, and well enough contrived; if Herod's wonderful sagacity and precaution had not disappointed it, by sending out several officers beforehand to meet Malichus and his train upon the way in their arms, under a pretext of inviting them into a collation; which they did accordingly, and falling upon him on the sea-side of the town, they there dispatch'd him with their daggers. The horror and surprize of this action struck Hyrcanus speechless; but upon coming a little to himself, and enquiring into particulars, Herod put a short end to his curiosity, by telling him that it was all done by the command of Cassius: Whereupon Hyrcanus seem'd highly to approve the justice of the vengeance for the murder of Antipater, upon so lewd a man, and so treacherous an enemy to his country.

Malichus stabb'd upon the way, under colour of friendship.

UPON the departure of Cassius out of Syria, there follow'd great troubles in Judea. For Felix, with the troops that were under his command in Jerusalem, made an attack upon Phasaël; and the people betook themselves to their arms in his defence. Herod upon this, apply'd himself to Fabius the governor of Damascus, with a design to assist his brother; but was prevented for the present by a fit of sickness, that put him out of condition to serve him. Phasaël however had the good fortune to do his business without him, and to force Felix for sanctuary into a strong hold upon terms: Phasaël reproaching Hyrcanus all this while with ingratitude to the highest degree, in siding with his enemy, after so many obligations as he had laid upon him; for the brother of Malichus had at that time gotten several fortify'd places into his hand, and Masada among the rest, which was look'd upon as a fort in a manner impregnable; but Herod upon his recovery, took them all back again, and so dismiss'd him upon articles of agreement betwixt them.

C H A P. XXI.

Antigonus raises an army. Herod's tenderness for the Tyrians. He defeats Antigonus, and marries Mariamne.

ANTIGONUS, the son of Aristobulus, Antigonus a near kinsman of Ptolemy Menneus, and raised an army for affinity sake, by him adopted, engaged Fabius for a sum of money to join with him in the drawing of an army together, taking Marion also into his assistance, who, by the favour of Cassius, had gotten the command of Tyre, and the power of all Syria into his hand, having settled several garisons there, and three in

Herod's tenderness for the Tyrians.

Herod encounters Antigonus, and defeats him.

Herod marries Mariamne. Herod had Antipater by a former wife, Dores.

in Galilee itself, upon his own borders; but Herod quickly reduced these places, treating the Tyrians that had the keeping of them, not only with fair quarter, but with respect, tenderness, and even with presents too, for the love he bore to the people themselves. His next business was immediately to march up to Antigonus, whom he encounter'd and defeated upon his very entrance into Judea, and returning triumphant from thence to Jerusalem, he was received by Hyrcanus and the whole people, with all possible instances of honour and esteem; for being now upon the point of a match with the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod was consider'd as a branch of the family; and the marriage being consummated soon after, he had by this wife three sons and two daughters; having had a former wife of his own country, whose name was Dores, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

CHAP. XXII.

Cassius routed by Anthony and Brutus. Complaints against Phasael and Herod. Hyrcanus presses Anthony for satisfaction against Cassius. Several edicts in favour of the Jews.

Cassius routed at Philippi by Anthony and Augustus.

Complaints to Anthony against Phasael and Herod.

Herod pleads his cause with arguments and presents. Hyrcanus and the body of the Jews press Anthony for satisfaction against Cassius.

AFTER the defeat of Cassius at Philippi, by Anthony and Augustus, Cesar went his way into Gaul, and Anthony into Asia, who was complimented upon his march in Bithynia with embassies and applications from several parts; and among others, he was encounter'd with complaints and accusations against Phasael and Herod, from many eminent persons among the Jews, suggesting that Hyrcanus, though he had the name of a governor, was in effect, but a mock prince; for that the two brothers had usurp'd the authority and administration to themselves. Herod pleaded so well for himself, and seconded his reasons with so large a sum of money, that his adversaries were not so much as admitted to be heard against him. Upon Anthony's coming up to Ephesus, ambassadors were sent from Hyrcanus the high-priest, and the whole body of the Jews, with a crown of gold, supplications, and presents; desiring that their countrymen, who were carried away prisoners by Cassius, contrary to the rules of war, might be set at liberty, and their lands restored to them, that had been wrongfully taken away; desiring Anthony's letters to the provinces in their favour to this purpose. Their request was found to be so reasonable, Anthony presently granted their petition, and wrote to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews, and likewise dispatch'd an edict to the Tyrians, to this following effect:

Marcus Antonius, emperor, to Hyrcanus the high-priest, and prince of the Jews, greeting, joy and health.

Anthony to the magistrates of Tyre.

"WHEREAS we have received from Lydimachus the son of Pausanias, Joseph the son of Menneus, and Alexander the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, at Ephesus, fresh assurances of the continuance of yours and your people's affection for us,

according to what hath been formerly exhibited to us at Rome; in which commission they have faithfully and worthily acquitted themselves; and whereas we are abundantly satisfied in the sincerity of your intentions, and more from the proof we have had of your good faith, piety, and virtue, than by the force of words, we do heartily agree to your proposals, and embrace your friendship. Now since so it is that the enemies, both of ourself, and of the people of Rome, have laid waste and ravaged the whole country of Asia, without any regard to societies, laws, or holy places, oaths, promises, or contracts, we have turned our arms against these violaters of all duties, sacred and civil; not for any particular interest of our own, but in vindication of the common cause of mankind. As in the case of the horrid murder of Cesar, a villainy so black and hideous, that the sun itself was confounded at the sight of it: the execrable assassins betook themselves, some of them at least, into Macedonia, as if it had been to fight the old quarrel against the gods over again there. Such was their outrageous malice at the battle of Philippi, where having possessed themselves of all the fastnesses and strong places, up to the very sea, under the cover of almost impassable mountains, they were so posted, that there was only one way open to come at them. But these difficulties notwithstanding, divine justice gave us so entire a victory over the sacrilegious rebels, that we beat Brutus and Cassius into the town; where finding themselves environ'd, they both perished together; so that having inflicted a just vengeance upon the heads of these monsters, we are now in hope to see peaceable days again, and Asia, that looks like a body already recovering out of a desperate distemper by the benefit of this relief, deliver'd finally from the outrages of a devouring war. And it shall be our care likewise to provide that you and your people may come in for an ample share in the comfort of so great a blessing. To this end we have already dispatch'd away our mandates from place to place for the immediate discharge of all the Jews, as well bond as free, that had been exposed to sale by Cassius, or his order. And it is our farther pleasure, that you shall quietly enjoy to yourselves and your heirs, all the graces and privileges unto you granted by myself and Dolabella, with an express inhibition to the Tyrians, that they give you no sort of molestation, and as positively commanding them to make full restitution of all the goods and estates that had been taken away from the Jews, declaring our acceptance also of the crown you were pleas'd to send."

Marcus Antonius, emperor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting.

"WHEREAS we have been given to understand at Ephesus, by the ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high-priest, and prince of the Jews, that in the time when our enemies were in possession of this province, you enter'd upon the lands of several of this people for your own use, be it now known unto you, that as we engaged in this war

" war for the good of the empire, and for the
 " maintenance of piety and justice, against a
 " band of ungrateful rebels; so we do hereby
 " will and require you, not only to live in
 " peace and amity with our allies, but also to
 " restore to the former proprietors whatever
 " you have of theirs that was taken from
 " them by the hands of our enemies; who,
 " as they had no manner of right thereunto
 " themselves, by any commission or authority
 " from the senate; so neither could they con-
 " vey any right to others, upon whom they
 " pretended to bestow it, being only the mer-
 " cenary instruments of their violence and
 " usurpation. And now having brought our
 " adversaries to condign punishment, we find
 " it reasonable to re-establish our allies in the
 " full and quiet enjoyment of their estates;
 " wherefore if you have in your hands at pre-
 " sent any lands or estates formerly belonging
 " to Hyrcanus the prince of the Jews, which
 " you came to be seized of in the time, or
 " under the countenance of Cassius's unright-
 " eous invasion, it is our will that they be
 " forthwith deliver'd up to the persons from
 " whom they were taken, without any oppo-
 " sition or delay; and in case of any doubt or
 " difficulty that may arise upon the equity of
 " the matter, it shall be our care when we
 " come into those parts, to hear both sides,
 " and to discharge justice impartially."

*Mark Anthony, emperor, to the magistrate, se-
 nate, and people of Tyre, greeting.*

" I HAVE sent you my mandate, which
 " you are to see carefully transcrib'd in
 " Latin and Greek, and expos'd upon a table
 " among your records, in a publick place
 " where all people may take notice of it."
 And again.

*Marcus Antonius, emperor and triumvir, &c. as
 follows.*

" WHEREAS Caius Cassius, taking ad-
 " vantage of our troubles and distrac-
 " tions, broke in with a body of vagabond
 " troops upon a province where he had no-
 " thing at all to do, and without the least co-
 " lour of any warrantable title or pretension;
 " ravaging and destroying the country and the
 " whole nation of the Jews, though our dear
 " friends and allies; and continuing those out-
 " rages, till by our arms we brought down
 " the pride and insolence of these presump-
 " tuous usurpers; it is our express will and
 " command now for the reparation of all these
 " indignities, (as far as in us lies,) to ordain
 " and appoint, that restitution or satisfaction
 " be forthwith made to our allies the Jews,
 " for whatsoever hath been forcibly taken
 " from them, and the persons of all their pri-
 " soners to be set at liberty; and we do like-
 " wise require that this our decree be punc-
 " tually observed, upon pain of our utmost
 " displeasure."

ANTHONY wrote to the same purpose also
 to the people of Sidon, Antioch, and Arad,
 which we think reasonable to give an account
 of in this place, to the end that posterity may
 know how great an honour and respect our
 nation has received time after time from the
 state of Rome.

C H A P. XXIII.

*Anthony's encounter with Cleopatra. Heavy com-
 plaints against Herod and Phasael. The cause
 tried, and council heard. Anthony advises
 with Hyrcanus. The ingratitude of Herod's
 accusers.*

ANTHONY passing after this into Sy-
 ria, was met and complimented by Cleo-
 patra upon the way in Cilicia, where he fell
 desperately in love with her. Application was
 also made to him by a matter of a hundred
 eminent persons of the first quality of the Jews,
 with complaints and accusations against Herod
 and Phasael, bringing along with them a se-
 lect choice of the best speakers they had for
 their advocates. Messala was of council for
 the two brothers, being likewise seconded by
 Hyrcanus, who was at this time by marriage
 become father-in-law to Herod. The cause
 was tried at Daphne; where, upon full hear-
 ing of both sides, Anthony put it to Hyrcanus,
 which of the two was the best qualified for the
 office of a governor, who made answer, that
 he took Herod to be the more competent ad-
 ministrator of the two. Anthony had so great
 a tenderness and respect for the two young
 men, upon the score of past kindness received
 from their father Antipater, who took him in-
 to his protection when Gabinius made war up-
 on Judea, that he confer'd upon them both
 the dignity of Tetrarchs, and committed Ju-
 dea to their care. He wrote several letters
 also in their favour, and imprison'd fifteen of
 the most violent of their prosecutors, with a
 resolution to have put them all to death, if
 Herod by his mediation had not diverted the
 execution. But this generosity of Herod's had
 no effect at all upon the implacable malice of
 his enemies; for they were no sooner dismiss'd
 from their embassy, but they entered into new
 practices against the life of their preserver,
 immediately upon their return; and drawing
 together to the number of a thousand persons
 of the faction, they marched in a body to Tyre,
 to wait for Anthony's coming thither. But
 Herod and his brother had already made so
 powerful an interest by the force of money and
 presents, that Anthony sent his orders to the
 magistracy of the place, to assist Herod in the
 support of his authority, and to do justice up-
 on the Jewish ambassadors, as a parcel of se-
 ditious innovators, that were in a design to
 overturn the government. But Herod gave
 yet a second instance of his humanity and good
 nature, in repairing to the deputies as they
 were advancing up to the city, and advising
 them by all means to withdraw themselves in
 time; Hyrcanus joining with Herod in the
 same advice, and desiring them to retire, for
 fear of what mischief might befall them if they
 persisted in that appeal. But these people, in
 contempt of all counsels and dangers, kept on
 their way till they were set upon and overborn
 by multitudes of both Jews and inhabitants;
 great numbers of them being kill'd and wound-
 ed, and the rest dispers'd, which put a final
 end to that controversy; not but that the com-
 mon people still persever'd loudly to exclaim
 against Herod's proceedings, which irritated
 Anthony to that degree, that he commanded
 all the prisoners to be put to death.

Anthony's
 encounter
 with Cleopa-
 tra.

Complaints
 and accusa-
 tions against
 Herod and
 Phasael.
 Counsels
 heard on both
 sides.

The cause
 tried at
 Daphne.
 Anthony ad-
 vises with
 Hyrcanus.

The defen-
 dants ad-
 vance, and se-
 veral of the
 prosecutors
 put to death.
 The ingrati-
 tude of He-
 rod's accu-
 sers, which
 cost them
 their lives in
 the conclu-
 sion.

IN the year following Pacorus the son of the king of Parthia and Barzapharnes, a prince of the country, made themselves masters of Syria; and Ptolemy Menneus dying at the same time, his son Lyfanius succeeded him, having contracted a particular friendship with Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, by the means of Barzapharnes, who was held in very great esteem by him.

C H A P. XXIV.

Antigonus deals with the Parthians to depose Hyrcanus, and to put Herod and his brothers to death. Pacorus and Barzapharnes join against Judea. The Tyrians deny Pacorus entrance. The Jews of Mount Carmel side with Antigonus. A guard set upon the temple, and the houses fir'd over their heads. Pacorus betrays Phasaël. Barzapharnes charged with treachery, but denies it.

Antigonus contracts with the Parthians to depose Hyrcanus, and put Herod and his brothers to death.

The Jews of Mount Carmel side with Antigonus.

The two brothers clap a guard upon the temple.

The multitude fire their houses over their heads.

ANTIGONUS contracted with the Parthians for a * thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon the deposing of Hyrcanus, and receiving him for governor in his stead; and at the same time put Herod to death and all his party. The sum agreed upon was not deposited, but the Parthians, however, enter'd upon the undertaking, and march'd with an army against Judea, Pacorus by the way of the coast, and Barzapharnes through the inland. The Tyrians stood upon their guard against Pacorus, and kept him out of the city; but the people of Sidon and Ptolemais open'd their gates and receiv'd him. He detach'd, upon this, a party of horse upon the scout, under the command of the king's cup-bearer, whose name also was Pacorus, to discover the state of the country, and to second Antigonus, if there should be occasion. The Jews of Mount Carmel sided with Antigonus, who fancied that by their assistance he might make himself master of that part of the country which they call Drymœ, and he was persuaded by others also that came over to him, to push forward, even to Jerusalem itself; which he did accordingly by the help of several strong enforcements that join'd him with a resolution to attack Herod and Phasaël in the royal palace; but while this was in agitation, the two brothers, with a considerable body of their friends and party, fell upon them in the market-place; and beating them from their post, they fled into the temple. Herod clapt a guard of soldiers into the adjoining houses, for the better security of the place; but the multitude breaking violently in upon them before they could be reliev'd, set fire to the buildings over their heads, and burnt the houses to ashes, together with the defendants. Soon after this outrage, Herod had his revenge, in a defeat he gave them with a very great slaughter. They continued skirmishing from day to day, till toward the feast of Pentecost, which Antigonus and his party expected with great impatience, because of the mighty confluence of people that resorted thither upon that solemnity. The time being come, there were several thousands gather'd together about the temple; some with

arms, others without, and the city as well as the temple crowded with them, all but the palace, which Herod, with a small party, maintain'd, the charge of the walls and out-works being committed to Phasaël. The enemy having posted themselves in the suburbs, Herod made a brave and a desperate sally upon them, wherein he did great execution, driving several thousands before him; some into the temple, some into the city, and forcing others to take sanctuary behind a rampart that was there at hand; Phasaël also acquitting himself in this action like a man of honour. Pacorus, in the mean time, at the instance of Antigonus, with a small party, enter'd the city upon a pretence to keep the people quiet, and put a stop to the tumult; but with a design, in truth, to advance Antigonus to the government. Phasaël, after this, treated them with great respect, both upon the way, and at his own palace, and Pacorus requited the civility with a practice upon his life, which was carried on under colour of an embassy to Barzapharnes; which Phasaël, being a credulous man, was easily prevail'd upon to undertake, though so much against Herod's opinion, that he was absolutely for cutting off Pacorus, and the whole crew that came along with him, to prevent a worse mischief, being too well acquainted with the infidelity of the barbarous people he had to do withal, to trust them. But so it was, however, that Hyrcanus and Phasaël put themselves upon their journey with Pacorus to conduct them, leaving a guard of two hundred horse with Herod, and ten of those people that they call freemen. Upon their arrival at Galilee, the commanders of the neighbouring garisons came out in their arms to meet them, and none forwarder than Barzapharnes, with fair words and presents to bid them welcome, though his heart, upon the whole matter was full of treachery. Phasaël and his train were conducted to a quarter upon the sea side, where being given to understand, that the Parthians were to have a thousand talents, and five hundred women, of Antigonus, for this piece of service, he began to have an apprehension of foul play, over and above that he had notice given him of a design upon him that very night, and that there was a guard of soldiers in readiness to seize upon his person. And the plot had certainly been put in execution, if they had not waited for the intelligence of Herod's being secured at Jerusalem by the Parthians, as it was concerted among themselves; for if the other two had been taken up first, Herod might have had time enough, they thought, to make his escape, and secure himself. The information of this contrivance was quickly found to be true, by the coming up of the guards that were to do the exploit. Upon this discovery several of Phasaël's people urged him immediately to take horse and away; Ophellius especially, who by the means of Saramella, (one of the greatest men for estate in all Syria,) had detected the conspiracy; and living near the sea, offer'd him the convenience of shipping to carry him off; but Phasaël was too generous to abandon his friends in their distress; so that he chose rather to go directly to Barzapharnes;

Herod drives them out of the suburbs.

Pacorus betrays Phasaël.

Hyrcanus Phasaël up by Parthians A plot Herod

Herod Pacorus

Alexander governs

* A thousand Jewish talents weigh'd one hundred fourteen thousand and sixty two pounds, and their value in silver amount'd to three hundred forty two thousand one hundred and eighty seven pounds, ten shillings; but if gold ones be here meant, to five millions, four hundred and seventy five thousand pounds, English money.

Barzapharnes charged with treachery, but denies it. and charge him in plain terms with the indignity of so dishonourable a practice. "If money, says he, be your business, Phasael, methinks, should be better able to gratify you that way than Antigonus, beside the scandalous barbarity of so horrid a violence upon the persons of ambassadors, in opposition to all the laws of good faith, hospitality, and nations." The Barbarian forswore the whole matter from one end to the other, alledging he tormented himself with groundless jealousies, and so went his way to Pacorus.

CHAP. XXV.

Hyrcanus and Phasael taken up by the Parthians. A plot upon Herod, who accuses Pacorus. Alexandra absolutely governs him. He makes his escape, and builds Herodium, in honour of his victory there. He meets Herod at Resa, and goes himself to Petra. Jerusalem besieged, and Marissa demolished. Antigonus put in possession of the government. Hyrcanus and Phasael in bonds. Phasael beats out his own brains. The greatness of Herod's mind. He applies himself to Marcus, who orders him to leave his country. He goes for Egypt, and then for Rome. He meets Sappinas and Ptolemy at Rhodes, and tells Anthony his whole story.

Hyrcanus and Phasael taken up by the Parthians. A plot upon Herod.

Herod accuses Pacorus.

Alexandra governs Herod.

BARZAPHARNES had no sooner turn'd his back, but a party of soldiers seized and put in chains Hyrcanus and Phasael, who highly exclaim'd against so perjurious and so barbarous a practice; an eunuch being dispatched away at the same time also for the apprehension of Herod, if they could but inveigle him out of his palace. But he had got such intelligence already of the design they had upon him, and the intercepting of his correspondence with his brother, that he went directly to expostulate the matter with Pacorus, and the leading men of the Parthians, who gave him for answer, that they knew nothing at all of the business, though in truth they were privy to the whole intrigue. They told him, indeed, if he had any doubt of his brother's welfare, he could not do better than to go out of town with them to meet his letters upon the way, for fear of their falling into wrong hands; but having heard so much of his brother's ill usage, and being also confirm'd in his suspicion of the Parthians, by the opinion of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, a woman of singular prudence, and whose daughter he was to marry, Herod govern'd himself by her caution and advice, whatever the rest said to the contrary. Upon this occasion the Parthians consulted together what course to take, and gave themselves time till next day to consider of it; for they did not think fit to venture an assault upon so great a man as Herod was, in the face of the sun; but Herod reflecting upon the distraction they were in, with the certain knowledge he had of the perfidious violence they had committed upon his brother, (though the Parthians told him it was all false,) and consequently the desperate hazard of staying any longer among those people, he bethought himself of giving

them the slip that very night; and so taking the opportunity of the dusk of the evening, he resolved to attempt his escape. He took along with him all the troops he had about him; provided waggons, and horses, and other beasts of carriage for the women and his train, as his mother, sister, and Mariamne, his contracted mistress, the daughter of Alexander, and the niece of Aristobulus, with his spouse's mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, the youngest brother, and the rest of his company and family; marching away altogether toward Idumea, and well advanced upon the way before their enemies took notice of it. It was a spectacle to make the most insensible heart to bleed; the sight of the poor women hurrying away with sucking children at their breasts with tears and outcries, leaving their country in misery, and their friends in bonds, and in an hourly expectation of falling under the same fate themselves.

BUT Herod stood as firm as a rock all this while, against the uttermost iniquities of a cross fortune, and did all that was possible to do, both by his example, and by his counsels, to keep up the hearts of his companions. He told them that there was no possibility of safety, or any thought of life, but in flight, encouraging them to hope the best, and not to ruin themselves by fruitless lamentations and despairs, but rather bear up and assist toward their own deliverance. Upon these words they took up a resolution becoming the occasion. There fell out, just upon this, an unlucky accident by the overturning of a waggon, which put his mother in extreme danger of her life. This disaster made such an impression upon Herod, partly out of a filial tenderness for his mother, and in part for fear of being overtaken by the advantage of this stop, that he had certainly cast himself upon the point of his own sword, if his friends about him had not laid hold of him, and prevented it; for this, they told him, would have been the sacrificing of his friends to the fury of his enemies; neither was it the part of a brave man to indulge his own particular to the damage of the publick. He was, in fine, betwixt force and shame, brought to better reason, and thereupon betook himself immediately to the care of his mother, by all manner of good offices that the place and the time would bear, prosecuting his journey to the castle of Massada with all the speed he could; the Parthians pressing upon him in his passage, with whom he had many skirmishes, but always got the better. Nay, the very Jews were upon the pursuit of him too; and coming up with him when he was gotten a matter of threescore * furlongs in his way from Jerusalem, they formally attack'd him, but were beaten back, and put to the rout; and notwithstanding this hurry and confusion, the fight was managed on Herod's part with all exactness of order and discipline. When he came afterward to be king of Judea, he erected a famous palace upon that spot of ground where he obtained this victory, and built a village near the place, which he called by the name of Herodium. Coming afterwards to Resa in Idumea, he was met by his brother Joseph, and they two laid their heads together, how they might ease

Herod slips away with all his people.

Herod's mother endangered by the overturning of a waggon.

Herod hath several skirmishes upon the way, but comes off still.

Herod builds Herodium in honour of his victory there.

Joseph meets Herod at Resa.

* Threescore furlongs made about seven miles and three quarters, English measure.

themselves of that vast multitude of useless and superfluous people that they had in their train, over and above their listed troops. The castle of Messada that they pitch'd upon for their retreat, was too little for the whole body: So that they dismiss'd about nine thousand of their people to provide the best they could for themselves up and down in Idumea, with a viaticum for their entertainment, till they could find some quarter to settle in. As for those that were fit for action, and his near relations, Herod took them along with him into the castle, where he dispos'd of the women and their families to the number of about eight hundred persons; and so leaving them a competence of provision of bread-corn, water, and all other necessaries, he hasten'd away to Petra, the capital city of Arabia.

Herod puts his mother and relations into the castle of Messada. Herod himself goes to Petra.

Jerusalem besieged.

By break of day the Parthians made spoil of all that Herod had left in Jerusalem, as well in the city as the palace, saving only three hundred * talents in cash, of Hyrcanus's, which they left behind them untouch'd, and divers considerable pieces of Herod's too, beside what goods and treasure he had transported before-hand into Idumea, to secure them from danger. And the Parthians were not content neither with the wealth and plunder of the city, without depopulating the country also; beside the laying of Marissa, a place of great riches and strength, in rubbish.

Marissa demolished.

Antigonus put in possession of the government. Hyrcanus and Phasaël deliver'd up to him in bonds. Hyrcanus's ears cut off by the order of Antigonus.

ANTIGONUS being now put into the possession of the government by the king of Parthia, Hyrcanus and Phasaël were deliver'd up to him in bonds. But the escape of the women was yet a great disappointment to him; for the Parthians were by contract to receive the women with the money. Hyrcanus being at this time a prisoner, Antigonus order'd both his ears to be cut off, designing by that maim to put him into a legal incapacity for the honour of the pontificate: Not knowing but that a popular faction some time or other, in a freak, might otherwise restore him to the government.

BUT there was nothing greater in this extraordinary juncture, than the generous magnanimity of Phasaël; who, when he found that he was certainly to die, was not so much troubled at the death itself, as at the reproachful circumstances of lying at the will and pleasure of an insulting enemy. Finding himself in this extremity, and his hands so manacled, that there was no execution to be done that way, he beat out his brains against a stone-wall; accounting it much more honourable to act that violence upon himself, than to suffer the same thing by the hand of another. Some will have it that the contusion was not mortal, and that the surgeons appointed by Antigonus, under pretence of assisting him, were in truth to dispatch him; and that they dress'd the wound with poisons instead of proper remedies. He liv'd long enough however, to understand that his brother Herod was at that time safe, and out of the hands of his adversaries, which made his death welcome and easy to him, in the satisfaction of leaving one behind him, that would avenge his blood upon the heads of his adversaries.

Phasaël, in a generous indignation, beats out his own brains.

HEROD, after all this, was so far from sinking, either in his courage, or in his presence of mind, though surrounded with almost insuperable misfortunes, that his resolution and his sense of things, seem'd rather the stronger and the sharper, for the difficulties he had to encounter. His first application was to Malchus the king of Arabia, to borrow a sum of money of him now in his distress, either upon credit and consideration, or else upon the score of humanity and bounty; not doubting of a fair and friendly return from a prince that was already indebted to him for many signal obligations. Now he had heard nothing as yet of the death of his brother; and his present business was to provide himself with three hundred talents for his immediate ransom, taking a son of Phasaël's, of about seven years old, along with him, as a pawn to the Arabians for the security of their money. Upon this point of time, there came messengers from Malchus with orders to Herod to depart the country, for the Parthians were absolutely against the receiving of him. His answer was, that he did not come to be either a trouble or a charge to any body, but only to treat about some important affairs of his own. The coarseness of this usage was look'd upon to be only a trick of some of the great ones, to avoid the payment of a just debt, and to cozen Herod of the treasure that Antipater had deposited in their hands.

Herod applies himself to Malchus king of Arabia.

Herod order'd to depart the country.

HEROD, upon bethinking himself, found it his best course to be gone, how unsatisfy'd so ever with the indignities they had put upon him: So away he went toward Egypt, taking a certain temple in his way, where he had left several of his company. He was told next day at Rhynocura of the death of his brother. Malchus was by this time become sensible of his ingratitude, and hasten'd all he could after Herod, to make him some amends, but could not overtake him; for he was gone a great way before toward Pelusium; and when he came thither, the ship that was bound for Alexandria, would not take him in: Whereupon he address'd himself to the magistrates of the place, who, out of a reverence to the dignity of his former character, conducted him with great respect into the city, where he was generously entertained by Cleopatra, and not without earnest invitations to make a longer stay there: But his heart was so set upon going to Rome, that neither Cleopatra's entreaties, nor the difficulties of a winter voyage, nor the general talk of troubles at that time in Italy, nor all this together, was sufficient to divert him from his purpose.

Herod goes away for Egypt.

Herod takes a passage for Rome.

He went aboard, in fine, for Pamphylia, and after so terrible a tempest that the mariners were forc'd to cast their goods and baggage over-board, to save their vessel; with much ado at last he got safe to Rhodes, where he had the good hap to meet with Sappinas and Ptolemy. He found the town so miserably harra's'd by the war with Cassius, that he contributed out of the small remainder of his fortune, more than in truth he could well spare, toward the repair of the ruins. Here he took

Herod meets Sappinas and Ptolemy at Rhodes.

Augustus Anthony Herod's friends.

* Three hundred Jewish talents weigh'd thirty four thousand two hundred eighteen pounds nine ounces; and their value in silver amounted to one hundred two thousand six hundred fifty six pounds five shillings; and in gold, to one million six hundred forty two thousand five hundred pounds English money.

Herod gives
Anthony his
whole story.

shipping, with his friends for Italy, taking Brundisium in his way, and from thence to Rome; where he was no sooner arriv'd, but he gave Anthony an account of all his adventures in Judea; the seizure and the murder of his brother Phasaël by the Parthians; Hyrcanus at that time a prisoner, and a contract of a thousand * talents, and five hundred women to be pick'd and chosen out of his own family, to be made good to the Parthians upon the advancing of Antigonus to the government. As for the women, says he to Anthony, I made a hard shift to get them away by night out of all danger for the present, into a place where they are since besieged, and in hourly expectation of falling into the hands of the enemy. This is the truth of the matter; and I have now broken through all hardships and hazards, both at sea and land, to lay the state of our affairs before you, and to implore your assistance and support.

CH A P. XXVI.

Herod in great favour with Augustus and Anthony; chosen king of Judea; and conducted by Anthony and Cesar to the capitol. Antigonus presses hard upon Massada. Ventidius squeezes money out of him.

Augustus and
Anthony are
Herod's
friends.

THE sad story of Herod's adventures gave Anthony a compassionate tenderness for him; and not without just reflections neither, how soon it might come to be his own case, considering the power and unsteadiness of fortune in raising up, and casting down. He call'd to mind also the good offices he had formerly receiv'd from Antipater, Herod's father, and the ancient friendship that had pass'd betwixt them; not forgetting at the same time the sum of money he was to have, upon his advancing Herod to be king, as he had before made him a Tetrarch. This was all in Herod's favour; but the thing that struck the main stroke at last, was the aversion he had for Antigonus, whom he look'd upon as a busy turbulent spirit, and a profess'd enemy to Rome: So that even out of spite to Antigonus, he resolv'd to befriend Herod all he could. Augustus also join'd his interest with Anthony in the promoting of Herod's pretension and request; partly upon the score of acknowledgment for former services, and partly for old acquaintance sake betwixt the two families; for his father and Antipater had been fellow-soldiers in Egypt together, over and above the desire he had to gratify Anthony himself, in the person of his friend. The matter was soon after brought before the senate, where Messala and Atratenus presented Herod with a singular recommendation of him to their kindness and esteem upon the account, both of his own, and of his father's services and good affections to the state of Rome; reproaching Antigonus on the other side, as a publick enemy, not only for past misdemeanours, but for his late acceptance of the government from the hands of the Parthians, in contempt of the

Romans. When this harangue had put the senate in a heat, Anthony laid hold of the occasion and gave his opinion, that considering the state of the present war with the Parthians, they could not do better than to constitute Herod king of Judea; and the motion pass'd the assembly without any opposition. The honour was illustrious in itself; Herod's obligation to Anthony in the procuring of it, was much the more valuable for being confer'd upon him, not only beyond his hope and expectation, but likewise the method and measure of ordinary practice; for the Romans did not use to bestow royal dignities but upon the branches of royal families. Neither did his very ambition aspire to any thing more than to beg it for Alexander the brother of Mariamne; the nephew of Aristobulus by the father's side, and of Hyrcanus by the mother's; whom he caus'd afterward to be put to death, as will be seen in its proper place. This great work was but seven days a doing, and Herod dispatch'd away out of Italy with his royal commission.

Herod chosen king of Judea by the senate, without opposition, upon the motion of Anthony.

UPON the breaking up of the senate, Anthony and Cesar took Herod out betwixt them, accompany'd with the consuls and the senators, who conducted him to the capitol, where they were to sacrifice in form, and to deposite the decrees of the senate. Anthony gratulated the new king upon his accession to his authority with a most magnificent treat; upon the first day of his reign, in the Olympiad one hundred eighty four, C. Domitius Calvinus, (now the second time) and C. Atinius Pollio, consuls.

Herod conducted by Anthony and Cesar to the capitol.

IN this interim of Herod's absence, Antigonus press'd hard upon his friends in the castle of Massada, where they had plenty of all sorts of provisions, save only of water; which they wanted to such a degree, that Joseph with a party of two hundred choice men, had taken a resolution to sally out of the town, and attempt the forcing their way through the enemy, to get to the Arabians; being well inform'd that Malchus had heartily repented himself of the inhospitality of his late behaviour toward Herod: But in this nick of time, there fell so prodigious a shower of rain, that it fill'd all their cisterns and receptacle, for water; and upon this supply, they stood to their defence, without any further thoughts of quitting the place. The wonderful providence of this relief animated the besieged to that degree, that not a day or a night pass'd without a successful sally upon the enemy.

Antigonus presses hard upon Massada in Herod's absence

WHILE this was doing, Ventidius, a Roman general, drove the Parthians out of Syria, and went afterward into Judea, under pretence of a design to help Joseph, but in truth to squeeze money out of Antigonus; which he did abundantly upon drawing his troops toward Jerusalem: And having gain'd his point, he carry'd the greater part of them off again; leaving only a small remainder under the command of Silo, for the better colour of the cheat; for Antigonus was forced to come to a composition with him too, for fear he might be troublesome before the arrival of the Parthians, who he expected to come up to his succour.

Ventidius squeezes money out of Antigonus.

† See note at the beginning of chap. xxiv. of this book.

C H A P. XXVII.

Herod marches toward Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius assist Herod. Silo a pensioner to Antigonus. Herod marches toward Joppa; rescues Silo, takes Joppa, and relieves Massada. He takes Refa, and marches toward Jerusalem. An act of grace offer'd. Herod reproach'd for his family. The soldiers mutiny. Herod quiets them, and marches to Jericho. The Romans rattle the city. Herod sends Joseph into Idumea. The robbers scatter'd, and Galilee reduced. Pheroras repairs Alexandrian. Silo joins Herod. Execution done upon the thieves. An old man kills himself, his wife and his children, rather than accept of amnesty. Ptolemy has the government; and Herod marches for Samaria. The death of Ptolemy. The Parthians overthrown. The Cruelty of Macheras to the Jews. Herod offended at it. He leaves the army to his brother Joseph, and repairs to Anthony before Samosata; who receives him very honourably. Antigonus gives up the place. Anthony leaves his army to Sosius, and goes for Egypt. Joseph cut to pieces. Macheras fortifies Gath. Galilee revolts. Herod's foreboding dreams. He is preserv'd at Jericho by a strange providence. He defeats Pappus. His surprize in the bath. He lays siege to Jerusalem.

Herod comes back from Italy, and marches toward Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius order'd by Anthony to assist Herod.

Silo, a pensioner to Antigonus. Galilee for Herod.

He marches toward Joppa, and Silo comes over to him. The Jews pursue Silo, and Herod rescues him. Herod takes Joppa and relieves Massada.

He takes Refa, and marches with Silo's troops toward Jerusalem.

HEROD was now come back again out of Italy as far as Ptolemais, with a considerable body, both of auxiliaries and of his own people, and was upon his march by the way of Galilee toward Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius had orders brought them also from Anthony by Gellius, to assist Herod in the taking possession of his kingdom. But so it fell out, that Ventidius was at that time taken up in quieting the tumults, that an incursion of the Parthians had raised in several of the cities: But Silo was in Judea, and a pensioner to Antigonus. Herod's army gather'd however daily, and encreased mightily upon the march. Galilee was in a manner wholly for him. The thing he was the most intent upon in the first place, was the raising of the siege of Massada, to set his friends and relations at liberty, that were coop'd up there. But Joppa was a block in his way, and would be such a check upon him in his advance to Jerusalem, that there was no leaving so strong a place behind him. Silo upon this, march'd off; and the Jews plying him close in the rear, Herod charged in upon them with a small party; routed them, and brought off Silo, when he was just falling into their hands. Herod, after this made himself master of Joppa, and so immediately went away to the relief of his friends in Massada, where the people came over to him in abundance; some for his father's sake, others for his own; some again out of a sense of the obligations they had to both; but the generality, out of the hope they had to ingratiate themselves with the new king. Antigonus, in the mean time, laid several ambushes and traps for him in his way, though with little effect; for Herod, so soon as ever he had rais'd the siege of Massada, relieved his friends, and taking the castle of Refa, he advanced directly toward Jerusalem with Silo's troops, and a great number of citizens that stood in awe of

his power to attend him. He encamped with his army upon the west quarter of the town, where the defendants gull'd him all that was possible with arrows, darts and strong sallies: Herod, in the mean while making proclamation in form, by his herald from place to place round the walls of the town, that he had no other end in that enterprize than the publick good and the welfare of the city; nay, that he was so far from contriving, or designing them any mischief, that he was ready to grant them an indemnity and oblivion, without exception to any person whatsoever, let the crime or indignity have been never so spiteful and notorious. Antigonus made answer, addressing himself to Silo and the Roman soldiers, that it was a very unjust, and an unreasonable thing to pretend the setting of Herod upon the throne; a private man, and an Idumean: That is to say, but half a Jew neither; which was a practice directly against the law and right of succession that was customary among them. If they took any offence at his receiving the crown from the hands of the Parthians; and for that reason thought fit to depose him from the dignity, there were others, he told them, of the royal and sacerdotal line, and persons who had deserved every jot as well from the Romans, and had as fair a title to the government; and it would be great iniquity to deprive them of it. This contest betwixt Herod and Antigonus grew so hot, that they came at last to opprobrious language; inso-much that Antigonus commanded his men to force the enemy off from the walls; and they ply'd them so hard with their darts and arrows, that they were obliged to retire. It was no longer any doubt after this, but that Silo was corrupted; for he had so tamper'd divers of his familiar acquaintance among the soldiers, that they broke out into clamours, for the moneys and provisions; and into outcries for more commodious winter-quarters: For Antigonus, they said, had made such havoc up and down in the country thereabouts, that there was no living upon it. This mutinous extravagance put the army into such a distemper, that the soldiers were ready to lay down their arms and be gone; but Herod, on the other hand, made use of the authority of Cesar, Anthony, and the senate, by whose commission he was now come thither, and encourag'd both Silo's officers and soldiers to stand their ground, and maintain their station; and to depend upon him, that they should want nothing that they themselves could desire for their entertainment and satisfaction. Immediately upon this, he sent out his commissaries to provide them all necessaries, and left Silo no farther pretence of murmur or complaint; for they were presently supply'd with vast quantities of provisions beyond imagination: Herod having order'd his friends at Samaria to lay up stores of corn, wine, oil, cattle and all other necessaries at Jericho, and from thence to supply the army. Antigonus took the matter right, and presently dispatch'd away parties up and down the fields and the passes, to way-lay and intercept the foragers; who, according to their orders, dispos'd of their detachments about Jericho, and the crags of the mountains, where they were very careful to watch the convoys. Herod, on the other side, was as careful on his part; and with ten

An act of grace.

Herod reproach'd for his extraction.

The soldiers in a direct mutiny.

Herod quiets them, and supplies them with all sorts of provisions.

Pheroras provides for army, and pairs to andrion

Anthony ders Silo join Herod

Herod marches to Jericho, where he finds the town abandon'd. The city rifled by the Romans.

Herod sends Joseph into Idumea, and goes himself to Samaria.

The robbers routed, and Galilee reduced.

Pheroras provides for the army, and repairs to Alexandrion.

Anthony orders Silo to join Herod.

companies, one half Romans, the other Jews; together with a body of mercenaries, and some few troops of horse, he marched strait forward to Jericho, where he found the town abandon'd; and five hundred of the inhabitants, with their families, fled to the mountains, which he took and discharg'd again. The Romans rifled the city; and the booty, in money, jewels, and other precious goods and furniture, amounted to an inestimable value. The king left a garison in the place, and returned back again; assigning his army their quarters in his new conquests, as Idumea, Galilee, and Samaria; Antigonus prevailing also with Silo, by the force of money, that part of the Roman army might be quarter'd in Lydda, which was done to make a friend of Anthony; so that the Romans were now at ease, and in both peace and plenty.

BUT Herod, who could not endure to be idle, sent away at this time his brother Joseph into Idumea, with a thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and went himself to Samaria, where he provided for his mother, and the rest of his kindred that he brought from Masfada, and so marched for Galilee to take in some garisons, which were then in the possession of Antigonus. Coming up to Sephoris in a deep snow, he found the place wholly abandon'd, and provisions in it of all sorts, and in great plenty. The country thereabouts, not far from Arbela, being vexatiously infested with robbers, that from the fastnesses of the mountains terribly annoyed the neighbourhood, Herod commanded out a squadron of horse, and three companies of foot, to restrain their insolencies, and prevent them from committing depredations. Some forty days after this detachment, he march'd against them with his whole army; whereupon they drew out, and made so brave a charge upon him, that Herod's left wing gave way; till upon a victorious reinforcement, with Herod himself at the head of it, he brought his own men on again, who put their adversaries to a total rout, pursuing the victory as far as the river Jordan. This overthrow brought all Galilee over to Herod in time, saving only those that shelter'd themselves in the recesses of the mountains. The work being now over, Herod order'd the common soldiers a hundred * and fifty drachma's a man for a reward, and the officers more in proportion; and after this donative they were all dismiss'd to their winter stations. Silo, and his officers, that had been hitherto quarter'd upon Antigonus, gave Herod to understand, that he did not only refuse to allow them more than one month's entertainment, but sent likewise up and down to the neighbours every where thereabouts, to be gone with what they had up to the mountains, and to clear the country of all manner of necessaries for life, to starve the Romans out of their quarters; but Herod prevented this mischief, by committing the charge of providing for the army to his younger brother Pheroras, with orders also to repair the fort of Alexandrion, which lay then in ruins; in both which commissions he acquitted himself effectually, and much to his reputation.

ANTHONY was now at Athens, and Ventidius in Syria, where he order'd Silo to join

him with the auxiliary troops of the Parthians, but still to assist Herod in the first place, if there should be occasion. Herod, however, sent away Silo and his people to Ventidius, and marched himself against the free-booters that lay lurking in their hiding-holes up and down the hills. The rocks were so steep and craggy, and the passages so strait, that it was almost impossible to come at them; and these caves serv'd them and their families, both for their retreat and their habitations. The king, upon the view of the place, finding that there was no good to be done by scaling from below, or by creeping or stealing down upon them from above, made use of this invention: He caused several chests to be fram'd, and so let them down by a machine, with iron chains, from the top of the hills, and these cases to be fill'd with foldiers, lances, darts, hooks, and other arms, either by attack to destroy them in their dens, or to draw them out, and cast them down headlong, as the case should require. This was a bold and almost a desperate experiment, considering the horrid depth of the precipice; beside that they were victualled and provided in their cells with all manner of necessaries. One of these boxes being let down just upon the entrance into a cavern, and not a man of them daring to shew his head out of the vault, a soldier started up with his sword and buckler, and catching hold with both hands of the chain that upheld the coffer, he flipt down into the cavity of the rock, out of an impatience to wait any longer for their coming out. In one of these recesses he killed several with his darts, and pluck'd others out with his hooks, where he met with any resistance, and threw them down the cliffs; some at a farther distance he dispatch'd with his lance, and then betook himself to his chest again. The cries of the wounded frightened the rest to the last degree of desperation; but night coming on, put a stop to the execution. The king in the mean while having offer'd an indemnity to all that would lay down their arms, and come into him, they submitted in great numbers, and laid hold of that act of grace.

ON the day following they plied the attack in the same manner as before; only their bodies were more expos'd, and putting fire to the combustible matter they had in the caves, they set all in a flame, and smother'd their adversaries in their holes. There was among the rest an old man, with his wife and seven sons, begging leave of him in that hopeless extremity, to deliver up themselves to the enemy. The man planting himself at the mouth of the cavern, stabbed them one after another, every creature of them as they attempted to pass by him, and the woman last of all; casting their bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, chusing rather to lose his life than his liberty, but not without scandalous reflections upon Herod for the meanness of his extraction, though this prince at the same time gave him all the assurances of clemency and mercy that could be given by signs and gestures at a distance, if he would but have accepted of the pardon. This was the end, in short, of this war betwixt Herod and these free-booters.

THIS adventure being now over, and the government of that quarter given to Ptolemy,

Herod's invention to fetch the robbers out of their holes.

Execution done upon the thieves.

An act of grace offer'd, which brings a great many over.

An old man kills himself, his wife, and seven children, rather than accept of it.

The end of the war with the free-booters.

* A hundred and fifty drachma's amounted to about four pounds, one shilling, and four pence, of our money.

The govern-
ment is left to
Ptolemy, and
Herod
marches for
Samaria.
Ptolemy slain
by a party of
highwaymen.

Herod marched away with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot, into Samaria, with a design to bring Antigonus to a decisive battle; but Ptolemy's command prov'd fatal; for he was set upon and slain by a party of those people that had formerly put Galilee in disorder. Upon the committing of this outrage, they betook themselves to the bogs, crags, and other places of difficult access for refuge, and from thence they robb'd and ravag'd the whole country, as they saw their opportunity; but Herod, at his coming back, made them pay dear for their purchase; for some he kill'd, and others he forced out of their strong holds, and put to the torture; demolishing all their castles and fortifications; and when he had rid his hands of the most considerable of his enemies, he set a fine of a hundred * talents upon the cities that were suspected to favour them.

The Par-
thians over-
thrown.
Ventidius
sends a de-
tachment to
Herod.

THE Parthians having by this time received a great overthrow, with the loss of their king Pacorus in the battle, Ventidius, according to his instructions and orders from Anthony, sent away Macheras to Herod, with an enforcement of two legions, and a thousand horse; who having been invited by Antigonus, and corrupted with money, was absolutely for going to him, under a pretext of giving intelligence, and making discoveries, notwithstanding that Herod was utterly against it, and so he went his way; but finding upon his approach, that Antigonus was so far from trusting him, or admitting him, that he order'd his people to keep him off with slings and darts, this gave him sufficiently to understand that Herod was in the right when he dissuaded him, and he himself in a great mistake for not complying with his advice. Hereupon he returned to the city Emmaus, in a furious rage, putting all the Jews to the sword that he found in the way, without distinction of either friend or foe. Herod was so irritated at this barbarous way of proceeding, that he went presently to Samaria, with a resolution to inform Anthony of this outrage, and give him to understand that he was in condition good enough himself to deal with Antigonus, without need of any such assistants as did more mischief to their own party than to the enemy. As he was going forward upon this design, Macheras posted after him, and overtook him upon the way, pressing him earnestly either to put a stop to his journey, or at least to leave Joseph his brother behind, for them two to carry on the war together against Antigonus. Herod upon his importunity granted him his request, and forgave what was past, leaving the army under the command of Joseph, with express orders not to run any unnecessary hazard, nor to enter into any misunderstanding with Macheras.

Herod much
mov'd at it,
but forgives
it.
He leaves the
command of
the army to
his brother
Joseph, and
repairs to An-
thony him-
self, before
Samofata.

MATTERS being thus settled, he marched away immediately with an auxiliary body of horse and foot to join Anthony, who was at that time before Samofata, upon the river Euphrates. At his coming to Antioch, he found great numbers of people that would fain have gone over to Anthony, if they could have got to him; but the ways were so beset with troops of bloody barbarians, that there would have

been no coming at him, if Herod had not put himself at the head of them, and undertaken both for their conduct and protection; so that they prosecuted their march, and when they were advanced within two days journey of Samofata, they fell into an ambush of the ene-
mies horse that lay close behind the bushes, upon the entrance into the campaign, to prevent any succours from going that way to Anthony. They suffer'd the front to pass forward on to the plain, without either discovery or interruption; but upon Herod's coming up with the rear, they fell furiously upon him with a matter of five hundred horse, and broke through the first rank; but the king pressing violently upon them with his guards, beat them from their ground, rallied his own scatter'd troops, and follow'd the execution till he made himself master of the booty they had taken, in prisoners, horses, mules, carriages, and all the baggage, which was very considerable; and this being done, Herod continued his journey to Anthony; but not without other encounters upon the way with troops of barbarians that sallied out of the woods and thickets upon him in his further progress; but still defeating and cutting them to pieces upon every attempt, till in the end the way was safe and open to him, without any difficulty or hazard, his people adoring him as their protector and preserver.

Several en-
counters by
the way.

ANTHONY having heard of his exploits upon the barbarians, and how bravely he had acquitted himself upon several other occasions, sent out the flower of his troops to receive him upon his approach to the town, with all honour and respect imaginable, both for his person and his services, embracing him upon his arrival with infinite joy, affection, and esteem, celebrating and admiring him for his virtue; and, in fine, treating him with a dignity answerable to the royal character that he himself had conferred upon him. In a short time after this Antigonus deliver'd up the place, and in so doing put an end to the war. Anthony gave the government of the province, and the command of the army to Sosius, with orders to assist Herod upon all occasions, and so went himself into Egypt. Sosius hereupon sent away two legions with the king toward Judea, for the guard of his person, and march'd after them himself with the rest of his army.

Anthony re-
ceives Herod
with infinite
honour and
respect.

Antigonus
delivers up
Samofata.

Anthony
leaves his ar-
my to Sosius,
and goes him-
self to Egypt.

WHILE these things were doing, Joseph, in the absence of his brother, was slain in Judea, for want of observing Herod's order when he went to Anthony. He march'd out toward Jericho with his own troops, and five companies belonging to Macheras, with a design to get in the harvest, and he encamped upon the mountains. Now the Romans with him being but raw and undisciplin'd soldiers, and the greater part of them only new rais'd men out of Syria, the enemy took advantage both of the place where he was posted, and the inexperience of the men they had to do withal; so that falling upon them, they surpriz'd and routed them; entirely destroying six companies, and cutting Joseph to pieces, fighting manfully at the head of them. Antigonus being master of the field, and finding Joseph

* A hundred talents weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds, three ounces; and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand five hundred pounds, English money.

Galilee re-
volts.Macheras
fortifies Gath.

among the dead bodies, caused his head to be cut off, and his brother Pheroras redeem'd it at * fifty talents. This rout was follow'd with the revolt of Galilee, and with drowning as many of Herod's friends as they could lay hold of in the lake; beside divers seditious commotions in Judea; Macheras in the mean while fortifying the castle of Gath.

THE sad story of these calamities, one immediately in the neck of another, was brought to Herod at a place call'd Daphne, the suburbs of Antioch; and it was the less surprizing to him for some foreboding dreams he had a little before, which manifestly pointed at the death of his brother. He went from thence in all haste for Mount Libanus, and taking eight hundred men of the place along with him, and a Roman legion, he advanced to Ptolemais; and so passing forward by night through the country of Galilee, he was set upon by the way, but beat the enemy back into the castle they came out of the day before; immediately investing the place, and disposing his troops early next morning for an attack; but there happened to fall just then so violent a tempest, that he was forc'd to draw off into some of the neighbouring villages for shelter. Just after this came another legion to Herod from Anthony, which enforcement put the garison in such a fright, that they quitted the place, and stole away in the dark of the night. Herod thought the time long till he had avenged the blood of his brother, and so made all the haste he could to Jericho, where he treated with great magnificence all the princes of the place upon his arrival. When supper was just over, and the company gone, Herod retir'd into his own apartment, without leaving so much as one person in the eating-room. So soon as ever the place was empty, the roof fell flat to the ground into the parlour, without any farther mischief, which was look'd upon as a singular providence that watched over Herod in the delivery of him from so eminent a danger.

Herod pre-
serv'd at Je-
richo by a
strange pro-
vidence.

THE enemy falling down from the mountains next day upon the Romans, with a body of six thousand men, put them into a downright consternation; beating back the forlorn, and over-running all before them, even to the wounding of Herod himself, in the side, with an arrow. Antigonus, at this time, out of an ostentation as if he had men to spare, sent Pappus away to Samaria with some troops under his command; and while he and Macheras were designing upon one another, Herod got possession of five towns, put two thousand men to the sword that were there in garison, and leaving them all in ashes, went back to look after Pappus, who was then encamped at a place called Isanas, where he was join'd with great numbers that came over to him from Jericho and Judea; but Herod perceiving that

the enemy had the heart yet to push it to a battle, put it immediately upon that issue, and gave them a total rout, doing execution upon them, in revenge of his brother's death, in the very town they fled to for sanctuary. The houses were presently crowded with soldiers from top to bottom, some in one place, some in another; but upon taking off the roofs, what with stones and other weapons from above, they were all laid open to an universal slaughter; and after all this, the most dismal and horrid part of the spectacle, was the piles of the dead bodies that lay in heaps up and down in the chambers, which was the only thing that sunk their hearts into a despair beyond all recovery.

THE miserable remainder of their broken troops fled in such disorder, and in such shoals, that if it had not been for a violent hurricane at that very time, the victors had march'd directly up to Jerusalem in that heat, and put an end to the war; for Antigonus was already upon the point of resolving to abandon the city. It was now late in the evening, and Herod having order'd his soldiers to go to supper, retired into his chamber to refresh himself after the fatigue of the battle; and upon this occasion he had a second deliverance, no less providential than the former; for as he was there in the bath, stark-naked, and only one servant to attend him, out started three soldiers with drawn swords in their hands, and crossing the room in haste, rush'd out at the door. Now these were people who had hid themselves in the house, it seems, for fear of the enemy in the heat of the outrage, and so scamper'd away in a fright to save themselves, without ever dreaming of any violence upon the king, whom they might easily have destroy'd. The body of Pappus being found among the slain, Herod the next day order'd his head to be struck off, and so sent it to Pheroras, as a kind of consolatary revenge for his brother Joseph, whom Pappus put to death with his own hand.

Pappus de-
feated by
Herod.Herod sur-
prized in the
bath.The blood of
Pappus, that
kill'd Joseph,
sent to Jo-
seph's bro-
ther.

So soon as the confusion of this hurry was over, Herod march'd away with his army, and encamped near Jerusalem, taking up his quarter upon the temple-side of the town, as Pompey had done long before him, and as the place that lay fairest for an attack. When he had gotten his pioneers, and all necessary materials about him, and given his orders for the casting up of three trenches and bulwarks about the place, and the erecting of such and such towers, away he went himself to Samaria to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, and the grandchild of Aristobulus, who had been for some time contracted, as we have said before, leaving officers behind him in his absence to carry on the siege.

Herod lays
siege to Jeru-
salem.

* Fifty Jewish talents weigh'd five thousand seven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, and ten pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds, seven shillings, and six pence, and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, English money.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Sofius and Herod generals at Jerusalem. The city and temple taken, with a bloody execution. The moderation of Herod. The abject submission of Antigonus. Herod brings him in chains. A mutiny in the army. The tenderness of Herod. Antigonus carried in his fetters to Anthony, who orders him to be put to death. The end of the Asmonean family.

Sofius and Herod, generals at the siege of Jerusalem.

WHEN the marriage-solemnity was over, Sofius sent away his troops before him, being a considerable body of horse and foot, and soon after follow'd them himself by the way of Phenicia. The king returned also from Samaria, with an enforcement of about thirty thousand men; which being join'd, the whole army drew together toward the walls upon the north quarter of the town, to the number of eleven legions of foot, and six thousand horse, over and above the auxiliaries they brought from Syria. The two generals were Sofius and Herod; the former employ'd by Anthony, as an assistant; the other acting upon his own account, in a prospect of settling himself in possession of the kingdom that the senate had given him upon the overthrow of Antigonus, the profess'd enemy of Rome.

THE Jews within were bold and numerous; for the whole nation of them in effect was gotten into the town, where they made a very obstinate defence; animating their companions with emphatical outcries of THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, still at every turn, by way of exultation; and such presages of victory by God's blessing upon their cause, as seem'd prophetically to foretel their deliverance. Neither were they wanting all this while in their endeavours, by frequent excursions, and ravaging the country, to straiten and distress the besiegers; for they swept it so bare, that there was hardly any thing left for man or beast to live upon. But Herod quickly put a stop to this inconvenience, partly by the ambushes he laid up and down to entrap the pillagers, and partly by the commissaries and convoys he employ'd far and near, for the supply of the camp. The season was so fair and favourable, and so many hands at work, that the pioneers had by this time finish'd the approaches, and the besiegers were now advanced to the battery, leaving nothing unattempted for the gaining of their point. The besieged, on the other hand, made a stout resistance; opposing stratagem to stratagem, and by one invention disappointing another. They made a great many desperate sallies, and set fire to divers of the enemy's works, as well those that were perfected, as those that were only begun; and their courage, when they came to handy-strokes, was nothing inferior to that of the Romans, though in the matter of military knowledge and experience, the Romans in truth had the advantage of them. As fast as one wall was thrown down, the defendants supplied it with a retrenchment that serv'd for another. They counterwrought mine against mine, and met, and fought many times under ground in the very work; standing it out to the last, their very desperation doing the office of valour. This was their bravery, in defiance of a formidable enemy before the town, and a starving want of necessaries within the

walls; for they were now in the sabbatical year, when it was not lawful for them to till the ground. Upon the fortieth day after breaking ground, twenty brave fellows mounted the first wall; and after them a centurion belonging to Sofius. The second wall was taken fifteen days after, and several galleries about the temple set a fire, which Herod invidiously imputed to Antigonus, to make him odious to the people. Upon taking the out quarter of the temple, and the lower town, the Jews betook themselves into the middle of the one, and the upper part of the other; and for fear the Romans should interrupt them in their daily prayers and sacrifices, they desired leave of Herod by their ambassadors, only to bring in so many beasts as should be necessary for that service. Herod readily granted their request, in hope it might work some good upon them; but finding his mistake, and that they were more and more violent for Antigonus, he fell on immediately with his whole strength, and took the city by assault. The Romans were so exasperated at the opposition and the delay, and the Herodian Jews also so embitter'd against those of the other party, that they put all to the sword without mercy, as well in the streets as in the houses, and without sparing age or sex; nay, the very temple itself was no longer a sanctuary to those that fled into it; never so dismal a spectacle for blood and slaughter; and the soldiers were transported betwixt fury and revenge, to such a degree of implacable inhumanity, that though the king himself did all he could by his authority and earnest entreaties to put a stop to the butchery, there was not a man who regarded or obeyed him.

The city and temple taken.

A bloody execution.

The moderation of Herod.

IN this extremity Antigonus came down from the tower, and (below the dignity of his late character) cast himself at the feet of Sofius, who was so far from pitying him, that instead of Antigonus, he saluted him by the name of Antigona, and made a woman of him, in contempt of so effeminate a spirit. But he did not treat him afterwards like a woman; for he was put in chains, and secur'd under the custody of a guard.

The abject submission of Antigonus.

Herod brings him in chains.

BUT Herod's work was not yet done neither; for he was as hard put to it afterward to keep his own party in order, as he had been already to gain a victory over his enemies. His mercenaries, in fine, press'd so eagerly forward in troops and throngs to pry into the temple, and the very sanctuary itself, that all Herod could do by his authority, fair words, threatenings, and force itself, was little enough to restrain them; and, in truth, his success would have been worse than a defeat to him, if he should have suffer'd the exposing of the sacred and incommunicable mysteries of religion, to the pragmatical curiosity of the prophane multitude. He kept off the soldiers also from pillaging, all he could too, by reasoning and expostulating the matter with Sofius, laying it before him, that if they went on killing and destroying in so furious a manner, the Romans would find him the king of a desert, rather than of a people; and telling him that if the whole world were offer'd him upon those terms, he would not purchase it at the price of so much blood. Sofius made answer, that it was a thing of course, justice, and common practice, upon the taking of a place

The army mutinous.

The tenderness of Herod.

Jerusalem taken, remainder of the year.

Antigonus carried in chains to Anthony.

place by assault, to allow the soldiers the advantage of the booty. Herod told him on the other side, that as to what concern'd the soldiers, he would compound himself for the plunder, and gratify them upon his own account abundantly to their satisfaction, which he did accordingly; for he was in every point as good as his word. He was, in short, so generous to the common soldiers, so bountiful in proportion to the officers, and so magnificent in his presents and acknowledgments to Sosius, that the city was redeem'd; and all parties, in the conclusion, very well rewarded.

Jerusalem
taken on a
remarkable
year.

THIS happen'd in the consulate of Marcus Agrippa, and Canidius Gallus, Olympiad 185. in the third month, and upon the day of a solemn fast, being the very anniversary of their destruction by Pompey; for the city was taken upon the very day of the taking it * seven and twenty years before.

Antigonus
carried in
chains to An-
thony.

Sosius, upon this, dedicated unto God a golden crown, and so went his way from Jerusalem, taking Antigonus his prisoner along with him in bonds to Anthony. Herod had a jealousy in his head, that perhaps Anthony would not take away his life; and that in case of his appearing at Rome, and putting in his claim to the government before the senate, Antigonus being of the royal blood, and him-

self but a Plebeian, he did not know what the issue of it might be. Antigonus, he thought, might suggest, that though for his own part, he could not pretend to the dignity, having been in arms against the Romans; and though his own guilt might be taken for a sufficient forfeiture as to himself, he might be yet in hope, that they would not punish his innocent sons for the guilty father's sake, but admit him into the succession. Herod found himself very uneasy under this prospect and apprehension, and so prevail'd with Anthony, for a mighty sum of money privately, to have Antigonus dispatch'd out of the way, and that being done, Herod's heart was at rest.

Anthony or-
ders Antigo-
nus to be put
to death.

THUS ended the reign of the Asmonean family, after a hundred and twenty six years possession of the government, a family illustrious in itself for the long continuance of the sacerdotal succession in it; and no less famous for the signal services they and their ancestors had from time to time render'd to the publick; but it was diverted at last by an intestine broil, as we have it upon tradition, from our forefathers; and the administration was transfer'd to Herod, the son of Antipater, a person of a Plebeian extraction, and a private subject.

The end of
the Asmonean
family.

* According to Scaliger it should be twenty six. See his book de Emendat. Temp. lib. v. p. 451.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XV.

From the Year of the World 3929 to 3955.

CHAP. I.

Pollio and Sameas great with Herod. A notable prediction of Pollio's. Herod presents Anthony. Five and forty of Antigonus's men put to death, and himself beheaded at Antioch.



WE have already set forth the taking of Jerusalem by Sosius and Herod, and the making of Antigonus a prisoner; and we are now to proceed to what follow'd upon it. So soon as Herod came to the exercise of his

No sooner was Herod in possession of the city, but he got together all the royal furniture, with the rich booty in goods, gold and silver, that had been taken away by the wealthy citizens, and had it all carry'd to the palace; out of which he made a mighty present to Anthony; dividing the rest among his friends and his favourites. He order'd also forty five principal men of Antigonus's interest to be put to death, and a guard set at their several doors to wait for the bringing out of the bodies, and to inspect whether they were dead or not, and to take care that they carry'd out nothing else. In case of discovering any gold or silver, it was all brought to the king; and in one word, they saw no end of their misery. They were in the hands of a griping and a necessitous prince; and all they were worth in the world was too little to satisfy his avarice. They were also in their sabbatical year, and consequently no harvest to supply their wants.

Herod presents Anthony. Forty five men of Antigonus's party put to death.

Herod kind to his friends, and severe to his enemies.

Pollio, the Pharisee, and his disciple Sameas, great with Herod.

A notable prediction of Pollio's.

royal authority over Judea, he made it his business in the first place to promote, and to provide for the Plebeian citizens, who had taken part with him, as yet while he was in the condition but of a private man. But for those of the opposite party, hardly a day past without a capital execution upon some or other of them. Pollio, the Pharisee, and his disciple Sameas, were highly in his favour for the good offices they did him, in advising the citizens when he lay before the town, to open the gates and receive him. This was that * Pollio that formerly foretold to Hyrcanus and the rest of the judges, upon the questioning of Herod for his life; that if they acquitted him, the time would come, when he should as certainly take away their lives, as they might now take away his. This prediction was verifi'd in the event.

ANTHONY having at this time Antigonus a prisoner, had some thoughts of exposing him in chains for the honour of his triumph; but when he heard that the Jews began to be mutinous, and out of the aversion they had for Herod to favour Antigonus; Anthony without any more ceremony, struck off his head at Antioch, as the best expedient he could think of to keep

Antigonus beheaded at Antioch.

* Lib. xiv. c. 17. Sameas not Pollio. See Vorstius's Dissertation de Synedriis Hebræorum.

the

Phraates treats his soner Hyrcanus with great ho

Upon Herod's promotion, Hyrcanus had mind to give him a visit.

the people quiet. Strabo of Cappadocia attests this fact in the following manner:

See Strabo.

"ANTHONY, says he, brought Antigonus the king of the Jews prisoner to Antioch, where he caused his head to be struck off; the first king that ever the Romans put to this manner of death: But he had this to say for himself, that the Jews would never acknowledge Herod for their king, so long as Antigonus was living. Nay, so great was the reverence and esteem they had for their former prince, that they were not to be wrought upon, even by torments, to allow Herod so much as the name of a king: But Herod propounded to himself by this scandalous and shameful punishment, to blast the memory and reputation of the one, and to soften the popular aversion of the multitude to the other." Thus far goes Strabo.

We have spoken already of the two Parthian generals, Barzapharnes and Pacorus; and of their carrying away Hyrcanus and Phasaël prisoners: The former having been first high-priest, and then prince of the Jews; the latter, the brother of Herod, who out of a generous indignation dash'd out his own brains, rather than he would submit to the slavish infamy of an inglorious death. Hyrcanus being at this time in the hands of the Parthians, news was brought him of Herod's promotion to the government; upon which intelligence, he made his court to the new king, and we are now to shew how he came to obtain his liberty, and to return

self, made a judgment of others according to the same measure; flattering himself with the hope of mighty things that Herod would do for him now upon this elevation, as an acknowledgment to the preserver of his life and honour, which he himself had sav'd when it was all at stake, of which we have said enough heretofore. This fancy so strongly possess'd Hyrcanus, that he resolv'd within himself to make a journey to him, but not without the formality of advising first with some of his confidants about it. Upon laying their heads together, he found all his friends unanimously positive against his going. "For, said they, so long as you are here, you may assure yourself from us and all our people, of a reverence and obedience suitable to the duty of your subjects and servants, and to the dignity of your own character, which you can never expect in your own country, by reason of the main Antigonus has given you, which puts you into an incapacity of pretending to it. They told him likewise, that in the matter of good turns and reciprocal services, it is not with princes as it is with private persons. Kings have short memories commonly in those cases, and men change their manners with their fortunes." This discourse was reasonable enough, but the passion Hyrcanus had for his own country, made him deaf to all good counsels. Herod gave Hyrcanus an invitation also by letter to come over to him, and take his part in the government, desiring him likewise to move Phraates and his brethren the Jews, not to envy him the comfort of so great a blessing; for now was the time, he said, to shew his gratitude to the person he stood indebted to, both for his bread and for his life. And this was

All his friends against it.

Herod invites Hyrcanus to come over to him;

and sends Saramalla to Phraates with compliments and presents, to sweeten him toward Hyrcanus.

HYRCANUS being, in fine, discharged by Phraates, and amply supply'd with monies and necessities by the Jews in Babylon for his journey, went to Jerusalem, where he was received with all the marks of singular honour and respect; as for instance, Herod gave him the first place at all meetings and entertainments; treated him in the stile of father, and carry'd every thing on with such an outward appearance of good faith, that there was no room left for any possible doubt or jealousy of the contrary. There was nothing, in fine, omitted, that might conduce to his establishment, saving only that he was so over solicitous in that particular, that it prov'd the occasion of a dangerous breach in the family; for he was so cautious of having any man of an honourable extraction advanced to the pontificate, that he sent to Babylon for one Ananel, a person of a mean and obscure condition, and made him high-priest. Alexandra, the wife of Hyrcanus, and the widow of Alexander the son of king Aristobulus, by

Hyrcanus discharg'd, and so goes his way for Jerusalem. Herod entertains him with great honour.

Herod advances Ananel, a mean person to the pontificate.

CHAP. II.

Phraates treats Hyrcanus with great respect.

Upon Herod's promotion, Hyrcanus would needs visit him; but his friends opposed it. Herod invites Hyrcanus, and compliments Phraates. Hyrcanus goes for Jerusalem, where Herod entertains him very generously. Ananus arriv'd to the pontificate; which Alexandra takes for an affront, and puts Cleopatra upon moving Anthony for her son. Alexandra sends Anthony the pictures of Aristobulus and Mariamne. Anthony tells Herod, he should be glad to see Aristobulus, but Herod is against it; Anthony being a man of liberty and pleasure, Herod charges Alexandra for plotting with Cleopatra. Ananus depos'd, and Aristobulus in his place. Alexandra's excuse.

Phraates treats his prisoner Hyrcanus with great honour.

HYRCANUS being brought prisoner to Phraates, the king of Parthia; and this prince being well informed of his birth and character, he had so great a respect for his illustrious blood and quality, that he immediately order'd his chains to be taken off, and allow'd him the freedom of the city of Babylon for the bounds of his confinement: A place where there were a great many of his own sect; and where he had the same reverence paid him, not only by the Jews of that city, but by those likewise on the other side of Euphrates, as if he had been their governor and high-priest. So that the present condition of Hyrcanus was not very uneasy to him. But when he came to understand that Herod was advanced to the government, he being a grateful and a good-natur'd man him-

Upon Herod's promotion, Hyrcanus had a mind to give him a visit.

Alexandra takes this for an affront to her son.

She puts Cleopatra upon begging it of Anthony for her son.

Alexandra sends Anthony the pictures of Aristobulus and Mariamne.

Anthony writes to Herod how glad he should be to see Aristobulus. Herod against it, as a matter of ill consequence, Anthony being a man of liberty and pleasure.

Herod charges Alexandra for intriguing with Cleopatra.

whom she had a son, whom she called Aristobulus, after his grandfather's name, and a daughter Mariamne, a woman of admirable beauty, and the wife of Herod: this Alexandra laid it extremely to heart, to see her son thus affronted, and the high-priesthood usurped by one from abroad, while her son was yet living. In this discontent she wrote by a certain musician to Cleopatra, to beg the pontificate of Anthony for her son. But Anthony never minding the matter, it so happen'd, that one Gellius, a particular friend of his, being at that time in Judea about some affairs of his own, had the good fortune to see Aristobulus and Mariamne, whom he look'd upon to be two of the most graceful beautiful persons that ever his eye beheld; inasmuch, that he highly complimented Alexandra upon the blessing of bringing two such miracles into the world, and recommended it to her to make a present of their pictures to Anthony, as the way to secure herself of any good office that lay in his power to do her. Upon this consideration she sent the pictures; and Gellius, that had a mind to inveigle Anthony into a passion for Mariamne, highly enlarged upon their beauty, with hyperbolical and extravagant flourishes, that they were perfect and lovely, so much beyond the ordinary rate of flesh and blood, that they look'd liker angels in human shapes. It would not have been either handsome or honest in Anthony, to send for the wife of a prince that was his friend; and he was not willing neither to give Cleopatra any just ground of jealousy; but he wrote, however, to Herod, how glad he should be to see Aristobulus upon any fair occasion, if it might stand with his convenience. Aristobulus was not at that time above fifteen or sixteen years of age, and Herod did not think it safe to send a delicate charming youth, nobly born, and in the flower of his years, to the person of all men living the most abandon'd to unnatural lusts, and the most eager in the pursuit of unlawful pleasures; for this was Anthony's character; beside, that being one of the greatest men in Rome, he made use of his power and authority to bear him out in these liberties; so that Herod put him off with this pretence, that the Jews were so seditious, and so bent upon change and the experiment of another king, that if Aristobulus should but stir out of the kingdom, it would blow up all in a flame.

WHEN he had fobb'd Anthony off with this answer, he made it his business to treat the young man and Alexandra with more than usual civility; his wife Mariamne also continually pressing him to do her brother right in the business of the pontificate; urging withal, that it was his own interest so to do, for the very duty of the office would excuse him beyond all exception from taking the journey. Herod, upon this discourse, called several of his friends together, to confer and advise with; before whom he inveighed bitterly against Alexandra; telling them that she was enter'd into a secret conspiracy against him, and that she wrought by the means of Cleopatra, who was to engage Anthony to depose him, and transfer the government to her son; which, he said, she was the more to blame in, because she could not vindicate Aristobulus, without degrading her daughter, and

making way by a publick broil to the de-throning of her son-in-law, and removing him from a dignity that he had acquir'd with so much toil and hazard. "But upon the whole matter, says he, I am ready to forget and to forgive all these injuries; and to shew the reverence and tenderness I have for my mother, and the rest of her relations, I will immediately vest her son in the exercise of the office; and I had done it sooner too, when I put Ananel into it, if the other had been of age to execute it." This studied speech (for in truth so it was, and intended only for an amusement to the women and the council) put Alexandra into the greatest confusion imaginable, betwixt the joy of seeing her own business done, and the trouble of finding herself suspected; so that bursting out into a passionate transport of tears and protestations, she gave this further account of her behaviour. "That as to the point of the high-priesthood, she had such an indignation for the affront put upon her son in that particular, that she left no lawful way or means to do him right in it unattempted; but as to any design she had of advancing him to the throne, she was so far from having any thought that way, that if the thing were offer'd her, she would refuse it; for her ambition look'd no further, she said, than to see justice done to her son in that station, and consequently the honour and the safety of the family provided for. But as the case then stood, she said, she was so sensible of the king's grace and goodness to herself in the person of Aristobulus, that he should ever find her most dutiful for the future; and if upon any punctilio of honour, or of haughtiness of mind, she might have pass'd the precise bounds of respect and moderation, she begg'd his pardon for it." This discourse put a seeming end to the controversy; for they shook hands, and in appearance parted friends.

Ananel depos'd, and Aristobulus put into the pontificate.

Alexandra's vindication.

CHAP. III.

Herod is jealous of Alexandra, and sets spies upon her. She writes to Cleopatra for advice what to do, who invites Herod and her son into Egypt, whither they are privately convey'd. Esop tells Sabbion the secret, and he betrays it to Herod, who surprizes them in their escape. Herod contrives the drowning of Aristobulus, who is universally lamented. Alexandra disguises her affliction. A splendid funeral, and Herod sets up for the chief mourner.

THE king immediately depos'd Ananel from the pontificate, being a foreigner, as we have said before, and of the race of those Jews that were formerly carried away by the Syrians beyond the Euphrates, whereof many thousands took up their habitations in Babylon. He was in truth, of a sacerdotal extraction, and one of Herod's old acquaintance; who, upon his coming to the crown, had created him high-priest, and afterwards depos'd him, (though contrary to law,) for the peace of his family; for otherwise the high-priesthood is an office for life, and not to be taken away again where it is once duly confer'd. The first that broke in upon that rule was Antiochus Epiphanes,

Epiphanes, who removed Joshua to make way for his brother Onias. Aristobulus was the second who supplanted Hyrcanus, and assumed the dignity to himself. The third was Herod, who put Aristobulus into the holy function, while Ananel was yet living.

Herod is still
jealous of A-
lexandra.

By this expedient they thought to set all right in the family; but, as it prov'd, the consequence was not so clear yet, as after so solemn a reconciliation a body would have expected; for Herod was still possess'd with a strong jealousy, that Alexandra would be no longer quiet, than till she had an opportunity of compassing her ends, by being troublesome. Under these apprehensions he confin'd her to the palace, and absolutely forbid her meddling in any publick business; setting moreover so many guards and observers upon her, that she did not the least thing in the world, not even what related to domestick œconomy, but the king had notice of it. This odious way of proceeding gaul'd and exasperated her extremely; for being a woman of birth, sense, and of an high spirit, nothing could have touch'd her so sensibly, as to find herself thus watch'd and overlook'd; inso-much, that she resolv'd, in short, rather to endure any thing than the plague of so scandalous a jealousy, and under the title of a woman of honour, to lead the life of a slave in fear and misery. In this distress of thought

She writes to
Cleopatra for
help and ad-
vice.

Cleopatra
gives her and
her son an in-
vitation into
Egypt.
She and her
son are con-
vey'd away
privately thi-
ther.

Esop tells
Sabbion the
secret, and he
betrays it to
Herod.

Herod sur-
prizes them
in the very
act of their
escape.

she writ the whole state of her case in a letter to Cleopatra, together with an application to her for advice and relief; who gave her for answer, an invitation to steal away privately with her son, and to come over to her into Egypt. She could not but approve of the counsel, and so bethought herself of this way of putting it in execution. She order'd two coffins to be provided, and herself and her son to be put up in them; appointing the servants that were privy to the contrivance, to see them carried them out by night, and put aboard a ship that lay ready near at hand to transport them into Egypt. There was one Sabbion, who was look'd upon to be Alexandra's friend, and so mortal an enemy of Herod's, that he was strongly suspected to have been a party in the plot for the poisoning of Antipater. A servant of Alexandra's, whose name was Esop, making no doubt of Sabbion's being privy to the design, blabb'd the whole story to him; and the other, laying hold of this occasion for the redeeming of his credit with Herod, went and acquainted him with the whole intrigue; who let them go on without any noise, till they came to the point of execution, and then surpriz'd them in the very act of making their escape. Herod was yet so over gracious as to forgive her this attempt, not out of any motion of tenderness and generosity, but for fear of Cleopatra's power with Anthony, in case he should provoke her to a revenge; nay, so far was he from putting her to any extremity, that with a kind of ostentation of magnanimity and good-nature, he rather out-did it the other way, by appearing more indulgent than in truth (all things consider'd) it was possible for him to be. But after all this external fairness toward Alexandra the death of the young man some way or other was a thing resolv'd upon; only it was to be a work of time to prevent suspicion or discovery.

THE feast of tabernacles now drawing on, (being one of the most celebrated and solemn festivals we have,) Herod dispos'd himself to his good humour, and to rejoice and make merry with the people; but while this past, there fell out an unlucky circumstance, that put him upon the execution of his murderous purpose, sooner than he intended. Aristobulus was at this time enter'd into the eighteenth year of his age, a youth tall and lovely to admiration; and, in one word, the very picture of his grandfather; and as he was advancing toward the altar, in his pontifical robes, to officiate according to the law, he discharg'd his part with so wonderful a grace, having all the personal advantages of beauty and stature, and the dignity of a great soul in the very face of him, that the eyes and hearts of the spectators were all set upon him; inso-much, that they could not forbear expressing the love, honour, and esteem they had for him, in a thousand good wishes, prayers, and acclamations, and those indications of their joy and affection, accompanied also with large acknowledgments of the many obligations they had to that noble family. Now they never consider'd that the magnifying of the one was a kind of derogating from the other, and that Herod's envy would understand it so, which effectually it did; and the jealousy he contracted upon it, hasten'd the young man's ruin. Upon the breaking up of the festival, Herod took his part of a treat with Alexandra at Jericho, where he took Aristobulus aside, as in point of complaisance, and to bear him company in his little diversions and pleasures. The weather was too hot for any stirring exercise; so that they quickly gave over their play, and withdrew into the cool of the shade, by certain large fish-ponds there at hand, where several of their acquaintances and servants were bathing themselves. Aristobulus was tempted by Herod to make one of the party, and so plunging into the pool for company, some of Herod's instruments that lay ready upon the catch, took the opportunity of ducking and dipping him so long, under a pretence of only sport and diversion, that in the end they kept him down, and drown'd him. This was the deplorable end of Aristobulus, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the first of his office, which was then immediately restor'd to Ananel. When this tragical disaster came to be known to the Women, never was so dismal an alteration in the face of things; never so passionate a lamentation over the body of any person; nor ever so inconsolable a sorrow. It was so publick a loss, that the whole city was in tears for it, and not a family but had their part in it. But the chief mourner of all was Alexandra; and it was an aggravation of her calamity, that though she was convinc'd of the malicious treachery of the fact, she was yet glad to keep her tongue in her head for fear of a worse mischief. Such was the outrage of her despair, that she was many times about to lay violent hands upon herself; but still check'd her passion, in hope that if she could but survive the sense of that barbarous and flagitious murder, without discovering what she knew of the contrivance of it, she might yet live to the opportunity of a revenge; wherefore she carried it fair in appearance, and without seeming to understand any thing of the mat-
ter;

Aristobulus
drown'd in a
pool by the
practice of
Herod.

An universal
sorrow for the
loss of Ari-
stobulus.

Alexandra
keeps her af-
fection to
herself.

Herod himself in appearance the chief mourner.

A most expensive and magnificent funeral.

ter; but Herod made it his business of all things in the world to possess people that he had no hand in it; and in his looks, words, and behaviour, acted the part of a mourner so well to the life, that any one would have thought his very heart had been breaking in good earnest. And who knows at last yet, but betwixt humanity and conscience, he might come to have somewhat of a true remorse for his wickedness, in spilling the innocent blood of so lovely a person, in the prime of his youth and beauty; but his death was necessary, he thought, for his own security; beside, that his main point was to keep himself clear of being suspected of so base a crime. As to the matter of pomp and expence toward the solemnity of the funeral, there was nothing left undone either in the adorning of the hearse, or in the embalming of the body, that might advance the magnificence of the ceremony; and this course he took, as the most likely way to contribute some mitigation and comfort to the grief of the women.

CHAP. IV.

Alexandra sends Cleopatra the story of the murder, who presses Anthony for justice upon the murderer. Anthony sends for Herod, and Joseph administers in his absence, with orders to put Mariamne to death, in case Anthony destroys Herod. Joseph discovers the project at unawares. Herod values himself much upon Anthony's favour, and is jealous of Mariamne for Joseph. Joseph put to death, and Alexandra imprison'd. Cleopatra governs Anthony at pleasure. Her lewd practices.

Alexandra sends Cleopatra the story of the perfidious murder. Cleopatra presses Anthony for justice upon the murderer.

BUT there was no working upon the embitter'd spirit of Alexandra, by such amusements as these; neither was the rancour of her canker'd melancholy capable of any other relief than that of a revenge. With this prospect in her head, she sent Cleopatra an account of Herod's perfidious practice upon the life of her miserable son. Cleopatra, who had ever been ready and forward to serve her, contracted so generous a compassion for her upon this occasion, that she espoused her interest as her own; pressing and plying Anthony with perpetual importunities, to see justice done upon the author of so barbarous a murder. She laid before him the baseness of the thing, and how dishonourable it would be for him to suffer a king of his own making, and the usurper of another man's right, to commit so horrid an outrage upon the lawful heir of the government, and to come off at last unpunish'd. Anthony was touch'd with these remonstrances; and so coming to Laodicea, he sent for Herod to clear himself about the death of Aristobulus; for he could not but have a horror for the action, even though Herod himself should have been the doer of it. Herod was too conscious to cast himself voluntarily upon the merit of his cause, and then he consider'd the hatred Cleopatra bore him, who was continually teizing Anthony against him; but at all hazards, however, he resolv'd to appear, and in truth there was no avoiding it; so that committing the care of the government in his absence to his uncle Joseph, he gave him privately in charge, if Anthony should put him

Anthony sends for Herod to answer for himself.

Herod appears.

to death, he should immediately destroy Mariamne; for he doted upon his fair wife to that degree, that it was worse than death to him to think of any other man's enjoying her when he should be gone; beside, that he look'd upon her excellencies as the sources of his misfortune. Anthony had long since profess'd a passion for her upon the very fame of her beauty. Having dispatch'd his orders, he set out on his journey towards Anthony; but with a sad and a foreboding heart.

WHILE Joseph was in the administration, he took care of his trust, and made frequent visits to Mariamne; partly upon business, and partly out of respect. Joseph, as they were together, would frequently be taking occasion to extol Herod, as the most tender uxorious husband upon the face of the earth. The women shook their heads at it to see him so positive, Alexandra especially; but Joseph grew so over zealous upon it, to make good the character, that he betray'd a secret he was entrusted with, before he was aware; insisting upon it as an infallible argument of his affection, that as he found he could not live without her, so he was resolv'd that death itself should never part them. Now the women did not understand these words as an evidence of his love, but as an intimation of a tyrannical purpose he had taken up, in case of his own death, not to suffer them to survive him.

THERE was at this time a rumour rais'd and spread about the town by some of the king's enemies, that Anthony had caused Herod to be put to the question, and after that to death. The whole court was startled at it, and the women above the rest; insomuch, that Alexandra put it to Joseph to fly for protection to the Roman legion under Julius, that was then quarter'd without the city, and to take them along with him; for if there should come to be any broils in the palace, the Romans would take care of them; or if ever Mariamne should but come into the sight of Anthony, he would deny her nothing that she should ask him, though it were the kingdom itself, and all the royal privileges she could pretend to.

WHILE this affair was under deliberation, letters came from Herod that quite contradicted the former intelligence; for Herod, it seems, was no sooner come to Anthony, but by the force of presents, and fair words, he brought him so far over to his interest, that Cleopatra had no longer any power with him to the disadvantage of Herod; "For kings," says Anthony, are not to be accountable for their doings, they are no kings else; "for that's but the privilege of all crown'd heads; and it would be well, says he, if Cleopatra would not trouble herself so much how other princes govern." Herod made ostentation in his letters also, of the honours Anthony had done him; how he call'd him to his council, and to his solemn feasts, in despite of all the calumnies of Cleopatra, that had a design upon the government herself, and did all she could in the world to ruin him; but Anthony, he said, was a prince of honour and justice, and that they might expect him back again in a short time better establish'd in the possession of his kingdom, and in the assurance of Anthony's friendship, than ever; Cleopatra being quite taken off, by the acceptance of Cele-Syria, as a present from Anthony,

His uncle Joseph administers in his absence, with orders, if Anthony put him to death, he should immediately destroy Mariamne.

Joseph discovers the secret at unawares.

Herod has more credit with Anthony than Cleopatra.

Herod boasts of Anthony's favours.

Herod of I for

Joseph death Alexandra imprison

Cleopatra now a lute player over ny. The practice Cleopatra

Anthony, upon condition never to trouble him again about Judea.

Herod jealous
of Mariamne
for Joseph.

THIS answer put an end to the design they had of ranging themselves under the protection of the Romans, which was not kept so secret yet, but Herod had got intelligence of it; who, so soon as Anthony was advanced upon his expedition against the Parthians, returned to Jerusalem, where his sister Salome, and his mother inform'd him of the whole matter. Nay, and his sister went so far, as to charge her own husband, Joseph and Mariamne, with the privacy of a love intrigue together; but this was out of an old grudge to her, being a high-spirited woman, for reproaching her in a quarrel once about the meanness of her birth. This put Herod into so furious a transport of jealousy and indignation, (for he lov'd Mariamne as he did his own soul,) that he had much ado to forbear lashing out into open extravagancies, and contain himself within the compass of sobriety and good discretion. But, upon second thoughts, he took Mariamne aside, and put her to the shrift about this familiarity with Joseph. She purg'd herself by all that was possible for an innocent woman to say in her own defence, that she was clear, not only as to Joseph, but to the whole world, of any thing that did but look like criminal or dishonourable in her conversation. The king, in fine, betwixt the power of his wife's charms, and that of his own infinite passion, soften'd by little and little, to such a degree, that he not only acquitted her of the calumny, but acknowledg'd himself convinc'd of her unspotted integrity, desiring her pardon over and above, for the rashness of his credulity, in giving any sort of credit to so scandalous a rumour; intermixing all sorts of tenderness in his discourse. These endearments, in conclusion, brought them to tears and embraces, (as it falls out commonly in these love encounters,) and the more diffident Mariamne appear'd of the good faith of Herod's affection, the more solicitous was he still to confirm her in the assurance of it. "Yes; yes," says she, a notable sign of a loving husband "indeed, to order the putting of his innocent wife to death, in case he should happen to "die himself." At these words he flung himself out of her arms in a rage; tearing his hair, and crying out like a mad man, "It is "now as clear as the sun, says he, that Joseph has corrupted my wife; for nothing less "than the power of such a confidence could "ever have extorted from him a secret that "was committed to him with so much caution "and trust." In this impotency of passion he had it in his thought to strike Mariamne to the heart; but the strength of his old affection and kindness for her not being quite extinguish'd, he overcame, though with some difficulty, that provocation. As for Joseph, he commanded him immediately to be put to death, without so much as hearing him; and Alexandra at the same time to be imprison'd, as the cause of all this mischief.

Joseph put to
death, and
Alexandra
imprison'd.

Cleopatra has
now an absolute
power over Anthony.
The lewd
practices of
Cleopatra.

THERE were troubles about this time in Syria, promoted chiefly by the practices of Cleopatra, who had an absolute power with Anthony, and employ'd it wholly to mischief; inciting him perpetually against the great men of the country, till she had worm'd them out of their governments, and then begg'd them

for herself. Her avarice and ambition, in fine, were so insatiable, that she made a conscience of nothing she might get by. In the first place she dispatch'd her brother out of the way, a youth about fifteen years of age, and the next in succession to the kingdom. She then prevail'd with Anthony to have her sister Arsinoe taken off at Ephesus, in the temple of Diana, even at her very devotions; so that neither temples, sepulchres, nor sanctuaries, escap'd her, where there was money or spoil to be gotten by a sacrilegious violation of them; but right or wrong, sacred or prophane, all was a case to her, so she might be a gainer by it. In one word, the treasure of the whole world would have been too little to satisfy the expensive pride and vanity of this voluptuous woman; so that being of this humour, it was no wonder to see her so pressing upon Anthony to take from others, when it was all design'd for herself; and she had no sooner set foot into Syria with him, but she fell to projecting immediately how to make herself mistress of it. Lyfanius, the son of Ptolemy, was a friend, she said, to the Parthians, and so she procured him to be put to death upon that account. She begg'd also of Anthony, Judea and Arabia, out of the hands of the kings who had them in possession. Anthony was, in short, so much at the command of this woman, as if she had not only captivated, but bewitch'd him; yet there were some indignities so gross, that he could not comply with them, without proclaiming himself the scandalous slave of an infamous woman. In few words, being loth to disoblige his mistress on the one hand, by denying her any thing, and as much ashamed on the other, to publish himself for the weakest and meanest of mankind, in granting all she ask'd, he compounded the business by giving her some certain parts of both provinces, and all the cities from the river Eleutherus to Egypt, save only Tyre and Sidon, which had been always free; but this did not hinder her from pursuing Anthony still, with violent importunities, to cast them in over and above.

C H A P. V.

Cleopatra received with great honour by Herod at Apamia and Ptolemais. A lustful shameless woman. Herod is for putting her to death, but his friends oppose it; so that he speaks her fair, and carries her part of her way for Egypt. Anthony subdues Armenia, and compliments Cleopatra with prisoners and presents. A tax of two hundred talents a year given to Cleopatra.

WHEN Cleopatra had settled her affairs, and seen Anthony as far as Euphrates, upon his expedition into Armenia, she came back again, and took Apamia and Damascus in her way to Judea, where she was honourably received by Herod, who treated with her for the revenue of that part of Arabia and Jericho that had been granted her; the latter being a place famous for balsam, which is the most precious of all gums, and likewise for the fairest palm-trees in the world. Upon this occasion she set all her wits and arts at work, to engage Herod in an amour; and being a woman naturally lustful and shameless, she did

Cleopatra honourably received by Herod at Apamia and Ptolemais.

A woman
lustful and
as shameless.

as good as meet him half way, toward the striking up of a bargain: But love was the pretence all this while, though 'twas likely enough she might have some farther treacherous design in it. Now Herod, who knew Cleopatra already for one of the spitefullest creatures living, was as good as fortify'd against her beforehand; but when he came to see the prostituted impudence of her behaviour, it gave him such a horror, that he resolv'd, if ever it came to the point, directly to turn her off, and affront her. "The question was

Herod is for putting Cleopatra to death; but his friends against it.

"now (and he consulted his friends about it) whether it might not be his best course to make sure of this vile woman while he had her; for it would be both a satisfaction to those she had abus'd heretofore, and a security to those she might otherwise abuse hereafter: Nay, and Anthony himself would be the better for it too, for she was the common enemy of all mankind, and would be false to him too, if ever he should come to stand in need of her. Herod was absolutely for taking her off; but those about him, no less positive against it, as a thing below the dignity of a prince to run so great a hazard for. Wherefore they besought him by all means to bethink himself, and to do nothing rashly; for Anthony, they said, would not bear it, let it be never so much to his advantage; beside that the losing of his mistress by force, or secret practice, would but enhance the value he had for her before, and irritate him to a revenge. And then for the excusing or palliating of a violence upon the person of a princess of her illustrious blood and quality, there would be no room for it: And let the benefit he might reap by her death be never so considerable, the outrage upon the honour and inclinations of Anthony would be unpardonable. They laid before him also the mortal confusions that would inevitably follow, both in the kingdom, and in the royal family, upon the execution of what he had in his thought. As for the lascivious importunities of the woman, there could be neither harm nor danger in rejecting them; and as to other matters, he had no more to do than to act according to the reason of the present state of things." His friends, in fine, betwixt the strength of their arguments, and the credit of their counsels, brought Herod over to an acknowledgment of his mistake, and so diverted him from his desperate intent: Upon which change of mind, he complimented Cleopatra with rich presents, and conducted her to Egypt.

Herod speaks Cleopatra fair, and sets her part of her way for Egypt. Anthony subdues Armenia, and compliments Cleopatra with prisoners and presents.

ARMENIA being now over-run by Anthony, he sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, a prisoner into Egypt, with the princes, his sons, and made a present of them to Cleopatra; together with all the valuable booty he had taken there. Artaxias, the eldest son of Artabazes, who fled out of the country at the breaking out of the war, succeeded to his father; but was afterward driven out again by Archilaus, and the emperor Nero, who put up Tigranes, the youngest brother of the family, into his place.

As to the revenue of the country that Anthony had given to Cleopatra, Herod made

punctual payment of it; for he full well knew her temper, and how unsafe and dangerous it would be for him to do any thing whereby to incur her displeasure, and provoke her hatred. The Arabians, considering that Herod had the levying of the tax, made due payment for some time, at the proportion of two * hundred talents a year: But this did not last long, for they fell off by degrees, till it fell in the end to less than half.

A tax of two hundred talents a year given to Cleopatra.

CHAP. VI.

Augustus and Anthony competitors for the empire. Herod marches with an army to join Anthony; who bids him fall upon the Arabians. A bloody battle, and the Jews get the better of it. The Arabians had another great army at Cana in Cele-Syria; and they routed that also: But Athenion falling upon the Jews afterward, when they were spent and weary, gave them a total overthrow.

HEROD would certainly have reveng'd himself by a war upon the Arabians for this contempt and breach of faith, if the civil broils of the Romans had not prevented him; for the battle of Actium was now drawing on, which in all likelihood would put an end to the competition that was then a-foot betwixt Augustus and Anthony, for the empire. This happen'd in the 187th Olympiad. Herod having been now a long time (by the favour and bounty of Anthony) the master of a rich and populous country in peace and plenty, endued with men, money, corn, cattle, &c. in abundance, he levy'd a powerful army out of hand, and march'd with it toward the assistance of his patron; but Anthony telling Herod that he had no need of it himself, appointed him rather to march back with it against the Arabians, whom he look'd upon to be a false and a faithless people. Now this was transacted by the counsel and direction of Cleopatra, who apprehended it would be to her interest to destroy the Jews and the Arabians by their swords: Herod, upon this order, drew off his army back again, and soon after fell into Arabia with a formidable body of horse and foot; taking his march toward Diaspolis; where the Arabians having intelligence of his motions, were ready to encounter him. The two armies engaged, and after a bloody battle, the Jews carry'd the day. A while after this, they got together another great army at Cana in Cele-Syria. Herod, upon notice of their march, drew the greater part of his troops that way too; proposing to encamp and fortify, and their to wait the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy. But the soldiers were so animated with their former success, and so well assur'd of the resolution, state and condition of their army, that expectation they cry'd, was but so much time lost, and nothing would serve them but they must fall on immediately. Nay, such was their impatience, that there was no keeping them in order without it. The king was so well pleas'd with the pressing forwardness and alacrity of his men, that he resolv'd not to discourage their ardour by any

Augustus and Anthony competitors for the empire.

Herod marches with an army to join Anthony. Anthony bids him fall rather upon the Arabians.

The Jews overthrow the Arabians in a bloody battle. The Arabians with another great army at Cana in Cele-Syria.

* Two hundred Jewish talents weigh'd twenty two thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds six ounces; and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred thirty seven pounds ten shillings; and in gold, to one million ninety five thousand pounds of English money.

longer delays: So he put himself immediately at the head of his army with sword in hand; gave the word of command to march and fall on, and only to act after his example. They advanced upon this, with so much fierceness and bravery, that the Arabians were dismay'd at the very sight of it, before ever it came to the shock. They made some little shew however of a faint resistance upon the first encounter; but presently gave way, and finding they were not able to abide the impression, the greater part of them fled.

The Jews put them to the rout.

Athenion falls upon the Jews, tir'd and careless, and gives them a total overthrow.

THIS rout, in short, had totally ruined the Arabians, if Athenion, Cleopatra's general in that quarter, had not taken advantage of that disorder. This Athenion had a mortal aversion to Herod, and stood in a kind of neutrality, but with his men in order, and drawn up, attending the issue of the battle. If the Arabians had got the better of it, Athenion would have been quiet; but finding them to be worsted, and the Jews not only spent and wearied out with the action, but careless also and secure in the confidence of a certain victory, Athenion, with a considerable body of the natives, took the Jews off their guard, and attack'd them by surprize, dispersing them without much difficulty; and in the pursuit over bogs and crags, which the Jews were not acquainted with, did great execution. Upon this defeat the Arabians took heart; rallied and re-inforced the battle, following the chace with so terrible a slaughter, that but a very small party of this great body got off. The king finding the case desperate, and his troops overborn with numbers, posted away with all possible speed for relief; but before he could bring it up, the Jews camp was taken and pillag'd; so that here was a victory gain'd beyond all hope or imagination, and a powerful enemy destroy'd, both in one, by the means of an unexpected surprize. Herod was forced after this disaster, to betake himself to depredations and incursions upon the Arabians, and to encamp in the fastnesses of the mountains, without daring to expose his army to the fate of a battle; but this was not time utterly lost, however, for the keeping his men in breath and exercise, and inuring them to all the duties of military discipline, he put them in condition to atone in some degree for the honour they had lost.

CHAP. VII.

A dreadful earthquake in Judea. The Jews sue for a peace, and the Arabians put their ambassadors to death.

A dreadful earthquake in Judea.

IN the seventh year of the reign of Herod, and the year of the famous battle of Actium, there happen'd in Judea the most dreadful earthquake that ever had been heard of. It devour'd a great number of their cattle; and there perish'd ten thousand men in their towns, by the ruins of the houses that were overturn'd; but the soldiers in the open air escap'd better, because there was nothing over their heads to fall upon them. It is not to be imagin'd how proud and insolent the Arabians grew upon the news of this calamity; which, how dreadful soever in the truth, was yet further aggravated in the report; for they

computed upon it that Judea was totally depopulated, their cities and their people swallow'd up, and the nation no longer in condition to make head against them. In this distress they sent their ambassadors to the Arabians to sue for peace; who not only seized and put them to death, but soon after advanced with an army against them. The Jews were so dispirited under the sense of the deplorable and hopeless state of their affairs, that they gave all for lost, publick and private, without either minding what became of the government, or daring to stand their ground upon the approach of the enemy. The king did all that was possible to support and encourage them in this abandon'd desperation, by courting and cajoling them into a necessary resolution of defending themselves. There were some, even of the more generous sort of his people, that while the wound was fresh and green, were not to be dealt withal by counsel or reason; but Herod, having brought them to a more tractable temper, by this frank way of proceeding, deliver'd what he had to say by way of comfort and encouragement to the army, in words to this effect:

The Jews sue for a peace, and the Arabians put their ambassadors to death.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod's speech to the army, with a state of the war, and of the case. The Jews take courage, and beat the Arabians out of the field. The Arabians in a miserable distress for want of water; and they deliver up themselves to Herod for protection.

“YOU cannot be ignorant, says he, my brave fellow companions and soldiers, of the difficulties and misfortunes we have encounter'd of late, to our very great disappointment; and in truth, it is no wonder to see, even the greatest resolutions stagger'd at it; but considering that the war is inevitably brought home to our doors, and that there is nothing as yet has befallen us, but may in some degree be repair'd by valour and conduct, I look upon it to be my part to raise and enliven your spirits, and to lay before you the means of recovering your primitive virtue.

Herod's speech to the army.

“To begin with the war; you are to consider first, the justice of it, and then the most injurious provocations to it; two of the most powerful impulses in nature to men of honour and courage. I shall then shew you that our misfortunes are not so hopeless and insuperable as they may appear to be. To speak in the first place to the first article; that is to say, the justice of the cause, be yourselves the judges and the witnesses of what I am about to say. As to the Arabians, you know them very well to be an impious and a barbarous generation of people, without either truth or honesty; and that they lie under this character wherever they have to do. But they have been so to us in a transcendant manner, as if we had been singled out for the mark of their avarice and envy, above all others. To pass over their ingratitude for other obligations, what was it but my interest with Anthony that prevented their falling under the yoke of Cleopatra? And it was for my sake again, that

The state of the war, and of the case.

" that Anthony was otherwise so easy to them,
 " out of a tenderness he had, not to do any
 " thing that I might take ill; and so for the
 " portions of land out of both provinces, that
 " Cleopatra obtained from Anthony, what
 " was it but my industry there also that set-
 " tled the whole matter; partly by the pre-
 " sents I made him at my own cost, and partly
 " the * two hundred talents I undertook to
 " pay myself, and two hundred more that I
 " gave security for? Notwithstanding that
 " several parcels of the land that pay their
 " parts toward this tribute, and are at present
 " in their possession, do of right belong to the
 " Jews, who in equity ought to pay no tri-
 " bute at all, especially upon the account of
 " the Arabians that stand indebted to us, even
 " for their very preservation. But it seems
 " more unreasonable yet, for a nation that
 " enjoy their liberty by our favour, as they
 " have confess'd it over and over with a thou-
 " sand thanks, to refuse us a just debt now at
 " last, in a time of amity and peace, and to
 " violate that faith to their friends, which has
 " hitherto been held sacred even among ene-
 " mies. But these are a sort of people worse
 " than the rest of mankind, who understand
 " no honesty but profit, and account nothing
 " a crime that's done for gain. What is there
 " more in our case now, than the unquestio-
 " nable liberty of calling a faithless enemy to
 " an account by a just war? Now this is but
 " according to the will and precept of God
 " himself, who gives us both command and
 " authority to right those who suffer wrong-
 " fully under the power of violence and op-
 " pression, especially in a state of hostility, not
 " only just, but necessary; as what could be
 " more horrid, or a greater affront to human
 " society, even in the judgment of both
 " Greeks and Barbarians, than that execrable
 " outrage of theirs upon the persons of our
 " ambassadors, a ministerial order of men,
 " whose character is every where held sacred
 " and inviolable, and with the Jews as much
 " as any other; for what are the angels and
 " the messengers of God, from whom we have
 " received the knowledge of his blessed will
 " and commandments, but a glorious sort of
 " ambassadors? And it is by this way of me-
 " diation that we are brought to the know-
 " ledge of our duty to our maker, and to the
 " means of living peaceably one with another.
 " Judge now, if any thing can be more in-
 " human, than to destroy the only competent
 " provision God hath given us for the well-
 " being and quiet of mankind, and to cut off
 " those necessary ministers in the very execu-
 " tion of their office. How can these people
 " now ever expect either to prosper in war, or
 " to be happy in peace, after such an usurpa-
 " tion upon the natural equity and common
 " privileges of human society? For my own
 " part, I cannot find that they have one word
 " to say for themselves; if it shall be sug-
 " gested, that we have justice and equity on
 " our side, but they a stronger human force
 " and power on theirs. This is a way of ar-
 " guing not to be admitted by people that have
 " been better taught, and who know where-
 " ever justice is, God is; and that numbers
 " and strength can never prevail against him.

" But extraordinary cases apart: let us
 " reason the matter a little upon the square,
 " and set force against force. In the first bat-
 " tle we were too hard for them; and in the
 " second they presently gave way and fled be-
 " fore us, upon the very first shock. When
 " we were absolute masters of the field, Athe-
 " nion fell upon us, contrary both to law
 " and honour; for there was no war declar'd.
 " Will you give this action the name of va-
 " lour, or of perfidy; or make any thing
 " more of it than a successful piece of injus-
 " tice? That is not a time to sink in our cou-
 " rage, when we have so much ground for
 " hope. Why should we be afraid now of
 " those that we have always beaten whenever
 " we had to do with them, upon fair and ho-
 " nourable terms? men that never pretended
 " to a victory but by fraud and foul play.
 " But put the case now that they were va-
 " liant indeed, that very consideration should
 " be a spur to men of honour to encounter
 " them; for there's no reputation to be gotten
 " by the baffling of a scoundrel; but it is the
 " glory of one brave man to overcome an-
 " other. If any of you should be stagger'd
 " at the thought of our domestic broils, or the
 " judgment perhaps of our late earthquake,
 " 'tis a main point that the Arabians will find
 " themselves mightily mistaken in the opinion
 " of, and in reckoning upon the calamity to
 " be much greater than it was; neither is
 " there the least colour of reason in the world,
 " why any thing should discourage us, be-
 " cause it emboldens them; and they have no
 " ground in nature for their confidence, but
 " that they take us to be broken-hearted, and
 " desponding; so that we have no more to
 " do to humble their insolence, than gene-
 " rously to bear up against our own misfor-
 " tunes; and the more considerable we make
 " ourselves, the less considerable we shall find
 " the enemy. Neither are we so despicable
 " as we are suppos'd to be; for our disap-
 " pointment has nothing in it that looks like
 " a fatality; but we are to reckon upon it
 " among the common chances of war. If
 " God brought this evil upon us, it is as cer-
 " tain that he remov'd it from us too, ac-
 " cording to his merciful method of punish-
 " ing sinners, without destroying them; but
 " for a more convincing argument of God's
 " approbation of our proceeding in this war,
 " do but observe what a signal evidence he has
 " been pleas'd to give us in favour of it.
 " What clearer manifestation of God's dis-
 " tinguishing goodness toward you could you
 " desire, than that when so many thousands
 " of other people up and down the province,
 " were taken away by this devouring earth-
 " quake, not one soldier suffer'd in it; and
 " who knows, if the whole nation had been
 " engag'd in the same cause, but the pie-
 " ty of it might possibly have averted the
 " judgment? Keep this providence in your
 " thought, with this further comfort and as-
 " surance, that you have the Almighty for
 " your protector; and take this along with
 " you too, that you have right on your sides,
 " and a most impious generation of men to
 " deal withal; a people faithless to friends
 " and allies, private and publick; bold only

* See the value of two hundred Jewish talents in page 380. of this book.

“ in sacrilegious and unmanly murders, and
“ not the heart to look a resolute enemy in
“ the face.”

The Jews
take courage,
and beat the
Arabians out
of the field.

THIS harangue of Herod's set the Jews on fire to be in action; so that making use of the opportunity, he sacrificed in form, and march'd away immediately toward the Arabians beyond Jordan, where he encamp'd. There was a cattle betwixt the two armies, which both parties, it seems, had an eye upon, as a place of great advantage, in case either of decamping, or of a battle. The first point in dispute was the gaining of this post, which began in a skirmish at a distance, with darts and launces; but drawing nearer one another by degrees, it came in the end to a close engagement, with loss of men on both sides, till in the conclusion the Arabians turn'd their backs, and quit- ted the field. This success put the Jews in such heart, finding the Arabians so cow'd, that they push'd them to their very trenches, where for a while they made a show in a disorderly way, of some sort of resistance; but it was so faint, that there was not to be seen either in their looks or actions, the least hope of pre- vailing. They fought it however after their way, partly encourag'd by their numbers, and partly forced upon it by the inevitable neces- sity of either fighting or dying, till at last, after a long contest, and a great deal of blood spilt, they were put to a total rout; and with so terrible a slaughter, that betwixt those that fell by the enemy's swords and their own, and those that were trod to death in the crowd, they wanted five thousand of their number; the rest making away to their camp, but with a miserable prospect before them; for they had neither provisions nor water to subsist upon. And in this deplorable condition the Jews coop'd them up so close, that there was no room left either for relief or escape.

Their mis-
erable distress
for want of
water.

IN this extremity they sent out a request to Herod by their deputies, that he would either grant them a peace, or but the charity of cold water to quench their parching thirst; but Herod was so bent upon his revenge, that he would not so much as hear of any thing of ambassadors or presents from them, nor gratify them in any thing whatsoever they desir'd. Within the compass of five days after this, a matter of four thousand of them came out, and offer'd themselves to captivity and chains, to avoid the more insupportable calamity of a raging drought. On the sixth day all the rest made a sally by consent, and attack'd the besiegers, chusing rather a present certainty of death, than to expose themselves with infamy to the lingering torment of it. In this desper- ation they issued out of their camp, but without either spirits or strength answerable to the pretence of such an action; only they fought their death as the only case their con- dition was capable of. There fell seven thou- sand of them upon the first encounter; and this overthrow taught them to their cost, that Herod was a great captain, and not to be treat- ed at that rate, and thereupon they deliver'd themselves up to his protection.

They deliver
up themselves
to Herod's
protection.

CHAP. IX.

Herod puff'd up with a cheap victory. Anthony defeated at Actium. Herod is for taking Hyrcanus out of the way; a soft easy prince. Alex- andra, an aspiring turbulent woman, writes to Malchus to meet her with a party at the lake of Asphaltitis. Dositheus shews Herod the let- ter; and after that the answer. Hyrcanus is examin'd upon it, and put to death. The whole story thought to be a contrivance of Herod's. The history of Hyrcanus. Herod goes presently to Cesar, and commits his government to his brother Pheroras; leaves his relations in Mas- sada, and his wife in Alexandrion; Joseph and Sobemus their keepers.

THIS victory elevated Herod to such a degree of vanity in his own thoughts, and of reputation in the world for a great man at arms, that he returned home in the full possession of his uttermost wishes; but in the very rapture of this imaginary establishment of his fortune, he had the mortification to re- ceive the sad and woful news of Anthony's being defeated at Actium by Augustus, upon which he gave himself up for a lost man; and it was not his thought alone neither, but friends and foes were all of the same opinion, and that Augustus would never forgive any man that had been so great a friend to Antho- ny. The former were so plain with him, as not to disguise the apprehension they had of his ruin; the other, under a pretence of condo- ling with him, were nevertheless heartily glad at the hopeful prospect they had of better things. It ran in Herod's head, that Hyrcanus being the only surviving branch of the fa- mily, it would be much for his interest to have him taken out of the way, whatever might be- come of himself, with a respect to Cesar; for whether he escap'd his displeasure, or fell un- der it, he did not think it safe to have so fair a pretender betwixt himself and the govern- ment; beside that, on the other hand, he gra- tified his end by cutting him off from the suc- cession. While he was casting about in his thoughts what to do, the very family of Hyrcanus furnish'd him with an occasion to bring him to a resolution. This same Hyrcanus he knew to be a man of a soft easy nature; one that had ever been averse to business, leaving all things to chance, and a person content under all conditions; but his daughter Alex- andra, on the contrary, was a woman of an aspiring turbulent temper; impotent in her passions, and manifestly over-joy'd in the hope she had of a change. This woman was still pressing and tampering with her father, to be- think himself of some way to deliver his fa- mily from the oppressions and persecutions of Herod, and to provide in time for his own se- curity, in the prospect and contemplation of his better fortune. Her advice was, that he should write to Malchus, at that time gover- nor of Arabia, desiring him, if there should be occasion, to receive him into his protection; for if it should be Herod's hap to fall under the displeasure of Cesar, he could not fail of being restor'd to his dignity, having an indis- putable right of title, and the good-will of the people, clearly on his side.

Herod puff-
fed up with
this victory.

Anthony's
defeat at Ac-
tium.

Herod is for
taking Hyrcanus out of
the way.

Hyrcanus a
soft easy
prince.

Alexandra
of an aspiring
turbulent
spirit.

HYRCANUS for a good while would not give ear to her persuasions; but being plied day and night to the same tune with hopeful encouragements on the one side, and the treacherous practices of Herod on the other, he suffer'd himself to be over-born in the end, by the importunity of a woman; and so wrote to the Arabian, and committed the charge of the letter to one Dositheus, in substance to this purpose: That he would send him a party of horsemen to the lake Asphaltitis, about three * hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. This letter was the rather entrusted to Dositheus, as a confident both of Hyrcanus and Alexandra; and in regard that he was look'd upon as an enemy to Herod; not only for the putting of his kinsman Joseph to death, but for the sake of his brothers that were dispatch'd some time before by Anthony at Tyre. But all this was not enough yet to keep Dositheus true to his trust; so that he rather chose to make an interest with the present king, and went and shewed him the letter, who gave him thanks for the good office; desiring only one thing farther of him, which was, that he should make it up again and seal it, and so carry it forward to Malchus, and receive his answer; for it would much concern him, he said, to see how the other behav'd himself upon it. Dositheus acquitted himself punctually of his commission, and brought back with him the Arabian's answer, which was to this effect: "That he was ready to entertain himself and his family; and that if he brought the whole party of the Jews along with him, that were in that interest, they should be all welcome; and that he would send him a convoy for their safety; and, in fine, that he was ready to serve him to all manner of purposes." Herod, upon the receipt of this letter, called Hyrcanus to him, and ask'd him the question, whether he held any intelligence with Malchus or not, who said, None at all; and thereupon Herod produc'd the letter, had it read publickly, and order'd Hyrcanus to be put to death. This is the story as we find it in Herod's commentaries, though 'tis reported several ways. Some will have it, that he was put to death for a conspiracy, and not for the crime that is here suggested; and write, "That Herod put it to Hyrcanus once at an entertainment, and without any shew of suspicion; whether he had received any letters from Malchus. He said, yes indeed he had; but they were only letters of course and common civility. Herod went then a little farther with him, and ask'd if he had never receiv'd any presents from him. He said yes he had; but they were only four horses for his pleasure." The king would have this to be treason and corruption, and had him presently taken away for it, and executed. Many are of opinion after all this yet, that he died innocent, and upon very good grounds too; for he was known to be a man of the most mild disposition that ever was heard of; so modest and temperate, that he was not guilty of one rash action in the whole course of his life; no, not so much as in the liberties of his youth, or the exercise of his authority; for he govern'd altogether by the advice of Antipater, the father of He-

rod. He was now upward of eighty years of age; and not ignorant that Herod was safe in the establishment of his power, and himself on the wrong side of Euphrates, having left his friends behind him, and all this in submission to his dominion. Now for Hyrcanus to attempt a thing in appearance so impracticable, and otherwise so contrary to his genius and inclination, no mortal can pretend to believe, or that there was any thing more in the whole story than a mere practice and contrivance of Herod's.

THIS was the end of Hyrcanus, after a strange variety of fortune in a long and a troublesome life. He was advanced to the pontificate in the reign of his mother Alexandra; upon whose decease, after nine years execution of his office, he succeeded to the government. In three months after this he was driven out by his brother Aristobulus; but restor'd after that, by Pompey, to the possession of all his dignities, which he enjoy'd for the space of forty years. He was once again then dethron'd by Antigonus; had his ears cut off, and carried away prisoner to the Parthians. He had not been there long, but he was set at liberty, and came back again; promising himself mighty matters from the friendship of Herod, who was so far from answering his expectations, that on the contrary, after so many turns and crosses of a vexatious fortune, he caused him to be put to an infamous death in the extremity of his old age. He was, in fine, a man of eminent candor, justice, and moderation; but a lover of his ease, and so conscious to himself of his own insufficiency for the offices of a publick administration, that for the most part he entrusted the charge into other hands. This facility of Hyrcanus was the making of Antipater's and Herod's fortunes, and it was so order'd, that this goodness of his, without any colour of law, or equity, cost him his life.

So soon as Herod had made sure of Hyrcanus, he went his way presently to Cesar, but without any thought of favour from him, toward a man that had so heartily espoused the cause of Anthony. He had a strong suspicion of Alexandra; and not knowing what advantage she might make of his absence, toward the stirring up of the people to a rebellion, he lodg'd the government in the hands of his brother Pheroras; disposing of his mother Cypris, with the sister, and other relations, into the castle of Massada, appointing his brother, in case any mischief should befall him, to maintain his post, and continue the administration in his own name. As to his wife Mariamne, he placed her in Alexandrion, with her mother Alexandra, there being so great a feud betwixt his wife, his mother, and his sister, that there could be no thought of their living quietly together. He put the government of the fort into the hands of a couple of try'd and trusty friends, Joseph his treasurer, and Sohemus an Iturean, under a pretext of doing honour to these princesses; but with private order over and above, so soon as ever they should come to be certainly inform'd of any violence upon his person, immediately to destroy them both; and to the uttermost of their power, secure the government to his sons, and to his brother.

The whole story suspect-
ed for a practice of Herod's.
The history of Hyrcanus.

Herod goes away presently to Cesar.

He commits his government to his brother Pheroras; leaves his relations in Massada, and his wife in Alexandrion.

Joseph and Sohemus their keepers.

* Three hundred furlongs were about seventy four miles and a half English measure.

CHAP. X.

A generous speech of Herod's to Cesar; which is extremely well receiv'd, and he himself resettled in his government. Herod intercedes for Alexander; but Augustus had bound himself up by a vow: So that nothing could be done in it. He waits upon Cesar at Ptolemais, where he had a most magnificent reception.

SO soon as Herod had given all necessary orders, he hasten'd away to Rhodes to find out Cesar there. Upon his arrival, he took off his crown, and laid it aside; but for the rest of his royal robes, he kept them without shifting them. Upon Cesar's admitting him to his audience, he gave a noble testimony of the greatness of his mind; and without any submission, excuses, or supplications, as is common in such cases, he made a frank report of matter of fact, without the formality of any crouching preface, or apology.

A frank and a generous speech of Herod to Cesar.

"I am not come hither, great Cesar, says he, to disown the sacredness of a friendship I have ever had for Anthony, and I shall take a farther freedom to declare, that he should have been master of the world, if I could have made him so. 'Tis true, I was not personally in the last battle with him; for my commission call'd me away against the Arabians; but at the same time, I serv'd him to the uttermost of my power with money and provisions; and I was sorry I could do no more too; for such was the tenderness I had for Anthony, and such my obligations to him, that I reckon'd my life as much a debt to him; and it was effectually as much at his devotion, as my fortune: But since I could not be with him at Actium, I must yet justify myself, that I had still the same affection for his person and cause, after that fatal day, that I had before: Neither did I so much as waver, at this change of fortune, toward the changing of my party. Nay, in those occasions, when I could not assist him with my arms, I never fail'd to serve him with my advice, which was to cut off Cleopatra in time, and seize her kingdom into his own hands, as the only course in nature to preserve him. And if he had taken this precaution, I dare appeal to Cesar himself, whether he would not have thought it reasonable to have treated with him at this instant upon fairer terms; but he chose rather to go another way to work; and for want of consideration, advanced your interest instead of his own. Now if you shall think the worse of me for taking part with Anthony, because you were his profess'd enemy, this shall not hinder me yet from owning and justifying the services I have done him, and the respect I have ever had for him. But if you shall be pleas'd now to consider the quality, the friendship, abstracted from the circumstances of the person, you will find in the faith and gratitude of the case, somewhat perhaps

that may encourage you to make trial of it yourself; for whether it be to Cesar, or to Anthony, the dignity of the character will be still the same."

THESE words of Herod's were deliver'd with an air so generous, and accompany'd with so moving a grace, that Augustus, who had in him naturally a greatness and benignity of mind, was not able to resist the charms of his very defence: Insomuch, that treating him with singular instances of humanity and esteem, he bad him take up his crown again, and be the same friend for the future to himself, that he had formerly been to Anthony; giving also to understand that * Capidius had made him sensible of the good offices Herod had done him in the matter of the gladiators. When Herod came to find these fair words follow'd with answerable effects; as the re-instating of him in his kingdom, with a decree of the senate, to secure him the possession of it; and all this done by the special favour and procurement of Cesar, which was a felicity so much beyond Herod's expectation, that nothing could be more surprizing to him. Upon this establishment, he attended Augustus into Egypt, treating himself and his friends upon the way with a magnificence of pomp and presents, suitable to the person and the obligation; and every way answerable to the largeness of his heart. He did what he could with Cesar on the behalf of Alexander, a friend of Anthony's, toward the gaining of his pardon; but Augustus having ty'd himself up by a solemn vow not to spare him, his request could not be granted.

Cesar treats him with a singular respect;

and settles him in his government by a decree of the senate.

Herod intercedes for Alexander; but he's under a vow not to spare him.

THE Jews, that upon this turn, gave Herod for lost, were in such an amazement at his coming back greater than he went out, that they look'd upon him as a person under the care of a peculiar providence, that turn'd all his perils and disgraces to his advantage.

WHEN Cesar was now upon his return out of Egypt, Herod went out to meet him at Ptolemais, where he treated him with an incredible state and expence; and not only himself, but his whole army too, whom he supply'd with all manner of necessaries. Upon this occasion, Cesar took him, in a friendly way of familiarity, with him; insomuch that they two rode together commonly, while their troops were drawing out. Herod, having at hand a train of a hundred and fifty persons, richly habited, and perfectly well instructed in the province that was committed to their charge, it was their business to attend the service of Cesar and his friends in their passage, and to provide, that neither himself nor his army should want either wine or water, let the ways be never so dry and barren: Which gave him a mighty reputation among the soldiers. He presented Cesar, in fine, with eight † hundred talents, and gave so universal a satisfaction, that they paid a greater veneration to the dignity of his mind than to that of his crown. Upon this generosity of behaviour, in the improvement of so signal an opportunity to shew himself; and afterward, the same

Herod waits upon Cesar at Ptolemais, and treats him with all magnificence and splendour.

* Casaubon shews that the true reading is Q. Didius, or Bentidius, and that instead of *μονάρχης* in the original, it should be *μοναρχεύς*. See Exercit. 1. Ann. DCCXXIV. See the wars of the Jews, l. 1. c. 15.

† Eight hundred Jewish talents weighed ninety one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and their value in silver amounted to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds; and in gold, to four millions three hundred and eighty thousand pounds English money.

manner of respect over again to divers others of the eminent Romans, in their passage out of Egypt: All people gave him the character of the most illustrious prince living.

CHAP. XI.

Herod's family in a wretched disorder; his wife and mother prisoners. His order to Joseph about destroying Mariamne, ran in her head. Sohemus, the women's keeper, reveals the plot to Mariamne: Whose heart being set against her husband, makes him raging mad; and the mother and sister enflame it. The death of Anthony and Cleopatra. Herod posts away to Augustus in Egypt, and finds himself more in Cesar's favour than ever. Herod an unhappy man still, in all his glory. Mariamne, a woman of singular honour and virtue. Herod courts Mariamne, and she despises him. A plot upon her life. Herod puts Sohemus to death. Mariamne try'd also, sentenc'd and executed. Mariamne's constancy to the last. Herod's horror of conscience. A raging plague in Jerusalem. Herod under a judicial distemper. Alexandra contrives the getting of some strong sorts into her hands: She is discover'd and executed. Herod's outrageous cruelties. Costobarus and others charged with a conspiracy against Herod, and all destroy'd. A plot upon Herod in the theatre, discover'd by a spy. The conspirators own the plot. They are put to death, and the informer torn to pieces. A discovery extorted by torments. Herod fortifies Samaria.

Herod's family in great disorder. His wife and mother-in-law no better than prisoners.

Herod's order to Joseph for destroying Mariamne runs in her head. The women makes fair with Sohemus their keeper.

HEROD at his return to his kingdom, in the very height of all his glory, found a disorder'd family, and his wife and mother-in-law highly incensed against him; for they look'd upon themselves, (and not without reason) rather as prisoners in that castle, than as there deposited for the security of their persons; and it was no small mortification to them also to consider, that they had not the command there of any thing in the world. Mariamne was strongly possess'd with an opinion that all her husband's countenances of love to her, were only disguise and pretext for his own convenience. But the thing at last that she took most heinously, was her husband's resolution not to suffer her to survive him in case of his death. She could not forget the bloody order her husband had given to Joseph: So that she had no other way of safety left her, unless she could sweeten her keepers; Sohemus especially, for her life was manifestly in his hands. He stood his integrity a while at the beginning, and kept true to his trust; but upon the women's plying him with little favours, and fair words, he gave way by little and little; and in the end, blabs the whole story of Herod's instructions; which he thought he might do with the more safety, since he took it for granted, Herod would never return home with the same power he was invested with when he went out; and therefore he argued with himself thus: "As there is no danger of him, says he, on the one hand, so I shall be sure of the princesses to be my friends on the other; and by this means secure myself against all chances: Or put the case, says he again at worst, and that Herod

should succeed in every thing to his wish, he has, to my knowledge, so doting a passion for Mariamne, that he will never do any thing without her." Upon these considerations, he disclosed the whole secret. Now the thought of these repeated practices, one after another upon the life of Mariamne, gave her such a disgust for her husband, that she made it her daily prayer he might never come alive back again; such was the dread and horror she had at the very thought of living with him: And this was no more than she openly own'd a while after, when she could disguise the matter no longer.

HEROD was so elated with the new and unexpected honours and preferments confer'd upon him, that he thought the time long (as he had reason) till he brought Mariamne the first tidings of it himself; which he did with all the tenderesses of kisses and embraces, as the woman of the world he had the greatest value for. But while he was amplifying upon the story of his good fortunes, his wife receiv'd him with an air of carelessness and indifference all the while, giving no heed to what he said. The slight indeed was a little too open; but she being a woman of candor and sincerity, gave to understand in her countenance, that Herod's good news and caresses were rather troublesome to her, than agreeable. So that he was no longer tormented with a jealousy, but it was now come to a demonstrative certainty of what he fear'd; for his wife's aversion to him was by this time so manifest, that what with indignation to see his love so despis'd, and what with the confusion he was in betwixt the transports of his rage, and his affection, such was his distraction under the violence of these two extremes, that he was as it were torn to pieces by different passions, while his tenderness drew him this way, and his resentments hurry'd him that: So that he could not gratify the one without giving offence to the other. But the thing he most of all dreaded was this, lest in taking a present revenge upon his wife, he might draw a worse mischief upon his own head in the consequence, when he should come to find afterward that he could not live without her.

WHILE Herod was labouring in this restless anxiety of thought how to behave himself toward Mariamne, his mother and sister could not have with'd for a fairer opportunity of blowing the coal, and of interposing by calumnies and other ill offices, to inflame the outrageous jealous humour of her husband against her. They ply'd him, in short, with such suggestions, as though he could not absolutely reject, yet neither could he so thoroughly believe them as irrevocably to destroy a person he had so great a kindness for upon the credit of that evidence. Herod however became every day more and more uneasy; and by degrees harsher to her: And as Mariamne on the other hand made no difficulty of discovering her discontents, so Herod's extreme affection came by little and little to be transported into an embitter'd hatred: Insomuch that he might probably have put her to extremities out of hand, if it had not been for the news just at that instant of the death of Anthony and Cleopatra, and of Cesar's being at that time in the possession of Egypt. Upon this intelligence, Herod hasten'd away to Augustus; leaving things at this pass in his family,

Sohemus discovers the plot upon Mariamne's life, and turns her heart against her husband.

Herod himself carries his wife the first tidings of his preferment.

Mariamne makes him a cold and a careless return.

This indifference made Herod raging mad.

The mother and sister inflame that rage.

The death of Anthony and Cleopatra. Herod posts away to Augustus in Egypt.

Herod's mother and sister inflame that rage.

A plot upon Mariamne's life, by Salome the butler.

Sohemus has the same commission about Mariamne as before. Herod more in Cesar's favour than ever.

Herod returns to Jerusalem; a miserable man in all his glory.

Mariamne a woman of honour and virtue, but humorous.

Herod takes Mariamne into his closet. She treats his dalliances with scorn, and upbraids him with the death of her father and brother.

A plot upon Mariamne's life, betwixt Salome and the butler.

ly, and recommending Mariamne to Sohemus over again, with acknowledgments of his former care and fidelity, and the grant of a command in Judea for a gratification. Upon this congress in Egypt, Cesar treated Herod at another rate of freedom and confidence than before, and with divers instances of a singular esteem and respect; as he presented him with the four hundred Gauls that had been of Cleopatra's guards; putting him into possession of that part of the country that Anthony had bestowed upon Cleopatra; with the additional government of Gadara, Hippen, and Samaria; and toward the sea, of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton, which was no small accession of power and splendor to his royal state.

WHEN he had waited upon Cesar as far as Antioch, he went back again to Jerusalem, where he found himself as miserable at home, as he had been fortunate abroad; and that the dazzling satisfactions of a crown were not sufficient to balance the mortifications of an unhappy marriage, especially being a match on which he placed his chief felicity, and thought would be the greatest blessing of his life; for no mortal ever doated upon a woman as he did upon Mariamne, and with an honourable passion too; not but that she was a person possessed all this while to the highest degree of a scrupulous chastity; but inclin'd by fits to a peevishness of temper, whereby she forgot all respect for her husband's patience, authority, and power, even to the treating of him sometimes in a contumelious and reproachful manner; but he bore every thing temperately and calmly, notwithstanding she frequently carried her provocations so high as to upbraid his mother and sister at every turn, with the meanness of their families; and this so publicly too, that the fewd it rais'd among the women was implacable; beside, that it kept up the malevolent humour of calumnies and scandals.

THESE jealousies continued for a whole year after Herod's coming back from Cesar, and increased daily, till in the end this following contrivance was put in execution. The king took an occasion once in the heat of the day to retire into his closet to repose himself, where a kind fit taking him, he call'd for Mariamne; she went in to him, and upon his carefing of her, made no other return to all his dalliances, importunities, and prayers, than that of a contemptuous scornful repulse; inveighing against him at the same time with bitterness for the death of her father and brother. Herod was so incensed with the indignity of this affront, that starting up in a rage, he could scarce forbear laying violent hands upon her. His sister hearing a disturbance, kept the butler in readiness to discharge himself of a commission that she had given him some time before; which was to go to the king with a story, how Mariamne had been tampering with him to assist her in the preparing of a love potion for him; directing him, if the king should ask what was in it, he should only say, that it was of Mariamne's ordering; and for the ingredients, that he knew nothing of them, his part being only to present it; but in case the king made no further enquiry, he should hold his tongue, and there would be no hurt done. The butler having his instructions at his fingers ends, did every thing according to

his order, and so addressing himself to Herod with a face of gravity and business, he gave him to understand, that Mariamne had been tempting him with money and rewards to provide a philtre for him. The butler finding the king to be startled at it, told him further, that having such a potion offer'd him, and not knowing what might be in it, he thought it the safest way, both for his majesty and for himself, to wait upon him with this information. Herod was sufficiently exasperated already; but the surprize of this discourse made him directly outrageous; so that he order'd immediately the putting of a particular confident of Mariamne's to the torture, taking for granted that there was not any thing, little or great, that she would do without his privity. As to the points he was question'd upon, there was nothing to be extorted from him; but letting fall some words in the anguish of his pains, hinting that it was somewhat Sohemus had told Mariamne, that made her so uneasy, Herod burst out into an exclamation while the words were yet betwixt his lips; "That Sohemus, who had ever been so faithful a subject, and a patriot to his prince and country, would never have betray'd such a secret as this was, but in the confidence and endearments of a lascivious embrace." In this very instant he appointed Sohemus to be seiz'd and put to death; summoning his wife to answer for herself in a court of justice, before a cabal of his own creatures for her judges. The charge exhibited against her was a pretended conspiracy to poison the king. Herod was fiercer and fouler upon her, both in words and in actions, than stood with the dignity of a tribunal of justice; and perceiving how he stood affected, they all pronounced her guilty after his example. But yet, the sentence notwithstanding, neither Herod himself, nor the people about him, were of opinion for precipitating the execution, but rather to keep her in a prison, than to take away her life; only Salome and her faction stickled violently for the dispatching her out of hand, and the king was the more easily prevail'd upon to agree to it, for fear of a revolt, the danger of which they suggested, when the people should understand that the queen was yet living. This was the pretence that brought Mariamne to her end.

ALEXANDRA, after this proceeding upon her daughter, might reasonably enough expect that her own turn should be next; so that for fear of the worst, she abandon'd her reputation to save her life; and fell so low, that her behaviour was become a scandal to her character. She was so over zealous to purge herself of any confederacy with her daughter, that she made it her business to blacken her in all companies, as the most wicked and ungrateful of women, and to celebrate the justice of rewarding her according to her desert, for so barbarous a practice upon so indulgent a husband; nay, her hypocrisy was so gross, and strain'd so high, that every body look'd upon it as ridiculous in the forced affectation of so many extravagant outrages; as flying in the face of her daughter, and the like: but Mariamne still, as they were leading her to her execution, pass'd by all these intemperances, without one word of reply, or the least sign of perturbation, more than in her countenance,

Herod in a fit of jealousy puts Sohemus to death, and tries Mariamne for her life, before a court of his own creatures.

Mariamne receives sentence, and at the instance of Salome is put to death.

Alexandra's heart fails her to a most scandalous degree.

Mariamne's
constancy to
the last.

for the shameful part her mother had in so extravagant and frantick a scene. She demeaned herself all the way, in short, with a serene constancy of spirit, and without so much as changing colour upon the approach or apprehension of death. She died, in fine, as great as she liv'd, firm and fearless, to her last gasp.

THIS was the end of that virtuous generous princess, a lady without exception, had she not been of a temper too perverse and high-spirited. The charms of her beauty, the graces of her person, and the agreeable majesty of her conversation, were not only superior to the excellencies of the rest of her sex, but even beyond expression too upon the comparison. Now these advantageous gifts and qualities were in a great measure the very cause of her misfortune, in the uneasy life she led with her husband; for he ador'd her like a goddess; denying her and crossing her in nothing; she did what she list'd, and took what liberty she pleas'd; nay, greater perhaps than she should have done, in the frequent reproaches she cast upon him, for the death of her relations. By this heedless way of an inconsiderate freedom she made herself hateful to her husband's mother and sister, and in conclusion to himself too, whom she thought she could never have lost.

The horrors
of Herod's
conscience.

THE passion Herod had for Mariamne in her life-time (which we have spoken of before) was become much more unruly and importunate, now she was dead and gone; for he did not love his wife at the common rate of other husbands, but to such a violent excess, over and above the tie of conjugal affection, that he grew rather fonder and fonder of her, the worse she us'd him. In his reflections now upon what he had done, he broke out not only into unkindly, but unmanly exclamations, with Mariamne's name still in his mouth, and her blood crying for vengeance. In the agony of this horror, he did all that was to be done by wine, company, feasting, and variety of other entertainments, to divert his melancholy; but when he saw all would not do, he threw up the care of his government, and intirely abandoning himself to grief, he fell by degrees to be light-headed, and talk idly; and in his raving fits, he would frequently be calling for Mariamne to be brought to him; his fancy running upon her as if she were yet alive. While he was in this distemper, there broke out a terrible raging plague in Jerusalem, that from the highest to the lowest swept away all sorts of people, and every body look'd upon it as a just judgment for the murder of the innocent queen. The king growing worse and worse, withdrew himself into a solitary retreat out of the way, and had it given out, that he was gone a hunting. He had not been long in this retirement, but he fell into so desperate an illness, with a violent inflammation and a deadly pain in the head, that he scarce knew what he did. The common methods of remedy they found did him more hurt than good; insomuch, that his case, in one word, was little less than desperate; so that considering the difficulty of the disease, the condition of the patient, and that there was no place for any regular course of prescription, his physicians found it to no purpose to tamper any further with him, and so gave

Herod visited
with a judi-
cial distem-
per.

A raging
plague in Je-
rusalem.

him over to be his own doctor; bidding him call for what he had a mind to, and committing the event to providence. This was at Samaria, now called ebase.

WHEN Alexandra, who was then at Jerusalem, came to understand Herod's condition, she set her wits at work how she might get some of the strong forts into her hand; and she had an eye upon two of them above the rest; the one joining close to the temple, the other in the city; considering that whoever is possess'd of these towers, may command the whole country and people: For the Jews will rather part with their lives than with their religion; and as they cannot live without their daily sacrifices, to whoever commands these turrets have it at choice, whether they shall have any sacrifices or no. Alexandra, in pursuance of her design, apply'd herself to the governors of these forts after this manner: "You well

Alexandra
contrives the
getting of
some strong
forts into her
hand.

She moves it
to the go-
vernment.

"know says she, that the king is at this present in a miserable extremity; and therefore pray be pleas'd to deliver these two fortresses into the possession of the king's wife's mother, and the children of Herod and Mariamne; for otherwise the succession may come to be transported into another family; and in case of his recovery, the government cannot be lodg'd in safer hands than those of his nearest relations." They could not be prevail'd upon to take this for a reasonable request; partly out of a sense of duty to their trust, but principally out of the hatred they bore to Alexandra, beside the scruple they made of prejudging and pronouncing upon the king's life, with whom they had entertain'd a friendship of long standing; and one of them, whose name was Achiab, being Herod's own nephew. The first thing Achiab did after this proposal, was to send Herod word of it, who commanded her immediately to be put to death.

Achiab sends
Herod word
of the propo-
sal; and she
is immedi-
ately put to
death.

Herod's out-
rageous cru-
elties.

Idumea and
Gaza given
to Costobarus

A fall
betwixt
Herod
and
Salome
wife.

Salome
ges Co-
rus and
simach-
Antipa-
and Do-
us with
spiracy
gainst H.

The sons
Babas.

Costobarus
charg'd w
entertaini
the sons o
Babas.

her application to Anthony for the command; professing himself likewise to be at her devotion. Now he did not propose this address out of any desire he had to have Cleopatra for his mistress; but to the end that by the weakening of Herod, he might the more easily seize the government of Idumea to himself: For he had two fair encouragements to the hope of succeeding in this enterprize; that is to say, the honour of his extraction, and mighty sums of money which he had amass'd without any scruple of either honesty or conscience, provided he might but gain his end; and after all this, his ambition was as notorious as his avarice. Cleopatra try'd her interest with Anthony for Idumea, but it would not do; and this coming to Herod's ear, Costobarus had lost his life for it, if the mother and the sister had not interceded for him; but he had his pardon granted him at last, upon condition never to be trusted again. There was a falling out afterwards betwixt Costobarus and Salome, and the wife sent her husband a bill of divorce, though directly against the custom and practice of the country, and a manifest usurpation of the man's privilege, who has a right to discharge the woman, and she not to marry again, without the leave of her former husband. Salome's will however pass'd for a law, and so she left him, and betook herself to her brother, with this compliment, that her duty to him was dearer to her than that to her husband, and that she came to tell him that Costobarus, with Lysimachus, Antipater, and Dositheus, were in conspiracy against him: enforcing the credit of her information with an instance of his kindness to the sons of Babas, whom he had now kept twelve years under his protection. This was so surprizing a truth, that it made an impression upon him more than ordinary; for he had taken up a resolution long since of having them dispatch'd out of the world, as the known enemies of his interest; but some obstacle or other still prevented, and put it out of his head. Now the ground of the offence was this:

WHEN Herod was before Jerusalem, in the time of Antigonus, the people were so tir'd out with streights and difficulties of the siege, that the greater part of them were for opening the gates, and admitting Herod into the town. The sons of Babas being men of credit and authority in the place, and friends to Antigonus, were absolutely for standing it out, and maintaining the government in the royal line. Upon taking the city soon after, Herod gave Costobarus in charge to have an eye upon all the passages about the town, and not to suffer one creature to escape that was of the contrary faction. The sons of Babas were generally taken notice of to be the darlings of the people, and consequently the fittest instruments to be made use of in case of any attempt upon another change. Costobarus play'd his own game in saving them, and had them secretly convey'd away into a place of safety according to his order. Herod was not so dull of apprehension but that he suspected the matter at that very instant, and question'd him upon it; but the other discharg'd himself upon his oath, that he knew not what was become of them. The king upon this, publish'd a proclamation for the detecting of them, with a promise of reward to the discoverer, using all ways of

enquiry; but no confession yet: for after the first denial there was no retracting; so that the concealment was now become a point of prudence, and necessity, as well as of kindness. But now, the whole intrigue being laid open by the help of Salome, the king sent immediately to their places of concealment, and had them all cut to pieces, with their accomplices and abettors, and the whole house of Hyrcanus by that inroad totally extinguisht: so that from this time forward, the king did what he pleas'd without opposition or controul.

HEROD was no sooner settled in the establishment of an absolute power, but he fell off by little and little from the wholesome laws and government of our forefathers that kept the people formerly in the awe and practice of their duty; introducing foreign inventions and innovations instead of them. As for instance; he instituted the spectacle of wrestling-matches, to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Augustus: erecting a theatre in Jerusalem on purpose to receive them. He built a stately amphitheatre also, without the walls of the city; which two fabricks were of a wonderful magnificence and expence: but to the Jews, who were never accustomed to the vanity of such games and shews, they were of no use or satisfaction at all. Now for the greater glory of these entertainments, he caus'd them to be notified by proclamations far and near, with large promises of rewards to the victors. By this means, he drew in competitors at all sorts of exercises, and from all quarters in abundance, and the most eminent masters also in their several professions: Not only wrestlers, but musicians vocal and instrumental, mimicks, charioteers, some for two horses, others for four; horse-racers, &c. It was the king's care, in fine, that nothing should be wanting that might contribute to the pleasure, ornament, or curiosity of the main design. The theatre was dress'd up round with titles, trophies, and devices, to Cesar's honour, and in memory of his triumphs; the whole work being set out and illustrated with gold and silver, and beautify'd with costly hangings, rich habits, and precious stones. For the greater variety of the diversion, he had a provision also of lions, tygers, and such other wild beasts as had any thing in them extraordinary, either for fierceness and vigour, or for any thing singular in their kind. These beasts of prey were turn'd loose, some time one upon another, other whiles to encounter condemn'd criminals.

Now this was a spectacle that foreigners were mightily pleas'd with; but the Jews, on the contrary, had a horror for it, as an ignoble cruelty, and not only a violation of their laws, but a corruption of their manners: for what can be more unmanly, than to take delight in the brutal entertainment of sacrificing men to beasts, and to spill human blood in sport; beside the folly and madness of changing good old customs for bad new ones? The Jews lay, in short, under a general dissatisfaction; but nothing gave a greater disgust to them, than the trophies, which they look'd upon to be the images of men cover'd with arms, and consequently a flat contradiction to the institutions of their country. They were so bold and extravagant in their aversion to these

Salome makes the discovery, and they are all cut to pieces, with the house of Hyrcanus.

Herod changes old laws and customs for foreign inventions and innovations.

A falling out betwixt Costobarus and Salome his wife.

Salome charges Costobarus and Lysimachus, Antipater and Dositheus with a conspiracy against Herod.

The sons of Babas.

Costobarus charg'd with entertaining the sons of Babas.

these trophies, that Herod did not think it safe to deal with them by force, but chose rather to try if he could bring them by gentle methods and reasoning to a sight of the vanity of their superstition; but this was so far from convincing them, that they cry'd out with one voice against the indignity of his proceeding. "They could bear any thing else, (they said) but to bring images into the city, (for so they call'd the trophies) or to submit to the guilt of so abominable a wickedness; that was a thing they would never give way to." Herod, finding the people's abhorrence of these sights to rise higher and higher every day, and that they were not to be pacify'd by downright authority or persuasion, he took some of the chief of the scandalized party along with him to the theatre; shew'd them the trophies, and asked their opinion of them, and what they took them to be: so they all cry'd out that "they were the images of men." Herod, upon this, caused them to be stript and undress'd, and finding only certain stumps of wood under the covering, the fierce indignation they had conceiv'd from a strong presumption of their being images, was turn'd into ridicule; and upon the quieting of this tumult, the greater part of them was prevail'd upon to allow and concur with every thing else: but there were some yet that persisted in the abhorrence they had for the admittance of foreign customs, for fear of the pernicious changes of state they might probably draw after them; reckoning themselves obliged, at what hazard soever, to assert their tottering discipline, and not to suffer Herod, under the name of a king, to act the part of an enemy, and break in upon their consciences and liberties with unlawful impositions.

THE people were so inflam'd with this discourse, that ten citizens enter'd immediately upon it into a conspiracy against the person of the king, in defiance of all dangers whatsoever that might attend the enterprize; and there was one blind man among the rest, so transported at the story of this usurpation and oppression, that tho' he was not in a condition to act any thing for the common good, he offer'd himself yet to bear a part with his companions in their sufferings for it, let it be what it would; and this generous encouragement did not a little settle them in their determination. Having laid their heads together upon this matter, they put daggers under their coats, and went to the theatre, with a full resolution to stab the king himself, if they could come at him, as they hop'd they should; or however to make such havock of his guards, that they promis'd themselves this comfort at worst, in case of a miscarriage, that their death would make him odious, and that the precedent of their bravery, in vindication of their religion and discipline, would be an incitement to others hereafter to follow their example.

As Herod was just entering the theatre, one of his spies made to him a discovery of the whole intrigue; whereupon being conscious to himself of the invidious hatred he lay under, he withdrew to his palace, whether he summon'd the conspirators, every man by his name. Being now as good as taken in the fact, and without any possibility of escaping,

they stood the shock with an invincible courage; owning and justifying the whole matter charg'd upon them. This they did with an undaunted constancy of mind and behaviour, producing the very daggers that were to have done the execution. "They were not engag'd, (they said,) in any criminal combination to gratify any passion or interest; but in a sacred league for the common good, and the defence of their laws, which all true patriots and professors were bound to maintain with their lives." After this undaunted and glorious declaration, they were hurry'd away, and put to death by most exquisite torments. Neither did that execrable wretch the informer long out-live his treason; for he was set upon, butcher'd, and torn to pieces; and his body thrown to the dogs. This too was done in the sight of a great many spectators, yet not one man detected that had a hand in the exploit: till in the end a discovery was extorted by dint of torment from some certain women who happen'd to be present at the committing of the fact; whereupon the actors in it, and their whole families, were all immediately put to death; the common people all this while, standing firm in the maintenance and vindication of their ordinances and customs. When Herod came to consider of the danger of these mutinous dispositions, and to find that the people were not to be kept in order but by main force, it highly concern'd him, he thought, to do all he could in time toward the preventing of a revolt. Now having two forts in the city already; his palace in the one, and the other (Antonia) which served for a guard to the temple, he fortify'd Samaria also (otherwise called Sebaste) for a third, which was conveniently situated to keep the whole country in obedience. It was about a day's journey from Jerusalem, and commodiously enough seated for the quelling of broils in the city. There was likewise another strong hold that lay very opportunely for his purpose, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower; but at that time it had obtain'd the name of Cæsarea. He built a castle also in the great plain, which he made a horse quarter, and so Gabala in Galilee, and Esthmonitis in Peræa. These fortifications were so advantageously posted up and down in the country, that it was impossible for the people to enter into any plot or practice against the state, but his soldiers there in garison would be upon them presently; being ever at hand, and in readiness, either to obviate mischief, or to crush it. He made it his first business to settle affairs in Samaria, as a place naturally strong and proper for his purpose. To this end he drew a great body of troops into the city, both foreign and domestick, partly for the temple's sake, which he propounded to build there, and partly for the reputation of the work, but principally for his own safety; which, under this pretext of magnificence, was abundantly provided for. He changed the name of the town of Samaria to that of Sebaste, as is said already; and divided among the inhabitants the country about it; by which means, the lands being fruitful, they became quickly rich and easy. He surrounded it with a thick substantial wall; and enlarged it in such a proportion, that it was reckon'd in the first

They own the plot, and shew the very daggers.

They are put to death.

The informer himself torn to pieces

A discovery extorted by torments.

Herod fortifies Samaria, alias Sebaste, &c.

A plot upon Herod in the theatre.

A spy discovers the conspiracy.

Herod sends for the conspirators by name.

first rank of famous cities. It was twenty * furlongs in circumference, leaving a furlong † and a half of ground in the middle, which he reserv'd for a temple; and accordingly erected one, which, for the magnificence both of the dimensions and expence, and all varieties of curiosity and ornament, was not inferior to any other fabrick whatsoever. He went on likewise every day more and more improving other parts of the city at the same rate, depending upon the advantages of the place for his security, and gratifying his ambition in the prospect of transmitting to posterity so lasting a monument of his greatness and glory.

C H A P. XII.

Judea visited with dreadful calamities: As, a blasting drought, famine, plague, and other diseases. Herod's wisdom in providing for the people. He erects a glorious palace. Jesus depos'd from the pontificate, and Simon the son of Boethus advanced. Herod builds a castle: The description of it. The character of Herod. He builds cities also, and temples.

Judea visited with miserable calamities.

A blasting drought, a famine, plagues and other diseases

IN this year, which was the thirteenth of Herod's reign, Judea was visited with miserable calamities, whether by divine vengeance, or according to the stated course of natural providences, is not to be determin'd. The first judgment was a long and a blasting drought, which was follow'd with such a sterility, that the earth was parch'd up and brought forth nothing at all. The want of food, and the necessitated change of diet, brought on plagues and diseases, and a long train of other innumerable disorders successively one after another. And it was a farther aggravation of their extreme misery, that the sick were in a manner abandon'd, and left without the comfort of either help, food, or remedy. And with all this, they dy'd so fast, that the survivors gave one another over, without so much as looking after them, in the despair of doing them any good. The last year's stores being all spent, and no recruits appearing, the case was desperate, and their starving wants pinch'd them every day more than other; for one season was already lost and gone, and the earth still barren, without any hope of relief. These extremities however, in the mean time, set all people's wits at work how to provide for themselves, under their present deplorable circumstances.

SUCH, in fine, was the general distress, that the revenue even of Herod himself, how large soever, was not sufficient to maintain him, for his rents and customs were all sunk; his old stock of treasure expended upon buildings and fortifications; together with an universal desolation, upon all accounts; the outrageous hatred and clamour of the people over and above, which, in all cases of popular discontents, never fail of casting the blame upon the govern-

ment. His thoughts were not idle yet upon the main, how to obviate these difficulties; but the particular means of doing it was the question. As for his neighbours that were in the same condition with himself, there was no supply of provisions to be expected that way: And for matter of monies to procure necessities, his stock was exhausted, and he had not enough remaining to answer the charge. But somewhat or other was to be done however in this extremity of a common cause.

So Herod's wonderful wisdom in providing for the people. that the king, upon bethinking himself, melted down all his plate, curiosities, and other ornamental furniture, and vessels of gold and silver, to the services of his own table; put the whole mass into one sum of money, and sent it away into Egypt, where Petronius was at that time governor, by a commission from Cesar. Petronius was quite tir'd out with a multitude of applications and importunities of people under the same necessities; but yet out of a particular affection he had for Herod, and consequently for his interest and people, he gave him, in preference to all others, a grant for the exportation of corn, and assisted him all he could in the very price and carriage, which turn'd exceedingly to the account of Herod, and his designs. For upon the importing of this relief, he did not only redeem his reputation among those that before had a very ill opinion of him, but made himself famous by his care and conduct for a prince of a truly royal wisdom and virtue. The first thing he did after the importation of this succour, was, to make an equal distribution of it in proportion to the number and condition of those that were to receive it; as he provided for the sending of it to those that could not fetch it, and appointed bakers to assist those that either through age, infirmity, or any other impediment could not make their bread themselves; taking care likewise in all other respects that they might not want any thing, either for the filling of their bellies, or the keeping of them warm; supplying them also with garments and coverings against the severity of the winter season, as well as with victuals, in the great scarcity of sheep and wool. So soon as he had competently provided for his own people, he extended his charity in the next place to the assistance of his neighbours the Syrians, whom he furnished with a quantity of seed-corn for the next season, which came to them in the very nick of their occasions for it; and yielded so prodigious an increase upon the following crop, that he sent fifty thousand men, which he himself had preserv'd from starving, to help them in with their harvest. By this foresight and industry of Herod's, matters were so well re-establish'd (even when all was given for lost) that every thing succeeded to his wish, both at home and abroad, wherever he had to do; for no man ever sought to him in vain, whether strangers or citizens, whom he did not relieve according to his dignity: Insomuch, that upon a clear account it appear'd that he had expended ‡ ten thousand côres of wheat to strangers, reckoning every core at ten Attic Medimni: And

A grant for exportation of corn out of Egypt.

An equal distribution among the people.

* Twenty furlongs or stadia, according to Calmet's tables, were equivalent to two miles and an half and thirty paces, English measure.

† A furlong and an half, according to the same author, was just nine hundred and ninety English feet, that is, three hundred and thirty yards.

‡ A Core or Chomer, according to Calmet, contained the quantity of six hundred and five English pints; ten thousand therefore must amount to six millions fifty thousand pints: and fourscore thousand Côres to forty eight millions four hundred thousand English pints.

fourſcore thouſand cores upon his own people.

THIS ſeaſonable and effectual generoſity and goodneſs of the king ſo endear'd the hearts and ſouls of the people, that all paſt unkindneſſes and miſgovernments were freely forgiven and forgotten, and not one word more of his encroachments upon their laws and diſcipline; reckoning his generous care and liberality upon this occaſion, as an ample atonement for all his former miſdeeds. Neither was his character leſs venerable abroad than at home; for it ſo fell out, that his miſfortunes in the one place enhanced his reputation in the other, for upon this inſtance of his compaſſionate humanity toward ſtrangers in diſtreſs, people made a judgment of him from what they now found him, and not from what he had been.

Herod erects a glorious palace.

MUCH about this time he made Auguſtus a preſent of five hundred choice men out of his own guards, which ſerv'd under *Ælius Gallus in the Arabian war with much honour. The ſtate of Judea being now compos'd, Herod began to erect a large and ſpacious palace, in the upper part of Jeruſalem, with rooms large enough for a great receipt of people; finiſhed with ſeats and other ornaments of gold and marble curiouſly wrought, and bearing the names of the perſons they were deſign'd for; one inſcribed Ceſar's apartment, another Agrippa's.

Jesus depos'd from the pontificate. Herod advances Simon the ſon of Boethus, and marries his daughter.

WHILE Herod was intent upon this building, he happened to fall in love, and marry a ſecond wife, to reſtrain himſelf from the looſe liberties of wandering amours. The caſe, in ſhort, was this: there was one Simon, a citizen of Jeruſalem, the ſon of † Boethus, an Alexandrian, and a prieſt of a noble family; this Simon had a daughter of ſo exquisite a beauty, that ſhe became the talk and admiration of all that ſaw her. Herod was firſt ſtruck with the fame of this lady, and then enamour'd upon the ſight of her; but yet reſolving to make no tyrannical uſe of his power, he only propounded the honourable way of taking her to his bed as his lawful wife. It was a match, in truth, below his quality, but not inconfiderable neither, to the degree of deſpicable; ſo that in ſome ſort to balance this inequality, and to indulge his paſſion, both in one, he thought it proper to confer ſome eminent dignity upon Simon, in order to qualify him for the honour he intended him. To this end he depoſed Jesus ‡ the ſon Phabes from the Pontificate; advanced Simon in his ſtead, and then marry'd his daughter.

Herod builds a caſtle in memory of a victory over Antigonus.

A deſcription of the building and place.

SO ſoon as the nuptial ſolemnities were over, he built a glorious caſtle upon the place where he formerly defeated the Jews in the war he had with Antigonus. This fort was a matter of fixty || furlongs from Jeruſalem; naturally ſtrong by the ſituation, and capable of being made impregnable. The hill riſes in a gentle aſcent, as if it had been artificial; the figure of it round, and the caſtle encompass'd with ſeveral towers; and two hundred ſtone ſteps up to it; the lodgings in it rich and ſtately, and the whole ſtructure beautiful and

firm. At the bottom of this mount, there are ſeveral buildings worth the ſeeing in many reſpects, and particularly for the famous aqueducts, that with infinite difficulty and charge, were brought thither from a vaſt way off. The plain about it was cover'd with houſes, to the proportion of a conſiderable city: the caſtle from above overlooking it like a citadel, both for command and protection.

The character of Herod.

Herod having by this time ſettled his matters to his mind, he reckon'd himſelf out of danger of any further commotions and tumults. He kept his people in order, partly by awe and fear, and partly by love and intereſt; for he was a prince of a moſt inflexible ſeverity where a criminal was to be puniſh'd, and of as unbounded a liberality, where the common good of the ſubject requir'd it. He kept himſelf upon ſuch a guard, and every thing in ſuch a poſture of ſecurity, as if it were to ſhew that the prince and the people are to ſtand and fall together. He was courteous and eaſy, indifferently to all men, to ſtrangers as well as others, and upon occaſion moſt munificently generous to the great ones; for he had the heart of an emperor. By this means he gain'd a general love and eſteem, to the great advantage of his affairs and deſigns. But this ambitious affectation of ingratiating himſelf with Auguſtus and the noblemen of Rome, inveigled him away by little and little from the diſcipline and cuſtoms of our forefathers, into the erecting of cities and temples to the honour of his patrons. This was not done, 'tis true, in the very land of Judea itſelf; for the Jews would never have born an abomination ſo expreſſly forbidden, as the worſhiping of images and idols, after the manner of the Greeks: ſo that he built theſe cities only upon the borders of the province, and not within the jurisdiction of it; excuſing himſelf upon the whole, that what he did was not any act of his own, but purely in obedience to the higher powers. He got the good-will of Ceſar and the Romans however, by the pretence of renouncing the diſcipline and the principles he was brought up in, for their ſakes: but all this apart, the thing he aim'd at was his own advantage, the making of himſelf glorious to poſterity, by theſe everlaſting memorials of magnificence and bounty.

Herod builds cities and temples to the honour of his patrons.

CHAP. XIII.

Straton's tower, (or Caſarea,) a port as large as the Pyraeum, betwixt Joppa and Dora; with the model of a mole built there by Herod. A temple dedicated to Ceſar. A ſtone theatre, and a ſpacious amphitheatre; the whole work finiſh'd in twelve years. Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſent to Ceſar; who grants to Herod three provinces, and the liberty of chuſing which ſon he pleaſes for his ſucceſſor. The Trachonites a kind of free-booters, and Zenodorus goes ſhares with them. A deſcription of their dens, and their manner of living. Herod has a commiſſion to ſuppreſs them. A complaint againſt Zenodorus; and Zenodorus complains of Herod. Herod defends himſelf. The Deſperation of the Gadarens. The death of

A temple dedicated to Ceſar, and thence call'd Caſarea.

* In the verſion of Rufinus, or Epiphanius Scholaſticus, 'tis Eliſeus, and not Ælius Gallus.

† In the antient verſion 'tis Buzus.

‡ In the antient verſion, the ſon of Boethus.

|| Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety paces.

Zenodorus. Cesar's bounty to Herod. He makes Pheroras a tetrarch in Judea, and erects a temple to Augustus. Herod's arts of making himself popular. His kindnesses to the Pharisees and Essenes. A strange prediction of Manahem, an Essene.

Of Straton's tower, or Cefarea.

A port as large as the Pyraeum.

The situation betwixt Joppa and Dora.

The model of a mole built there by Herod.

A temple dedicated to Cesar, and thence call'd Cefarea.

HERE was a certain place by the sea-side, formerly called Straton's tower, which Herod look'd upon as a very commodious tract of ground to raise a city upon. He drew his model; set people to work upon't, and finish'd it. The buildings were all of marble; private houses as well as palaces; but his master-piece was the port, which he made as large as the Pyraeum, and a safe station against all winds and weathers; to say nothing of other conveniences. This work was the more wonderful, because all the materials for it were brought thither at a prodigious expence from afar off. This city stands in Phoenicia upon the pass into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora; two wretched sea towns, where there's no riding in the harbours with a south-west wind; for it bears so furiously upon the shore, that merchant-men are forc'd to keep off at sea many times for fear of being driven a ground. To encounter these difficulties of the place, Herod order'd a mole to be made in the form of a half-moon, and large enough for a royal navy to ride in. He directed also prodigious stones to be let down there in twenty fathom water; stones of fifty foot in length, eighteen foot over, and nine foot deep; some greater, some less. This mole was two hundred foot in extent; the one half of it to break the setting of the sea; the other half serv'd for the foundation of a stone-wall fortify'd with turrets; calling the largest and the fairest of them by the name of the tower of Drusus, from Drusus the son-in-law of Augustus, who dy'd young. There were several arched vaults also that serv'd for seamens-cabins. There was likewise a key or landing-place, with a large walk upon it around the port, as a place of pleasure to take the air in. This port opens to the northward, which is the clearest quarter of the heavens. On the left hand of the entrance into it, there was a turret erected upon a large platform, with a sloping bank to shoot off the washing of the sea; and on the right hand were two stone-pillars over against the tower, and both of a height. The houses about the port, were all uniformly built, of the most excellent sort of marble. Upon a mount in the middle, stood a temple dedicated to Cesar, which was of great use to the mariners, for a famous sea-mark. There were in this temple two statues or images; the one of Rome, and the other of Cesar: and from hence the city took the name of Cefarea, which was no less celebrated for the materials than for the workmanship. The contrivance of the vaults and common-shores was wonderful too, being laid at equal distances one from another, and so discharging themselves into the sea. Only there was one conveyance that went cross all the rest; and as it carry'd off all the filth and nastiness of the town, so it made way for the tides to enter and wash the passages, and to make all sweet and clean. Herod built also

a stone-theatre; and upon the south side of the harbour, a spacious amphitheatre, with a goodly prospect to the sea-ward. He spared, in short, for neither money nor pains; and in a matter of twelve years this work was brought to perfection.

AFTER the finishing of these two cities, Sebaste and Cefarea, Herod dispatch'd away his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, to pay their respects to Cesar. Pollio, that was Herod's particular friend, provided lodgings for them; which was more than needed, for Augustus had given order for the entertaining of them in his own palace. He received them, in fine, with wonderful humanity, and after the additional bounty of conferring upon Herod the three provinces of Trachon, Bactanæa and Auranitis, he gave him his choice likewise, which of his sons he would appoint for his successor to the kingdom of Judea. The business was this:

ONE Zenodorus had taken to farm the lands of Lyfania, and not contenting himself with the lawful advantage of his bargain, went shares with the free-booters in Trachon; a sort of men that live in a great measure upon the spoil they take from the people of Damascus. The suffering part of the country, upon these outrages, apply'd themselves to * Varro, who was at that time governor of the province, for a letter of complaint to Cesar against Zenodorus; whose answer was, that he would have those thieves driven out of their lurking holes, and the care and command of that province committed to Herod, to keep the Trachonites in order for the future. Now they had neither towns, houses, nor possessions, but liv'd like beasts in dens and caves; and furnished with such a proportion of water and provision, that it would be a hard matter either to come at them, or to starve them: beside that making a livelihood of the trade, they would be loth to leave it. The entrance into their hiding-places was so narrow, that there was no passing for above one at a time; but the receptacle within was large beyond imagination; and the roof overhead plain and flat. Take it altogether, it is but one sharp and almost impassable rock: full of difficulties and turnings, and no finding the right way into it without a guide. In few words, these are a people that stick at nothing; and rather than not keep their hands in use, rob one another. So soon as ever Herod enter'd into the possession of his new province, he took his conductors and instruments along with him; and hunting them out of their retreats, set the neighbourhood at quiet. But Zenodorus was so irritated, whether out of vexation for the loss of his commission, or out of envy at Herod's having it, that he posted away to Rome with an accusation in his mouth against Herod, but could do no good on't.

WHILE matters were in this state, Augustus sent Agrippa into Asia, to take upon him the command of the transmarine provinces there. He was Herod's singular friend and old acquaintance; so that he met him upon the way at Mitylene, and then went back again to Judea. He was no sooner arriv'd, but the Gadarens accosted him presently with grievous

A stone-theatre, and a spacious amphitheatre. The work of 12 years.

Alexander and Aristobulus sent on a complement to Cesar.

Cesar grants Herod three provinces, and which son he pleases for his successor.

The trachonites a kind of free-booters.

The people complain to Varro of Zenodorus.

The dens of these thieves, and their manner of living.

Herod has a commission to suppress them.

Zenodorus complains to Cesar of Herod, but in vain.

The Gadarens complain of him too: And the Arabians.

* See Casaubon's Exercit. 1. n. 82.

complaints against Herod; whereupon, without so much as giving them the hearing, he sent to the king himself in chains.

Zenodorus
also, and upon
what
grounds.

Zenodorus
sets the Gada-
rens against
Herod.
Zenodorus
makes a vow
to remove
him.

The charge
against Herod.

Herod de-
fends him-
self.

Divers of the
Gadarens
make them-
selves away,
when they
cannot gain a
point.

Zenodorus
dies of a dy-
sentery at
Antioch.
Cesar's bounty
to Herod.

THE Arabians at the same time began to shew their disaffection and enmity, upon the score of an ancient grudge they had to him, and truly the pretence seem'd to have somewhat in it. Zenodorus, (the Person beforementioned) finding his affairs in a sinking condition, came to an agreement with these Arabians, for so much of his estate in the province of Auranitis, as they were to pay him fifty * talents a year rent for. Now this happening to fall within Cesar's grant to Herod, the Arabians would not submit to it; but contesting the matter, one while by force, another while by law, they engaged also a party of indigent soldiers in the controversy; who, according to the practice of other miserable people in the world, were willing to mend their own fortunes upon the ruins of other men. Herod knew well enough what they were a-doing; but thought it good discretion yet to deal with them by fair means, rather than to use severities, for fear of creating new troubles. In the seventeenth year of Herod's reign, Cesar came into Syria, where he was entertain'd immediately with outrageous exclamations of the Gadarens against Herod, as a most insupportable tyrant and oppressor, and this chiefly at the instance and instigation of Zenodorus, who it seems had bound himself by an oath never to give over the prosecution till they should be quit of Herod, and under the dominion once again of Augustus. This confident undertaking of Zenodorus made them still bolder and louder; especially finding those prisoners that were deliver'd up to Herod by Agrippa, to continue unpunish'd. Now Herod, how inexorable soever, towards offenders of his own party, was yet of all men living, perhaps the easiest and the most remiss in the case of injuries receiv'd from strangers. The misdemeanors charg'd upon him, were rapine, oppression, the violating and the demolishing of temples, and the like; and Herod on the other hand, offer'd himself as frankly to his justification. Cesar treated him nevertheless respectfully for the clamorous importunities of the multitude, though for the first day there pass'd some discourse upon it; but there the debate fell, and put an end to the question. It was so evident, by this time to the Gadarens, how Cesar and his friend stood affected, that giving for granted it would be their fate upon the close of the matter, to be deliver'd up to Herod, some of them cut their own throats the very next night; others broke their necks down precipices, and some again drown'd themselves for fear of being put to tortures: and Cesar taking this execution upon themselves, for a self-condemnation, acquitted Herod without any more ado. And there was yet another singular piece of providence attended him; which was the death of Zenodorus by a violent dysentery at Antioch in Syria; whereupon Cesar bestow'd upon Herod a very considerable estate

belonging to him, that lay betwixt Galilee and Trachonitis, comprising Ulatha, † Panium, and the borders thereabouts; giving him also a sovereign command over the governors of Syria, and appointing every thing to be done according to his direction and order. Herod was now advanced to such a height of esteem and good fortune, that as Cesar and Agrippa were the two supreme administrators in the whole empire, so Cesar was the man whom above all the rest of the world, Cesar lov'd next to Agrippa, and Agrippa next to Cesar. By virtue of this interest, Herod obtained a tetrarch's commission in Judea from Augustus for his brother Pheroras; upon whom he bestow'd the revenue of a hundred talents, || out of his proper income, that he might have something to trust to in case of any desperate misfortune, without being forced to a dependence upon his children. After this, he waited upon Cesar till he saw him embark'd, and then went back again; erecting to the honour of Augustus, and upon the ground of Zenodorus, a most glorious temple of white marble, near the cave that they call'd Panias, which is at the bottom of a mountain, famous for being the source of the river Jordan. The cavern is prodigiously deep, and springs of water in it perpetually bubbling; and the mountain above is as eminent for a pleasant prospect, but more remarkable still for this temple of Cesar's, than for all the rest.

Cesar makes
Pheroras a te-
trarch in
Judea.

Herod erects
a temple to
Augustus.

THE king took an occasion at this time to ingratiate himself with his people, by easing them of a third part of their taxes, under pretence of a tenderness for their sufferings by the distress of the famine; but in effect to sweeten ill humours: for they were so disgusted at many things the king did to the scandal of religion, and good manners, that every body reflected upon him for it: so that he was fain to make use of other ways yet to keep his subjects quiet, by tying up every man to his own business; prohibiting cabals, clubs, and other publick meetings; planting spies upon all companies; and officers every where at hand, to take into custody all offenders against these orders; as there were several committed to the fort Hyrcania, publicly as well as privately, and there punish'd with the utmost rigour. The very roads, streets, passes and avenues, were all beset and way-laid; all meetings, upon what account soever, watch'd and observ'd: Nay, such was the care he took, that he would many times steal out by night himself in a disguise among the common people, to listen what the multitude said of him. Wherever he met with any man that was bitter and malicious, he had no mercy of him, and for the moderate sort, he put them to an oath of allegiance, and so dismiss'd them. By this means he brought the majority out of fear to compliance with him; and for those that had the courage to stand upon their terms, and to dispute the point, he never fail'd of some device or other to remove them out of the way. This oath was put to Pollio the

He makes
himself popu-
lar, to atone
for his apos-
tasy from reli-
gion and good
manners.

His car-
preven
mults.

* Fifty Jewish talents weighed five thousand seven hundred and three pounds, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds, seven shillings, and six pence; and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, English money.

† Al. Paneas. See Harduin's Nummi illustrati. p. 112.

|| An hundred Jewish talents weighed eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds, three ounces; and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand, five hundred pounds of our money.

Herod's kindness for the Pharisees and Essenes.

Pharisee, and to Sameas, with their disciples, as well as to the rest; but they refusing it, Herod out of the reverence he had for Pollio, press'd them no farther to the taking of it. And he was as kind to the Essenes too, a sect somewhat like the Pythagoreans among the Greeks. We have spoken a great deal of them elsewhere already: but it will not be amiss however to say somewhat farther in this place; and how Herod came to have so tender an esteem for these people.

The Prediction of one Manahem an Essene.

THERE was one Manahem, an Essene, who over and above the virtue and the character of an exemplary probity of life, was likewise endu'd with the spirit of prophecy. This person, upon the sight of Herod, among his school-fellows, when he was a boy, greeted him with a salutation of hail king of the Jews. The boy, to correct his mistake, said, he was not of a family to be a king, and told him, that when he saluted him by that title, he either did not know him, or meant to banter him. "Yes," yes, (says Manahem) smiling upon him, and laying his hand gently upon his shoulder, "you are to be a king, and you shall rule happily; for it is the pleasure of God that it shall be so: but keep these words of Manahem in mind now, which will give you to understand the instability of your fortune. It will be your duty to govern with justice, conscience and equity; but I have a secret impulse, which tells me, that you will never manage your authority by these measures. You will have no regard either to the laws of God or man; though in all other respects a fortunate person, and worthy of immortal honour. Depend upon it, that God will at last chastise you, and bring you to your end by a most deplorable judgment".

Herod gave little heed to these words, as a matter that never enter'd into his thought; but when he came afterward to the throne, and to the highest pitch of his glory, he sent for Manahem, and ask'd him, how long he thought he should reign: Manahem returning an uncertain answer, Herod put it to him again, whether he thought he should reign ten years. Yes, yes, says Manahem, and twenty, and thirty: and there he stopt, leaving the precise period undetermin'd; but Herod resting satisfy'd with what he had heard, took a friendly leave of him, and from that time forward had a great esteem for the Essenes. This may possibly appear incredible; but the reader may consider that we have many instances of good men, to whom Almighty God has been pleas'd to reveal his secret purposes and counsels.

CHAP. XIV.

Herod proposes the building of a temple: the old one not to be touch'd till the new one is provided for. Herod prepares the materials, and enters upon the work. The front of the temple; the galleriest; the temple-walls; Baris or the tower; the fort Antonia; a plan of the temple, or

the first enclosure. Another enclosure. The middle enclosure. The whole perfected in eighteen months. The dedication of the temple. A privy passage from fort to fort.

AFTER so many great and glorious actions, and the finishing of so many magnificent and pompous buildings, Herod bethought himself in the eighteenth year of his reign, of erecting a temple to the holy God, in all respects larger and more stately than the former, and a work that he made account would redound more to the honour of his name and memory, (as in truth it did) than all he had ever done before; but yet lest the people should stumble at the difficulty of the undertaking, he call'd them together, to try what might be done by reason and discourse, to the removing of that obstacle out of the way.

"It would be time lost, (says he) my friends and countrymen, to give you the history of my doings since I came to the crown; wherefore let it suffice that I have more attended to your benefit and security than to my own particular reputation. You know very well what care I have taken for you in your greatest extremities, and without any regard to my own profit; and you know likewise that you yourselves have had the greatest share in the advantage of all the mighty works, which by God's blessing and assistance I have brought to perfection: in so much, that Judea is in a better state at this day than ever it was: wherefore, as I was saying, there will be no need of running into the particulars of the cities, castles, palaces, &c. that I have either built, fortify'd, or repair'd in Judea, and the tributary provinces. But the short sum of my present business, is matter of worship and religion, and what concerns the reputation of your country. You shall do well to observe, that this temple that was erected by our fore-fathers, at their return from Babylon, wants sixty * cubits of the height of Solomon's; and this was no fault of our ancestors neither: for it was by no orders of theirs that it came not up to the proportion of the first; being rais'd according to the express model of Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, under whose dominion they then liv'd, as afterward under the Macedonians: so that they had it not in their power to advance that monument of their piety and zeal up to the measures of the original. But since God hath been now pleas'd in his gracious Providence, to put the government into my hands, and at the same time to furnish me with all necessary means for the accomplishing of my end; as peace, leisure, ready money, large revenues, and which is more than all the rest, the friendship of the Romans, masters of the whole world: it shall be my care and business now to supply those defects, which was not possible for our predecessors under their circumstances to prevent; and to do that right, in fine, to the glory of God, which we have hitherto been

Herod proposes the erecting of a temple, with a salvo to all objections.

* Sixty Jewish cubits amounted to upwards of one hundred and nine English feet, that is, thirty six yards and a foot.

"short in, with all due reverence to his holy name, and with a gratitude suitable to the mercies we have receiv'd".

THE people were so surpris'd at this unexpected discourse and declaration, that it gave them no perplexity to think what the issue would be; beside the anxious dread they had of having the old temple pull'd down, before they were sure of another in the place of it; which, in truth, they despair'd of, as an enterprise next to impracticable. This put them to a nonplus, whether to approve or disapprove of the design; but the king finding what it was they stuck at, bad them rest satisfy'd, that the old temple should stand firm and untouch'd, till all the materials for the new one should be prepar'd; and he was as good as his word.

The old temple not to be touch'd till the new one is provided for. Herod prepares the materials, and enters upon the work.

He provided a hundred carriages for stones and other necessities; ten thousand artists in all handicrafts, the best of every sort that were to be gotten. A thousand priests that * understood masons and carpenters work, to overlook them, who he furnished with sacerdotal robes and vestments at his own charge. The artificers, stones, timber, and all the preparatory materials being now in readiness, the first work they set upon was the clearing of the old foundation, and the laying of a new one; upon which basis they rais'd the superstructure of a temple a † hundred cubits in length, and a hundred and twenty in height; but the odd twenty cubits sinking afterwards, it fell so much short of the first design; which our ancestors in the days of Nero, had some thought of supplying. The whole fabrick was made of durable white stone, five and twenty ‡ cubits long, eight in height, and twelve over.

The front of the temple.

THE front of this wonderful pile had the resemblance of a palace; much higher in the middle than on the sides, and looking with such a prospect into the fields, as was very agreeable to those that either liv'd directly over against it, or were travelling towards it: and this view extended several furlongs into the country. ** The porch was a curiosity answerable to the artifice of the rest; the upper part of it set out with variety of rich tapestry, and delicate purple flowers, with pillars interwoven, and a golden vine creeping and twining about them; the branches of it laden with clusters of grapes that hung dangling down from the cornishes: a piece of mastery, no less valuable for the skill than the matter.

The galleries.

ROUND about the temple were large galleries, not inferior to the rest of the work in magnificence; but much exceeding all that ever was before them for grace and beauty. Two of these galleries were supported by two strong walls; a work of as singular an excellency as any we have seen yet.

The temple walls.

THERE was a steep rocky hillock, but with a gentle descent, to the eastward of the city, which Solomon, a long time before, by God's special direction, encompass'd with a wall,

and the lower part of it was surrounded with another wall, and a deep valley under it toward the south. This wall was compacted of mighty stones cramped together with irons, including the whole, and reaching down to the bottom of the hill. The form of the work was square, and considering the depth and the magnitude of it, an incomparable piece. The vast bigness of these stones was best seen on the outside, being jointed within, one into another, to keep them firm against all Weathers.

WHEN this wall was run up to the top, the space betwixt that and the hill was all fill'd up till it came to a level, and then four galleries, reckoning every gallery to be a furlong †† over. There was also within the square, another stone wall, carry'd round the top of the hill, with a double porch to the eastward, facing the portal of the temple, that stands in the middle. This portal was gloriously adorn'd by the royal bounty of several princes; and round about the temple itself, were the spoils and trophies that had been taken from the Barbarians, which Herod dedicated over again, with the addition of others of later date, that he himself had taken from the Arabians.

UPON one of the angles on the north-side, stood a strong well-fortify'd building, the work of some of the Afamonæans, a family that for a long time executed the authority both of prince and high-priest. They call'd this Place Baris, or the tower, and there they kept the pontifical habits, which, according to custom, were never to be taken out, but when the high-priest was just about to officiate. Herod apply'd it also to the same use; but after his death, it came to be logg'd in the hands of the Romans: and there it rested till the time of Tiberius; in whose reign, Vitellius being made governor of Syria, and going to take possession of his command, was so honourably treated at Jerusalem, that in acknowledgment of their affection and respect, he prevail'd with Cesar in behalf of the Jews, and at their earnest request, that they might have the keeping of the sacred Depositum, or the Stola sacerdotalis, to themselves. This petition being granted, it continued in their custody till after the death of king Agrippa: at which time Cassius Longinus, the governor of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, lieutenant of Judea, order'd the depositing of the holy habits in the fort Antonia: insisting upon it, that they ought to be still in the power of the Romans, as they were formerly. Hereupon they sent away their deputies immediately to Claudius Cesar to solicit this affair. The young king Agrippa, happening to be then at Rome, begg'd of Cesar the charge of these habits, which was forthwith granted him, and orders sent to Vitellius to deliver them. The sacred robes were formerly kept under the seal of the high-priest and the treasurer of the temple; who upon the eve of their solemn festivals, apply'd themselves still to the commander in chief of the

Baris, or the tower.

* See Cotelerius's notes upon the 2d Vol. of his Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 545.

† An hundred cubits amounted to something more than one hundred and eighty two English feet, that is, sixty yards and two feet; and an hundred and twenty to something more than seventy two yards; twenty cubits being full thirty six feet.

‡ Five and twenty cubits were something more than forty five English feet, that is, fifteen yards. Eight cubits were something more than fourteen feet, that is, four yards and two feet: And twelve cubits were upwards of twenty one feet, that is, seven yards.

** See Selden de jure naturæ & gentium l. iii. c. 8.

†† A furlong was the eighth part of a mile, that is, one hundred twenty five geometrical paces, or six hundred sixty seven and a half of our feet, which make two hundred twenty two yards, one foot and an half.

fort for the Romans; shew'd him their seal, and took out the stole; and then when the holy-office was over, carry'd it back again to the same place, and there in the presence of the governor, sealed it up and left it. I should not have been so particular in this point, but for the many changes that have happen'd in this proceeding. This fort was a place of great strength already; but Herod still fortify'd it more and more, and in so doing he fortify'd the temple also; giving it the name at last of Antonia, in honour of his great friend Anthony once emperor of the Romans.

The fort Antonia.

A plan of the temple, or the first enclosure.

ON the west-side of the wall there were four gates: one led to the court, cross a valley that lay betwixt; two to the suburbs, and the last to the city: with a descent of a great many steps down to the valley, and an ascent on the other side of as many steps up to the top. The city stood just over against the temple, with the appearance of a theatre, bounded toward the south with a deep valley. In the middle of that square was another gate just equidistant from the two angles, with a triple stately gallery, stretching from the east-side of the valley to the west; which was the uttermost length the place would bear. There was never any thing under the sun more remarkable than this spectacle: for the valley was of so prodigious a depth, and the height of the building over it so stupendous, that it turn'd a body's eyes and brain to look down from the top to the bottom of it. These galleries rested upon four rows of pillars equally distant one from another; and a stone wall wrought up betwixt those of the fourth rank. The pillars themselves were as much about as three men could fathom; seven and twenty foot in length, and upon a double base. The number of them was one hundred and sixty two in the whole; the chapters fair and curious to a miracle; and the sculpture Corinthian work. Between these four rows of pillars were three galleries, two of them alike; that is to say, thirty foot broad a-piece, upward of fifty in height, and a furlong in length: but that in the middle was half as broad again as the other, and twice as high. In the wainscoting, there was a great variety of curious figures. The roof of the middle gallery, was supported with stone-work, so delicately wrought and cemented together, that it look'd like one entire stone.

Another enclosure.

THIS may serve for a description of the first enclosure, and there was another not far off

with a stone wall, and a few steps up to it, with a partition of stone, and an inscription upon it; prohibiting any strangers to enter there upon pain of death. This inward enclosure had three gates toward the south and north, of an equal distance one from the other: and to the eastward, another much larger, where men that were purify'd had admittance with their wives; but the women were not permitted to pass any further.

THERE was another place in the middle betwixt the other two, where it was lawful only for the priests to enter; and that was it where the temple was erected, and before it the altar, where they offer'd up their sacrifices. Now Herod durst not presume to enter into that place himself, because not being a priest, he stood prohibited by the law: so that he committed the care of this part of the holy work to the priests themselves; which they finish'd in eighteen months, when he himself had been eight years a finishing the rest.

The middle enclosure.

The work finished in eighteen months.

THE People were overjoy'd to see so great a work over in so short a time, giving God thanks for his blessing on this undertaking, and extolling the king to the heavens, for the zeal he had shewn to God's holy worship. The restoration of the temple was now celebrated with an universal joy, a sacrifice of three hundred oxen upon the king's account, and so for the rest in proportion; which amounted to a number in the whole hardly to be computed. And the solemnity was as much beyond expectation too; for the dedication of the temple, and the anniversary of Herod's coming to the crown, falling out upon the same day, doubled the solemnity. Among other of his temple works, the vault must not be forgotten, that Herod caused to be carry'd under ground from the fort Antonia to the east-gate of the temple, where he erected another fort; this vault being design'd for a private and safe retreat, either for himself or his successors, in case of any seditious practice against the government. There goes a tradition, that it never rain'd in the day-time all the while this temple was a building, but only in the night, out of a divine care (as it was intepreted) not to interrupt the progress of the work. This story hath been handed down to us from father to son, and it consists well enough with the methods of God's providence, where his worship is concern'd. But let this suffice as to the restoration of the temple.

The dedication of the temple.

A privy passage of communication from fort to fort.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XVI.

From the Year of the World 3955 to 3961.

CHAP. I.

A law against house-breakers. The People murmur at it. Herod takes a journey to Rome. Cesar entertains him very graciously; and restores him his two sons. Herod takes them back with him to Jerusalem. Salome and other accomplices startled at it. Herod not to be wrought upon by calumnies.



A law against house-breakers.

THE king taking it for a duty belonging to his office, to see justice done indifferently in every part of the common-wealth, and private as well as publick, made a new law for the punishing of house-breakers, to this effect:

"That all offenders in that kind should be sold for slaves, to any that would purchase them;" without exception, even to strangers. Now the people did not take this so much for an animadversion upon the malefactor, as for an encroachment upon the laws and customs of the nation; for the subjecting of people to the impositions of men, that liv'd by other rules and measures, does not so much hurt to the criminal in the penalty, as to religion itself in the example: and therefore, "our antient laws have made a good provision in the case, by condemning the felon to a four-fold restitution, if he be worth it; or if insolvent, to be sold, but not to strangers, nor into perpetual slavery; and at the end of seven years to be discharg'd." The construction, in fine, that they made of this new law, was, that it was unkingly, tyrannical and unjust; and a deliberate contempt upon the

The people murmur at it.

establish'd practice and discipline. For which reason, every one took the liberty to utter the most bitter invectives against the king. Much about this time Herod took a voyage into Italy, to make his court to the emperor, and to look after his sons there, whom he found every way accomplish'd, in the understanding both of letters and business. Cesar treated him with singular humanity and honour, and deliver'd the young princes back to their father, much improv'd to what they were when he receiv'd them. They were well made, tall and graceful, and had something so taking in their conversation and behaviour, that discover'd the excellency of their minds was not inferior in proportion to the agreeableness of their persons: and taking all together, there appear'd somewhat of a royal dignity in whatever they did. When Herod had paid his compliment, he took leave of Cesar, and went back with his charge; where they were no sooner arriv'd, but all people were gazing upon them with joy and admiration. This did not please Salome the king's sister, nor any of her accomplices in the ruin of Mariamne; for they looked upon them with jealousy and envy in their hearts, and as instruments that Providence had preserv'd, and rais'd up to revenge the death of their mother. Fill'd with these invidious reflections, they made it their business

Herod takes a journey to Rome.

Cesar graciously receives him, and restores him his two sons.

Herod takes his sons back to Jerusalem.

Salome and her accomplices startled at it.

Herod not to
be mov'd by
calumnies.

business to asperse them by spreading scandalous calumnies and suggestions. "The sons, (they said) would never endure the conversation of their father, after the dipping his hands in the innocent blood of their mother." They found, in short, that there was no way to work upon the father against the sons, but by slanderous insinuations; and that was the course, therefore, they resolved to put in practice. They did not however think it prudent to talk at this rate to the king himself; but they left the poison to work rather in wandering hints and rumours among the people, making no doubt, but some way or other it would come to the king's ear at last, and probably create in him such an aversion to his sons, as would utterly destroy the natural affection of a father.

CHAP. II.

Herod marries Aristobulus to Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra. Agrippa gives Herod a visit.

Herod mar-
ries Aristobu-
lus to Be-
renice, and
Alexander to
Glaphyra.

THIS conspiracy of Salome and her confederates had wrought nothing as yet upon the confidence and paternal affection of Herod towards his sons; but he continu'd to treat them with all possible kindness, honour and respect, and without any suspicion or reserve. The first thing he did was to match them into princely families; Aristobulus to Berenice the daughter of Salome; and Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

Agrippa
gives Herod
a visit.

BEING given to understand by this time, that Marcus Agrippa was gone back again out of Italy into Asia, he went over to him, and gave him a generous and friendly invitation to come and visit him in his kingdom. The favour being accepted, there was nothing wanting in Herod's part that might contribute to Agrippa's welcome and satisfaction. He shew'd him all the glorious cities and palaces that he had lately built, or repair'd; carrying him to Sebaste, the port of Cesarea, and the forts of Alexandrion, Herodion, Hyrcania, &c. where he treated Agrippa and his friends with all the splendor and magnificence imaginable. After this tour, he conducted him to Jerusalem, where he was received by the whole multitude with the joy, pomp, and acclamations of a solemn festival: Agrippa, to crown the work, dedicating to God the sacrifice of a Hecatomb, and feasting the people. He was so well pleas'd with his journey, and his entertainment, that he would fain have staid longer; but winter coming on, and those seas being dangerous, he embark'd with his troops for Ionia, laden with honours and presents.

CHAP. III.

Herod takes shipping for Lesbos; but is forced by contrary winds upon Chios. He finds out Agrippa at Sinope, a city of Pontus. The greeting of the two princes; who pass together to Samos. The good offices Herod did Agrippa by the way.

WHEN Herod had pass'd the winter at home, he took another voyage upon the opening of the spring to find out Agrippa; who according to his intelligence was gone

with an army toward the Bosphorus. Herod took shipping for Lesbos, where he supposed he might meet with him; but after he had pass'd Rhodes and Coos, he was driven by a north wind upon the isle of Chios, where he was forc'd to lie by for some days. Here he received the compliments of a great many visitants whom at their return home he dismiss'd with royal presents; and taking notice of several publick buildings that lay yet in ruins ever since the Mithridatick war, for want of money to repair them, he gave them credit for a sum sufficient to do the work, with an express charge immediately to set about it, and finish it the first thing they did.

Herod takes
shipping for
Lesbos, in
hope to find
Agrippa
there; driven
by contrary
winds upon
the Chios.

He repairs
the buildings
that were
ruin'd by
Mithridates.

THE wind coming now about, Herod set sail, first to Mitylene, then to Byzantium; and hearing that Agrippa had already pass'd the Cyanean rocks, he made after him with all the speed he could, and join'd him at Sinope, a city of Pontus, Agrippa little dreaming of such a friend, and such a fleet so near him. His coming, in short, was so seasonable, and the greeting of the two princes reciprocally so tender and hearty, that nothing could be more demonstrative of an honourable faith and friendship, than for one prince to postpone his own business and upon such an urgent occasion too, for the service of another. So that Herod and Agrippa were, in effect, all one, in their arms, labours, hazards, and counsels: and they were both as one in their delights and pleasures too: in difficulties, out of kindness; and in their diversions, out of respect. When Agrippa had dispatch'd what he came for in Pontus, he took his way back again over land, and so they pass'd through paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Parygia, to Ephesus, and thence by sea to Samos. Herod's magnificence and generosity was remarkable by the many good offices he did upon the way; as well by the power he had with Agrippa, as by large donatives and charities, at his own expence wherever there was occasion for it. There was hardly a town they pass'd, but Herod prevail'd with Agrippa for somewhat or other in their favour: upon whose mediation nothing was deny'd. Agrippa, 'tis true, was in his own disposition a friend, even to mankind, where he could oblige any one man without wronging another; but it was not amiss yet, to have such a remembrancer and intercessor as Herod was, ready at hand; over and above the natural bias of so friendly an inclination. At the instance of Herod, Agrippa pardon'd the Iliensians, against whom he was highly provoked. He paid an arrear for the people of Chios, that they had incurr'd to the emperor; procur'd them privileges; and in one word, he did all the good he could wherever he came.

He finds out
Agrippa at
Sinope, a city
of Pontus.
The tender
greeting of
the two
princes.

Herod and
Agrippa both
at one.

They pass
together to
Samos.

The good of-
fices Herod
did by the
way.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews in Ionia complain of the natives. Agrippa gives them a hearing, and assigns them council: Nicolaus being entertain'd for the Jews. The grievances complain'd of. Several decrees of the senate in favour of the Jews. They argue upon Cesar's merit, and Agrippa declares for them.

UPON their coming into Ionia, there was a mighty concourse of Jews of that province

The Jews in Ionia complain against the natives.

Agrippa grants them a hearing, and assigns them council.

Nicolaus of council for the Jews.

province gotten together upon that occasion, with complaints against the natives for breaking in upon them in the exercise of their laws and worship; their officers dragging them from their meetings to their courts of justice; and putting a stop to the holy treasure that should be sent to Jerusalem; forcing them to bear arms and pay publick duties out of their bare subsistence-money; contrary to common faith, and to the liberties and exemptions granted them by the Romans. Herod laid hold of this opportunity of doing the Jews a service, and so prevail'd with Agrippa to grant the plaintiffs a hearing; assigning them one Nicolaus, a particular friend of his, for their council. There was a court call'd upon this occasion, Agrippa himself being present, together with a bench of honourable Romans, several princes, and other great men; the advocate opening the cause after this manner:

"WHITHER, most illustrious Agrippa, should the miserable and oppressed fly for sanctuary and relief, but to those princes that are able to protect and to relieve them? this is the case of your humble supplicants; and we must presume to appeal from your authority to your justice, in a full confidence of your royal goodness; for we have nothing more to desire at present, than the possession and enjoyment of what you yourselves have granted us already, and which our fellow-subjects are now endeavouring to take from us. If the favours we enjoy be great, we doubt not but you will now think us as worthy to keep them, as you found us before to receive them. If the benefit be small, it reflects upon your honour to imagine that you are not able to make it good: neither is this a greater injury to us, than it is an indignity to yourselves in the contempt of your judgment, and in the disappointment of your pious intentions. If it were put to these very people, whether they would rather part with their lives, or with their laws, customs, discipline, sacrifices, festivals, &c. in honour of their Gods, I think, with submission, one may safely answer for them, that they would chuse the former. It is a common thing to take up arms for religion: and what is the great blessing of the peace and freedom the world enjoys under the Roman empire, but that every honest man may live and worship after his own way? what pretence is there for people to impose that upon others, which they will not submit to themselves? as if it were not all one whether we hinder another man from doing his duty, or neglect our own. It is a thing farther to be consider'd that there is no city, people or nation extant, that does not depend upon the administration, and the power of Rome, for all the happiness they can pretend to? will any thing now but a madman, reckon it his interest to frustrate your bounties, when every man living, some way or other shall be a loser by it? our enemies are not aware of it, that while they labour to invalidate our rights, they destroy their own: for why should the same concessions be good to them, and void to us; and that inestimable privilege among the rest, of living at ease and liberty, under the protection of the Roman emperors, while several other

nations lie groaning in a state of servitude at the mercy of rigorous kings? neither is ours, at the best, a condition to be envy'd; for as to other matters, we desire nothing more than a common share of advantage with the rest of our fellow-subjects; provided we may but be allow'd to worship God after the manner of our forefathers: which, as it is innocent in itself on the one hand; so it is for the service of those that permit it, on the other: for God does not only love those that worship him themselves, but those also that encourage the worship of him in others. What is there in our way of holy offices that any sober man can take offence at? or in truth, that is not in all respects agreeable to piety and justice? we make no difficulty of owning the rules and precepts of our lives and profession. The seventh day is a day of rest from all our labours, and a day that we set apart for the study of the law, as a discipline that much conduces to the rectifying of our manners. Now these customs of ours are not only blameless in themselves, even upon the strictest examination of them, but venerable even for their antiquity; (all evils to the contrary notwithstanding) so that there can be no place of controverting the authority of laws that have stood the test of so many ages. The injuries we complain of are these. They sacrilegiously make seizure of monies dedicated to holy uses: they impose taxes upon people that ought in right to pay none. They hurry them up and down to courts of justice and other common attendances, upon our days of solemnity and religious worship: and for no other end, but to turn out piety and devotion to scorn: and these practices they know in their hearts to be all unwarrantable and causeless. Your wisdom consults indifferently the common welfare of all your people, in the promoting of peace, and the preventing of feuds. It is against these injuries, most excellent Agrippa, that we crave to be relieved, and that we may be allow'd the same liberty hereafter in our lives and conversations, that we have enjoy'd heretofore; and that our adversaries may have no more advantage over us than we pretend to over them. We take this to be a justice, not only in the reason of the thing, but in the right which your goodness has given us to it by declaring in our favour; to which purpose, there are at this day to be seen in the capitol several decrees of the senate in tables of brass, for the perpetual memory of the thing. These monumental records were undoubtedly grounded upon the experiment of our faith and loyalty to the state; beside that the obligation would be yet sacred and inviolable, even without any antecedent merit on our part; for your generous goodness hath been ever so far from lessening or revoking the bounties you have once bestow'd (and that not only to us, but to all mortals) that it hath been your practice, rather to amplify and enlarge them, even beyond all thought and expectation, as I could give instances abundantly, if my time would bear it. But not to value ourselves too much upon our own services, let our royal master's good offices

" speak

The grievances complained of.

Several decrees of the senate in favour of the Jews.

The council argues upon Herod's merit.

Agrippa declares for the Jews, confirming their claims, and assuring of protection.

" speak for us. Where did he ever fail, to
 " the uttermost of his power, to oblige your
 " nation? Has not his faith and zeal for your
 " interest been try'd over and over? Has he
 " not made the advancing of your honour his
 " business and his study? Were your affairs
 " ever in any difficulty, and he not espouse
 " them as his own? so that if it were but for
 " our king's sake, we might pretend to some
 " sort of consideration. We must not forget
 " the services of his father Antipater neither,
 " nor the enforcement of two thousand aux-
 " iliaries that he brought to Cesar in Egypt,
 " where his behaviour was so signally brave,
 " and so much to the advantage of the em-
 " pire, that he had the reputation of being
 " not inferior to any man living, either at sea
 " or at land, for conduct and courage. We
 " might appeal to the glorious presents that
 " Cesar made him, or rather to the letters re-
 " commendatory that he wrote to the senate
 " in his favour upon this occasion, by which
 " he obtained for him the privilege of a citi-
 " zen of Rome, with other additional ho-
 " nours. This single argument, great prince,
 " might be sufficient, even of itself, to evince
 " that those favours were at first well be-
 " stow'd, which we are now imploring may
 " be confirm'd; beside that considering the
 " present league of friendship betwixt your-
 " self and our royal sovereign, we do rather
 " hope for an augmentation of your bounty,
 " than fear any abatement of it. I might en-
 " large upon your holy vows and sacrifices at
 " Jerusalem, the splendor of your entertain-
 " ments, and the satisfaction you were pleased
 " to own in the reciprocal exchange of offices
 " of hospitality and respect, which were all
 " evident proofs of an affectionate tenderness,
 " and an amicable understanding betwixt the
 " Jews and the Romans, confirm'd and rati-
 " fied under the very roof of the king him-
 " self. Now our final request to the majesty
 " of Agrippa, and in the presence of the king
 " of the Jews too, is only this; that we may
 " reap the fruits of your own bounty, without
 " being depriv'd of it by the fraudulent ma-
 " lice of others."

To this discourse of Nicolaus none of the
 Greeks made any reply; for it was not a ju-
 dicial trial of right, but a petitionary com-
 plaint only, to get the grievance remov'd.
 They could not deny the fact; but the Jews,
 they said, were strangers, and would be a bur-
 den to them, who insist'd upon it on the other
 hand, that they were no strangers, but a peo-
 ple that liv'd in their own way, without of-
 fence to God or man.

Agrippa de-
 clares for the
 Jews, con-
 firming their
 claims, and
 assuring them
 of protection.

WHEN Agrippa came to understand how
 they were oppress'd, he declar'd himself in
 their favour, as well for the justice of their
 cause, as out of the respect he bore to Herod;
 and that he thought their desires so reasonable,
 that if they had been much larger, he should
 have complied with them, so far at least as
 would have consist'd with his duty to the
 state of Rome. " But since I find them so
 " moderate, says he, in their demands, as to
 " content themselves with the ratification of
 " what is already confer'd upon them, I do
 " here pronounce a confirmation of the claim
 " they make to these privileges; and take it
 " further upon myself, that so long as they
 " keep themselves within the bounds of their

" discipline and profession, they shall have
 " no more trouble of this kind for the future."
 With these words he dismiss'd the convention,
 and upon the breaking of it up, Herod gave
 Agrippa infinite thanks in the name of the
 whole nation; and so with an interchange of
 mutual endearments and embraces betwixt the
 two princes, they both left Lesbos.

CHAP. V.

*Herod embarks for Cesarea. He calls an assembly
 at Jerusalem, and tells the people what hath
 been done for them in Asia.*

HEROD, upon parting, put to sea with
 a fair wind for Cesarea, where he ar-
 riv'd; from whence in a few days afterwards
 he came to Jerusalem, where he assembled the
 Jews immediately, strangers as well as citi-
 zens, and gave them an account of his expe-
 dition, and the great services he had done
 their friends in Asia, where they were at that
 time free and easy in their persons and in their
 religion. He did not forget to mind them nei-
 ther, how they had prosper'd under his govern-
 ment; and that he had no other interest in what
 he did, but the well-being of his subjects. And
 for a further instance of his goodness, he did
 at the same time discharge them of a fourth
 part of their tribute. These fair words, as
 they were attended with suitable effects, cheer'd
 the hearts of the people, and sent them away
 with acclamations in their mouths, and the
 wishes of all glory and prosperity to the king.

Herod em-
 barks for Ce-
 sarea. He calls an
 assembly at
 Jerusalem,
 and tells the
 people what
 had been
 done for
 them in Asia.

CHAP. VI.

*Salome's plot upon the two princes. Two factions
 countermining one another. Artificial calum-
 nies. Salome and Pheroras irritate Herod
 against his own son. Herod treats Antipater
 as his next successor. Antipater endeavours to
 supplant his brothers. Herod open and credu-
 lous, and the brothers unwary. Herod's re-
 venge upon Alexander and Aristobulus. The
 mother of Antipater sent for to court. Anti-
 pater waits upon Agrippa to Rome.*

WHILE these things were a doing abroad,
 malicious heart-burnings and animosi-
 ties were fomented at home by the practice of
 Salome upon the two young princes, whom she
 hated mortally; and taking courage from the
 success of her calumnies upon the mother, she
 proceeded with the greater confidence in her
 design upon the sons, and with this view too,
 not to leave one alive that might be in a con-
 dition to revenge the blood of that innocent
 lady; and the design was not carried on with-
 out some sort of colour neither; for the young
 men did not behave themselves so respectfully
 toward their father as they should have done;
 partly out of an indignation for the violence
 committed upon the person of their mother,
 and partly out of an ambition to get the rule
 into their own hands. The factions were now
 at work, betwixt reviving old grudges and
 creating new ones. The sons rail'd in down-
 right scurrility at Salome and Pheroras; and
 they on the other side as spitefully, but more
 slyly undermin'd the brothers; so that though
 there

Salome's plot
 and practice
 upon the two
 princes,

Who were
 not so wary
 as they should
 have been.

Two factions
 countermin-
 ing one an-
 other.

Artificial calumnies against the two brothers.

there was no love lost, they had different ways yet of expressing their hatred; for the princes either in heat of youth, or in consideration of their education and quality, made no scruple openly to shew and express their resentment. But the other made way to the execution of their malice by artifice and disguise, provoking the young men to extravagancies of language, on purpose to ensnare them. "They took it for an honour, they said, to be the sons of such a mother;" insisting upon it still, that she was basely murder'd. Now these words were a sufficient ground for a calumnious jealousy to work upon; for they would bear the construction of deliberating upon a revenge with their own hands. This was now become the talk of the whole town; and while every body else pitied the young men for the dangerous liberties they took of talking at that desperate rate, Salome made her advantage of their indiscretions, and improv'd them to her own ends. They would be saying commonly in the heat of their impatience for the loss of their mother, "That next to the miserable fate of that unhappy princess, they look'd upon their own circumstances to be the most deplorable of all others, in the necessity of cohabiting with the murderers, and in some measure becoming partakers of the crime, by communicating with their company."

Salome and Pheroras caution Herod against his own sons, and insinuate a conspiracy against the father's life.

HEROD's absence all this while was a great advantage to the managers of this intrigue. But soon after his return now, and the harangue that I told you of, Salome and Pheroras were presently at work upon him, with cautions and insinuations of the danger he was in from his own sons, and how they made their publick boasts that the murderers of their mother should never escape scot free. To this they added a feign'd story of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; and how they depended upon his interest with Cesar to assist them in the prosecution of their father. This wrought the more sensibly upon Herod, because he heard the same things over and over again from several hands. Upon this occasion he could not but call to mind the miseries he had already endured by factions in his family, even to the depriving him of his beloved friends, and the dearest wife in nature. Tormented with these reflections, and taking the measure of things to come, by things past, the prospect before him was so confounding, that he had no longer the use of his reason. He was, in short, fortunate abroad, beyond all thought or imagination, and no less wretched at home; inasmuch, that considering both extremes, it may be a question whether the glory of his prosperous condition in the world was sufficient to balance the calamities he suffer'd in the disorders of his family; and whether he might not have been a happier man in a private state betwixt both.

WHILE he was now casting about what measures to take, he bethought himself of taking another son he had, that he brought up privately into his family, and there to entertain him with honour and respect; proposing by this means to take down the insolent ambition of his sons; his name was Antipater. Now Herod had no thought at first of putting the government into this young man's

hand (as out of an over-fondness afterward he did) but he betook himself to this expedient by way of trial, to see if he could by these means put a check upon the insolencies of Mariamne's children, and bring them to better reason, when they should find that let, them do what they would, the government should not want a successor. In this contemplation Herod treated Antipater with a countenance of authority and trust, and as the next pretender to the crown; making no doubt all this while of reducing his other sons by this method, within the bounds of modesty and duty. But it fell out quite otherwise; for they resented it as an affront; so that instead of a curb, it prov'd a provocation. Antipater being highly advanc'd in his father's affections, and so much beyond his expectation too, resolv'd to maintain his ground, and not be out-rival'd by either of his brothers; to which end he labour'd with all his might by tales and calumnies to render them odious to their father, who was in truth so credulous and open to those ill offices and impressions, that he easily gain'd his point to his own wish, and wrought him into an aversion that grew every day more implacable than other. His heart was so set upon this project, that he scarce thought of any thing else. However, that he might not seem to have any hand in the accusation of his brothers, he guarded against uttering any disrespectful language against them; for he manag'd his design by such other instruments as he knew the king would give credit to, and as he might safely depend upon himself. Antipater was now look'd upon as the rising son, and court made to him accordingly, as the ready way to preferment; his party covering the whole practice still with a pretended zeal for the service of Herod. The confidants of this secret being all true to the plot, made advantage of the young men's impotences in heat and passion, who laid themselves now opener than before; breaking out by fits into tears and exclamations, fierce remonstrances of the intolerable wrongs and affronts that they endur'd; calling out in the bitterness of their hearts upon the ghost of their innocent mother, and charging their father, in plain terms, with manifest injustice. Now all these intemperances were watch'd and observ'd by the accomplices of Antipater, and then carried to Herod, with improvements and additions, to widen the breach. These incendiaries had so exasperated the king, that he reveng'd himself upon Alexander and Aristobulus, by heaping more and more honours and favours upon Antipater; who, in the conclusion, so far prevail'd upon Herod, that he got his mother sent for to court, and commendatory letters to Cesar for himself, much to his credit and advantage. And finally, upon Agrippa's return to Rome, after ten years administration in Asia, Herod made a voyage by sea, to compliment him upon the way, and took only Antipater, of all his sons, along with him, together with many rich presents; and upon parting, he begg'd the favour of Agrippa, that his son might wait upon him to Rome, and be there introduc'd by him to Cesar. This was to shew that all was done now by Antipater, to the exclusion of his two brothers.

Herod treats Antipater as his next successor.

Antipater endeavours to supplant his brothers. Herod is open and credulous.

The brothers unwary and passionate.

Herod revenges himself upon Alexander and Aristobulus, by being kind to Antipater. The mother of Antipater sent for to court.

Antipater waits upon Agrippa to Rome.

C H A P. VII.

Herod appeals to Cesar in the case of his sons. The tender and generous behaviour of the brothers.

Antipater's journey to Rome much to his honour and advantage.

Herod appeals to Cesar in the case of his sons.

THIS voyage of Antipater to Rome, especially accompanied with his father's letters and commendations to all his friends there, turn'd exceedingly to his honour and advantage. The only thing that troubled him was, that being now out of the way, he could not so conveniently impose upon his father with calumnies against his brothers, as when he was at his elbow, which gave him not a little trouble, for fear he might possibly come to change his mind, and be brought over to terms of more moderation toward the children of Mariamne. This thought was still uppermost in his head; but he pursued his first point still; and what he could not now do by word of mouth, he supplied by spiteful letters to keep up the evil humour, upon the pretext of being wonderfully in pain for his father's safety, when he was, in truth, working his way all this while by under-hand practices to possess himself of the government, having already transported Herod to such a degree of displeasure, that his sons had not in the world a greater enemy. But this unnatural rigour was not yet without some intervals of reluctance; so that for fear of doing any rash thing in his anger, especially in the case of a father and his children, he took up a resolution of another journey to Rome, and there openly to exhibit an accusation against his sons to Cesar; but missing him at Rome, he follow'd him to Aquileia; where Herod, upon an application to him for leave to bring an unhappy cause before him, produced his two sons, and charg'd them not only with insolence, but an attempt to poison him; aggravating the malice and the horror of the wickedness to the degree of a conspiracy against the crown and dignity of their father; and all this, notwithstanding the licence Cesar had given him to leave the succession to which of the sons he pleas'd, or to him of the two that he should find most dutiful; nay, and in case of their failing of the sovereignty themselves, they would be content even with the single death of their father, though with the uttermost peril of their own lives in the procuring of it; so inhuman, says he, and so impious is the rancour that is settled in the minds of these young men; adding how long he had born these indignities; which he was now at last enforced even against duty and good manners, to obtrude upon Cesar's ear and patience. But what have I done, says he, to deserve this? whom have I wrong'd? or with what face shall any man pretend to dispossess a prince so long settled in the exercise of a power acquired by so many hazards? or to bar him the liberty of devising it, at death, to him that shall by his faithful piety best deserve it? This would be reasonable, if it were but to provoke a generous emulation, and to make virtue the way to honour, especially when 'tis against religion and nature, so much as to entertain so leud a thought; for whoever wishes himself on his father's throne, wishes the other dead, in regard that the one cannot succeed, while the other's living. Can they pretend, says he, that ever I was wanting to them in any of-

fice becoming a gracious prince, or an indulgent father, either in matter of state, retinue, curiosities, or the like? Have I not match'd them to princesses of the first quality? Aristobulus to the daughter of my own sister, and Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; nay, which is more than all the rest, when I might have punish'd them by my own authority, I have rather appealed to Cesar, the common patron and benefactor of us all; and setting aside the authority of a prince, and of a father, over these treacherous violaters of their duty, I have now set myself upon a level with my subjects and children, to be determin'd by Cesar, only with this request to his imperial majesty, that so enormous a wickedness may not pass unpunish'd, and I myself stand condemn'd to spend the remainder of my days in a restless anxiety of apprehension. These wretches deserve certainly never to see the light again, after so audacious an affront, upon the most sacred rights of society and human nature.

WHEN Herod had deliver'd his charge (and with warmth enough too) the young princes that could not forbear weeping all the while he was a speaking, burst out into a flood of tears, upon the finishing of his discourse; not as conscious of any crime, but out of an honourable sense of piety to see their father their accuser; with this prospect before them, that they must either contest the cause, or abandon their own integrity; the former being undecent, and the other unsafe. In this hesitation and suspense, they betook themselves to sighs and tears, without one word speaking; and this silence, they were afraid, would be taken for guilt, when in truth it was only want of practice and assurance, being unwonted to speak before such an auditory. Cesar made a right judgment of the matter, and so did the whole assembly; who were all mov'd, to the highest degree of tenderness and compassion, and the accuser himself among the rest.

The tender and generous behaviour of the brothers.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander's address and defence. The two brothers clear'd. Herod presents Augustus; and Augustus presents Herod in return. Herod goes back with his sons to Judea, and meets Archelaus at Eleusa. He calls a council at Jerusalem, and declares his successor.

IT was by this time evident, that Cesar and Herod were both tenderly affected to these unfortunate princes; insomuch that several there present wept in pity for them. So soon as they came to take notice of this favourable disposition, Alexander, the elder of the two, address'd himself to his father upon the subject of their charge as follows:

"Sir, we cannot but take it for a clear evidence of your good intentions toward us, that you have brought us to this place before so great and just a judge, and so gracious a prince, for the decision of our cause, without employing either your regal or paternal power over your own children and people. But in transferring us to Rome, and by way of an appeal to Cesar too, it is given manifestly to understand that you have a desire and purpose to preserve us; for men do not

Alexander's address and defence.

" use to carry those to temples and altars,
 " whom they intend to destroy. But yet af-
 " ter all this, for an aggravation of our mis-
 " fortune, we are conscious to ourselves that
 " we are not worthy to live, had we been
 " guilty of any thing that look's like disloyal-
 " ty or ingratitude toward so good a father;
 " and we had much rather die innocent, than
 " survive the scandal of such a suspicion. If
 " providence shall enable us to defend the
 " truth, the proof of our innocence will be a
 " much greater comfort to us than the deli-
 " verance of our persons; but if calumny
 " should prevail, a life under those infamous
 " circumstances would be worse than a thou-
 " sand deaths. The pretext of an ambitious
 " design upon the government, is well enough
 " accommodated to the intemperate heats of
 " young men; and the instance of our unfor-
 " tunate mother furnishes more colour for it.
 " But whose case, I beseech you, Sir, may
 " not this be as well as ours; and why may
 " not the children of all other princes under
 " our circumstances, be charged with the same
 " design, if suspicion shall pass for a proof?
 " For here is only an invidious accusation,
 " without the least shadow of any evidence of
 " presumption, or so much as a probability to
 " support it. Why is not the poison itself,
 " or the accomplices and the instruments of the
 " practice produced? Where are the con-
 " spirators, the conspiracy, the bribery, or
 " the defamatory letters? But the whole
 " story, in fine, is invention and slander, with-
 " out any countenance to give it credit. A
 " divided court, 'tis true, is a great misfor-
 " tune; but the hope of preferment, which
 " you are pleased to call the reward of vir-
 " tue, proves an incentive many times to all
 " sorts of wickedness; nay, we insist so far
 " upon our integrity, that we defy the whole
 " earth to disprove us. As for scandals, there's
 " no refuting them, where the ear is open to
 " the calumny, and deaf to the defence. If
 " we have talk'd at large, it was not meant
 " against yourself, Sir, (which would have
 " ill-becom'd us) but against your tale-bearers.
 " If we have passionately lamented the loss
 " of our dear mother, it was not purely for
 " the death itself, but out of a zeal to the
 " honour of her memory, which we found
 " blasted where she least deserv'd it. And to
 " what end again should we aspire to the go-
 " vernment in the life-time of our father?
 " for if we do already enjoy the honours be-
 " longing to the royal family, (as effectually
 " we do) what have we farther to struggle
 " for? Or if we are at present barr'd of our
 " right, may we not yet presume to wish and
 " hope for't? Can it be imagin'd that ever
 " the murderers, in such an instance as this,
 " should set up for successors, when sea and
 " land, after so flagitious a villany, would
 " conspire to ruin them? How would it con-
 " sist with the piety of the subjects, or with
 " the religion of the country, to set up par-
 " ricides for kings, and to see the holy tem-
 " ple that you yourself erected to the great
 " God, prophaned by the basest of assassins?
 " Or, all other considerations apart, how
 " should any man think to destroy Herod,
 " the emperor yet living, and not fall under
 " the power and justice of Cesar? We are
 " not such fools and profligates as we are said

" to be, but the misfortune of our family, ra-
 " ther than the scandal. Now if there ap-
 " pears nothing against us, upon any colour-
 " able pretence, where is the ground of the
 " accusation that exposes us for such impious
 " wretches? As to the death of our mother,
 " 'tis a consideration to make us rather cau-
 " tious than outrageous. We might multiply
 " words endlessly; but there's no need of ex-
 " cusing a thing that never was done; where-
 " fore we have only this now to beg of the
 " mighty Cesar, and at present our sovereign
 " judge, that if you can, Sir, in your con-
 " science, discharge us of any farther suspi-
 " cion for the future, we may be allow'd to
 " live, how miserable soever; for what can
 " be more grievous than to lie under the im-
 " putation, even though falsely, of the most
 " horrid of crimes! But if you go on sus-
 " pecting us, the torments of our own thoughts
 " will do our business, without your help;
 " for we are not so fond of life, as to think
 " of preserving it to the trouble of him from
 " whom we receiv'd it."

THE accusation was so extravagant, that
 Cesar gave no great credence to it from the
 very beginning; but when he came to reflect
 upon the honesty and frankness of Alexander's
 defence, and the change of countenance he
 observ'd in Herod, he was more and more
 confirm'd in an opinion that the young princes
 had been traduc'd. The whole court, in short,
 was mightily in pain for them, and not with-
 out hard thoughts of the king himself, for so
 rash and violent a prosecution; so that what
 with the nonsense of the story, and the trouble
 they were in to see the lives of two such lovely
 youths in danger, they resolv'd, one and all, to
 do them the best offices they could, especially
 after so sober a reply to so provoking a charge;
 the princes still continuing in the same posture
 of modesty and sadness, with down-cast eyes,
 waiting for the issue, which was not altoge-
 ther hopeless in the conclusion; for the king
 himself discover'd a kind of conscious confu-
 sion in his looks; as who should say, what
 temerity have I been guilty of to bring such a
 cause as this in debate before Cesar, without bet-
 ter proof! Cesar took notice of all these things;
 and after a short pause of deliberation, deli-
 ver'd himself to this effect: "That the sons
 " were in some sort to blame to give their fa-
 " ther any cause of jealousy; but that, upon
 " the main, he acquitted them so far, that he
 " pronounced them innocent; desiring Herod
 " at the same time to forgive and forget,
 " without any farther distrust, and so to make
 " a final end of the controversy, as being a
 " most unreasonable thing for a father to en-
 " courage ill offices against his own children;
 " telling him farther, that things would
 " mend in time, and all breaches be intirely
 " made up, if they could but once come to
 " a mutual confidence, and a fair understand-
 " ing one with another." After this declara-
 " tion of himself, upon that occasion, he beck-
 " on'd to the brothers to come forward, and as
 " they were advancing with tears in their eyes,
 " and submission in their hearts, and upon the
 " very point of casting themselves at their fa-
 " ther's feet, the king with infinite tenderness
 " took them into his arms, one after the other,
 " and prevented them. The surprize of this
 " unexpected encounter drew tears of joy from
 " the

The two bro-
 thers clear'd.

the whole company; after which greeting, and the payment of their dutiful acknowledgments to Augustus, Herod and his two sons went their way together, taking Antipater along with them; the most joy'd man in the world, as he pretended, at this reconciliation.

Herod presents Augustus, and Augustus presents Herod in return.

SOME few days after this, Herod, while Augustus was treating the people with spectacles and doles, made Cesar a present of three * hundred talents; who in requital bestow'd upon him one moiety of the profits of the mines of Cyprus, and the disposition of the other, with several honourable bounties and commissions, over and above. He gave him liberty also to appoint which of his sons he pleas'd for his successor; or otherwise to divide the government betwixt them, which he lik'd best. Now Cesar finding him ready to comply, put only this bar upon him, that he should not resign the government in his own life-time, but keep his kingdom in his power as well as his children.

Herod goes back with his sons to Judea.

THIS was the posture of affairs when Herod returned with his three sons for Judea. The people at Trachonitis, a considerable part of that kingdom, had in his absence revolted, it seems; but by the vigilance and good government of the officers he had left behind him, they were reduced to their duty. As Herod and his sons were upon their voyage, coming to Eleusa, a city of Cilicia, now called Sebaste, they found there Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; who was even overjoy'd to see Herod and his sons so well reconciled, and to understand that his son-in-law Alexander had acquitted himself upon his trial with so much honour. Archelaus, in fine, received Herod with all humanity imaginable; and so after a reciprocal exchange of endearments and presents, the two kings parted. Herod immediately upon his arrival at Jerusalem, called the people together into the temple, and there entertain'd them with an account of his expedition: and when he had run thro' the history of the honours Cesar had done him, and other passages that he had a mind they should know, he turn'd his discourse at last to his sons, with a particular recommendation of peace and unity, as well to the court as to the common people; "declaring to them in form, that he appointed his sons to be his successors; Antipater, in the first place; and after him, Alexander and Aristobulus in their order. But during my life, (says he) you are to own no other lord and master than myself. I speak this to my family with my officers and people of all sorts, whether military or civil. Make this the measure of your allegiance, as ever you hope for one happy hour. I shall grow in years, 'tis true, but that will be rather an advantage than an incapacity; for age brings experience, and experience teaches men wisdom, which can only fit a man for the functions of government; especially accompany'd with other necessary circumstances for a political administration." With these words he finish'd his speech, and

He meets Archelaus at Eleusa.

He calls a council at Jerusalem, and declares his successor.

discharg'd the assembly. Some were well enough pleas'd with it, others as much the contrary; for upon the casting of this bone of emulation among the sons, matters look'd already toward a change.

CHAP. IX.

Cesarea finish'd. The solemnity of the dedication. The Certamen Quinquennale. Herod builds Capharsaba, Cypron, Phasael, &c. Rebuilds the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and settles an annuity for the olympick games. The character of Herod.

THE city of Cesarea was now finish'd, in the tenth year from the laying of its foundation, in the 28th of Herod's reign, and and in the Olympiad one hundred ninety two. The dedication of it was celebrated with all the magnificence and splendor imaginable: masters procur'd from all parts, and the best that could be gotten too in all faculties and exercises; as musicians, wrestlers, swordsmen, and the like; and these in their several professions, to play their prizes. They had their horse-races also, and several sorts of wild beasts, with all other varieties of spectacle and entertainment that were in vogue, either at Rome or elsewhere. This solemnity was instituted to the honour of Cesar, under the appellation of Certamen Quinquennale; and the ceremony to be exhibited every fifth year. It was a prodigious charge that the king was at for the furnishing of this pompous shew, in curiosities from all quarters far and near; beside what Julia, the wife of Cesar contributed toward it upon her own account, and in expensive rarities out of Italy, computed at about five † hundred talents upon the whole: over and above the vast multitudes of people that flock'd thither upon this occasion, and divers embassadors from abroad out of a compliment to Herod, which were all entertain'd, treated and diverted at the king's cost, with spectacles by day, and sumptuous feasting and jollities by night, to the infinite reputation of his character for a generous and a magnanimous prince. He made it all his business, in fine, to out-do himself, and by the splendor of every succeeding action, to darken the glory of the former: insomuch that both Cesar and Agrippa had been often heard to say, that he deserved the government both of Syria and Egypt, to be added to his province; for that the command and revenue of Judea was too narrow for his soul.

Cesarea finish'd. The dedication of it celebrated with all manner of plays, spectacles, and games.

The Certamen Quinquennale.

WHEN the solemnity of this festival was over, he set himself to the building of another city, upon a plain call'd Capharsaba, a spot of ground that was most deliciously provided with wood and water; a pleasant river about it, and a grove with a delicate plantation of curious trees near the place. He gave this town the name of Antipatris, from Antipater his father: and he built after this a castle beyond Jericho, which he call'd Cypris,

Herod builds Capharsaba, Cypron, Phasael, &c.

* Three hundred talents weigh'd thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; and their value in silver amounted to one hundred two thousand, six hundred and fifty six pounds, five shillings; and in gold to one million, six hundred forty two thousand, five hundred pounds, English money.

† Five hundred talents weigh'd fifty seven thousand thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to an hundred seventy one thousand, ninety three pounds, fifteen shillings; and in gold to two millions, seven hundred thirty seven thousand, five hundred pounds of our money.

from the name of his mother; a sweet delightful feat well built and fortify'd: not forgetting his beloved brother all this while; to the honour of whose memory he dedicated several glorious and monumental structures; as in the first place a tower in the city itself, not inferior for strength and largeness to the Alexandrian Pharos, to which he gave the name of Phasaël; after which he erected a town upon the north-side of the valley of Jericho, which he called by the same name. By this means, the country round about, that was before abandon'd, came to be peopled again, and was called the Province of the Phasaelites.

It would be endless to run through the history of all his bounties in Syria, Greece, and, in truth, wherever he came, by giving his assistance to some; advancing publick works for others; and supplying monies elsewhere, for the perfecting of what some had begun, and could not go thorough with.

He rebuilds the temple of the Pythian Apollo. But to come to the most magnificent and illustrious of all his undertakings, there was the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Rhodes, that he rebuilt upon his own particular account, conferring a great many talents of free gift, on the Rhodians for the building of so many ships. Another vast sum he gave for the repairing and finishing of several publick edifices in the city of Nicopolis, which was erected by Cesar, near Actium. He built two galleries in Antioch (which is the largest city of Syria) that went quite cross the town, with a walk betwixt them. These galleries were gloriously adorn'd, and the streets pav'd with a smooth polish'd stone, both for the ornament of the place, and for the convenience of the inhabitants.

and settles an annuity for the Olympian games.

The character of Herod,

He set apart also a yearly allowance out of his own revenue toward the maintenance of the olympick games, which began now to sink in their reputation, for want of a maintenance to bear the charge of sacrifices and pompous expences, suitable to such a meeting: by which munificence he got the name of a perpetual master of the revels.

But after all this, there never was any man perhaps made up of so many seeming contradictions. Take him in the general, for his liberality and the external appearance of a disposition to do good to all men, one would have concluded him the best-natur'd person under the sun: but then to consider, on the other hand, the extreme rigour and injustice of his practices, even upon his nearest relations, as well as upon his subjects at large, it is not to be deny'd but that he was harsh and inexorable, without either pity or shame. Now upon this view, a body would take him to be a man divided within himself; but I am rather of opinion that he was uniform and steady to the same measure and principle. As he was greedy of honour, and a person wholly abandon'd to that impotent vanity, he was consequently magnificent, in order to the compassing of his end; and according to the prospect he had either of a glorious life or of an honourable memory. This made him profuse beyond his fortune, and burdensome to his subjects; for there was no supplying of his extravagant expences by fair and warrantable means. He was then sensible of the ill-will he had drawn upon himself by his oppression,

and of the difficulty of allaying those seditious discontents: which he saw was a thing not to be done, without either retrenching his disbursements, or shortening his revenue. So that he had no way left now, but to improve the people's spite to his own benefit; which he did, first by provoking men beyond all patience, and then treating them as the worst of enemies for murmuring: and this was the course he took, without distinction of persons, whether friends or relations; being resolved to assert his dignity in all cases whatsoever. But he gave to understand by the honours he paid to others, as to Cesar and Agrippa, and the rest of his illustrious friends, what he expected to himself; and that he intended the one should be exemplary to the other. This was enough to shew the bent and bias of his inclination. Now Herod's way of doing homage to superiors was no precedent for the Jews to follow; but a flat contradiction to their laws and practice; being train'd up to principles of obedience for conscience, without any regard to interest or power. This restraint was exceedingly to their loss, for they might otherwise have insinuated themselves by the pompous dedications of temples and statues, into the good graces of the king; and with other such like flatteries have gratify'd the vanity of an ambitious man. This, in fine, do I take to be the true reason of Herod's excessive generosity and bounty toward strangers; and no less, of his inexorable cruelty toward his own subjects.

CHAP. X.

The Greeks petition Cesar against the Jews. Cesar confirms them in their privileges. Several decrees highly in their favour.

THE Jews of Asia and those of Cyrene in Africa, were at this time so ill treated by the Greeks, and without any end or measure, upon a pretence that they carry'd their money out of the country, and were in other respects a grievance to them, that having a grant from former kings, of free privileges and immunities, in common with the rest of the citizens, and the natives themselves, they sent their ambassadors, upon this occasion, with a petitionary complaint and appeal to Cesar; who thereupon wrote back to the provinces, that "it was his will and pleasure the Jews should continue in the enjoyment of their exemptions." The copy of this edict I have here subjoin'd, for the better authority of our pretence, and to shew the world what opinion the emperors of former times had of the Jews.

The Greeks petition Cesar against the Jews.

Cesar confirms them in their privileges.

Cesar Augustus, high-priest and tribune of the people, hath decreed this.

"WHEREAS the Jews have ever been a people faithful and well affected to the Romans, especially to Cesar, my imperial father, in the pontificate of Hyrcanus, and remain to this present in the same disposition of faith and good-will as formerly, we have deemed it reasonable, with the advice and consent of the senate and the people of Rome, to permit unto the

Several decrees highly in favour of the Jews.

" said

“ said Jews the free exercise of their own
 “ laws and rites, in as ample manner as they
 “ enjoy’d them formerly in the days of Hyr-
 “ canus, the high-priest of the great God ;
 “ we do likewise permit their temples still to
 “ continue sanctuaries, and places of refuge ;
 “ their contribution-money toward holy uses
 “ to be committed to the treasury of Jerusa-
 “ lem, by such persons as they shall appoint,
 “ without any let or molestation : that they
 “ be not forced upon appearances before the
 “ magistrates on the day of their sabbath, or
 “ after nine of the clock on the eve before :
 “ that it be made sacrilege, and confiscation
 “ of goods, to steal out of their religious
 “ places any of their holy books or treasure.
 “ And we do farther require, out of the ten-
 “ derness and respect we bear to all mankind,
 “ that the address or memorial now presented
 “ us by Caius Marcius Censorinus on the behalf
 “ of the Jews, together with this decree, be
 “ set up in that eminent place at * Ancyra,
 “ which was dedicated by the whole people
 “ of Asia, to the honour of our name. And
 “ let no man do any thing contrary to the tenor
 “ hereof, at his uttermost peril.” There
 “ was this following Inscription also upon one
 “ of the pillars of the temple.

Cesar to Norbanus Flaccus, greeting.

“ **L**ET no man presume to hinder or in-
 “ terrupt the Jews in any place whatso-
 “ ever, in the sending up of their money to
 “ Jerusalem for holy uses, according to their
 “ ancient custom.” Thus far Cesar. And
 “ Agrippa afterward wrote a letter on the Jews
 “ behalf in like manner too, as follows.

*Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of
 Ephesus, health.*

“ **I**T is our will that the Jews in Asia have
 “ the keeping and disposing of the mo-
 “ ney themselves, that they send up to Jeru-
 “ salem, according to ancient usage for the
 “ service of their temple and their worship ;
 “ and in case any of that sacred treasure should
 “ be stolen, and the criminal fly to the altar
 “ for sanctuary, let him be taken away by
 “ violence, and deliver’d up to the Jews to be
 “ banish’d as a sacrilegious person, and out of
 “ protection.”

“ THE same Agrippa wrote also to the pretor
 “ Syllanus, against compelling the Jews upon
 “ the sabbath-day, before their courts of justice.
 “ And once again

*Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates and senate of
 Cyrene, greeting.*

“ **W**HEREAS the Jews of your parts
 “ have written complaining letters to
 “ me, of the vexatious practices of some pick-
 “ thank people among you, that take upon
 “ them to put a stop to the transmitting of
 “ their money to Jerusalem, under pretext
 “ of being in an arrear of tribute, which is
 “ not so neither : and all this, notwithstand-
 “ ing the positive letters and orders from

“ from Augustus to Flavius, the pretor of Li-
 “ bya, and the other magistrates of that pro-
 “ vince, not to give them any interruption,
 “ in sending up their money as formerly, it
 “ is my command that they be left wholly to
 “ their own way and liberty, as heretofore ;
 “ and that commissioners be appointed for re-
 “ storing to the Jews as much of their trea-
 “ sure as shall be found either conceal’d or
 “ misapplied.”

*Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magi-
 strates of Sardis, health.*

“ **B**EING commanded by an express from
 “ Cesar, to take care that no obstruction
 “ be given to the Jews in the collecting and
 “ sending up of monies to Jerusalem to such
 “ purposes as they have formerly done ; this is
 “ to acquaint you that Augustus will have it
 “ so, and that I expect his orders shall be
 “ obey’d.”

“ **JULIUS ANTONIUS**, proconsul, wrote also
 “ to the magistrates, senate, and people of Ephe-
 “ sus, to the same effect. “ The Jews of Asia,
 “ says he, as I was upon the bench in a court
 “ of justice at Ephesus, in the † Ides of Febru-
 “ ary last past, gave me to understand that
 “ Augustus Cesar and Agrippa had granted
 “ them the freedom of their own ways and
 “ ceremonies, and liberty to dispose of their
 “ first-fruits as they thought fit among them-
 “ selves ; and so to carry the money to Jeru-
 “ salem, without any interruption or controul,
 “ and there to dedicate it to the temple of the
 “ high God. So they made their application
 “ to me, says he, for a ratification of these
 “ privileges. This is therefore to inform you,
 “ that I do absolutely subscribe to the resolu-
 “ tion and determination of Cesar and Agrippa ;
 “ and I do farther require, that no trouble or
 “ vexation be given them in any sort what-
 “ soever, either to distract or to disappoint
 “ them in the peaceable exercise of these im-
 “ munities.”

“ **W**E have the rather cited these instances and
 “ presidents, to shew the Greeks upon the peru-
 “ sal of these papers, the honour that has been
 “ done us by antiquity, and the privileges in
 “ matter of custom, discipline, and worship, that
 “ have been from time to time allow’d us by the
 “ sovereign powers, even to the degree of tole-
 “ rating our religion itself, in the service of the
 “ true God. And I do the more inculcate these
 “ notices and hints, because I would soften
 “ strangers, and deface, if possible, the impres-
 “ sions of a most unreasonable aversion and pre-
 “ judice. It is no new thing, for whole nations,
 “ as well as particular places, to change humours
 “ and manners ; but justice is with all people,
 “ and in all times and places, evermore the same,
 “ a blessing that extends indifferently even to
 “ Greeks and Barbarians, the very reason and
 “ foundation of all our laws ; so that if we do
 “ but maintain them sacred, that virtue alone
 “ will both endear us, and make us friends to
 “ all mankind ; wherefore it should be my re-
 “ quest to the whole world, that people would
 “ not hate one another for differing in the way
 “ of living, so long as they agree in the main

* See Casaubon’s notes upon Aurelius Victor, p. 25. Ed. Traject.

† The Ides of February were on the 13th day of the month.

end and business of life. Virtue, in fine, is common to all men, and human society can never be happy without it. But I shall return now to my text.

CHAP. XI.

Herod rifles divers sepulchres of plate, &c. two of his guards consumed by fire in the sacrilegious attempt. Upon this judgment, Herod walls up the passage. He and his family are punished for it. The hypocrisy of Antipater. Herod offers his daughter to Pheroras; who refuses her: and then he offers his other daughter, Cypras. Pheroras breaks his oath and promise. Salome takes the children of Mariamne, and make a spy of her own daughter. The privacies of man and wife betray'd. Herod said to be in love with Glaphyra. Alexander tells Herod the story. Herod calls Pheroras to an account about it. Pheroras says he had it of Salome. Salome denies and outfaces it. Salome suspected for the authoress of the report. Obodas, king of Arabia Syllaus his prime minister; and in love with Salome. An intrigue betwixt them. Herod sets a spy upon them. Syllaus proposes a match. Salome consents; but they break off upon Religion. A match between Pheroras's son and Herod's daughter. The confession of three eunuchs against Alexander. Herod's jealousy. The false witnesses brought to justice. Andromachus and Gemellus banish'd. Antipater governs Herod. An information upon the torture against Alexander. Alexander made a prisoner. His friends and confidants tortured. False evidence upon the torture. The bravery and constancy of Alexander. A generous defiance of Herod. Ptolemy and Sapin-nius named in the conspiracy. Herod miserable and restless.

Herod rifles divers sepulchres, of plate and vessels; but finds no ready money.

Two of his guards consumed by fire in the sacrilegious attempt.

HEROD had squander'd away vast sums of money both at home and abroad; and hearing that his predecessor Hyrcanus had fetch'd three * thousand talents of silver out of David's sepulchre, and that there was enough left behind there to answer any occasion whatsoever: these thoughts possess'd his mind a long time before he could come to any resolution upon it. But at last, taking some few of those he could best trust along with him, he convey'd himself by night into the sepulchre; but with all care imaginable to conceal it from the people. He found a world of rich plate and vessels, both gold and silver, and took it away with him; but for the ready money that he expected, there was none to be found; for Hyrcanus, it seems, had been before-hand with him. This success however, such as it was, gave him an encouragement to make a stricter search: so he advanced farther in, till he came to the very coffins where the bodies of Solomon and David were deposited. The story says, that he lost two of his guards there by a flash of fire that broke out of the recess, which was interpreted as a judgment upon the temerity of the undertaking. The prodigy put Herod into such a fright, that in a fit both of terror and of conscience, he quitted his design; and

he erected a most sumptuous monument of marble to bar up the very entrance into the sepulchre. Nicolaus an historian of those times, makes mention of this work; but says nothing of the king's adventure, which he look'd upon to be so impious and dishonourable, that he chose rather to suppress it; for being cotemporary with the king, and writing his own story to his face, he was to speak only pleasing things that might redound to his glory, without ever so much as touching upon his failings. And the course he took was either to palliate and disguise his most notorious and extravagant cruelties, or in some cases, perchance, intirely to suppress them. How does he colour the murder of Mariamne, and the horrid indignities put upon her two sons, with a brand of incontinency in the one, and of a practice upon the life of their father in the other! and this is his way throughout, to elevate to the skies, what the king did well, and either to pass over or extenuate what he did amiss. But he has this to say for himself, however, that he wrote panegyrick rather than history; and not so much for the information of posterity, as for the gratifying of his patron. But for my own part now, having in my veins the royal blood of the Asamonæan family, and the dignity likewise of the priesthood, I have no more to do but to report matters plainly as I find them, with all reverence to the descendants of that prince; but by their leave yet, with a greater respect to truth: for I would not willingly blast the reputation of my character with one false word.

FROM the time that Herod broke in sacrilegiously upon this sepulchre, things went still crosser and crosser in his family, whether upon a judicial vengeance upon that part of it that was before ill affected, or by the calamity of a season that look'd so like the punishment of a flagitious wickedness. The fewd was a kind of civil war in the house, and carry'd on by some sort of competition, betwixt outrage and calumny. But the masterpiece of the whole story was the artifice and hypocrisy of Antipater; who at the same time while he was on the one hand suborning of people to asperse and vilify his brothers, acted the part himself, on the other hand, of an advocate with Herod to defend them: under this disguise the better to secure their ruin. Antipater wrought so far upon the king by these wiles, that he look'd upon him as the only zealous friend in the world that took care of him. Infomuch that he recommended his chief minister Ptolemy, to advise with Antipater still, about the state of the government; who immediately consulting with the mother, did every thing according to their own pleasure; so that the king's love, or hatred, was managed for the better or the worse, according as it serv'd their interest.

ALEXANDER and Aristobulus, on the other side, being men of honour and spirit, resented this way of proceeding beyond all patience, to see themselves degraded so much below their birth, and trampled upon by their inferiors; and their wives labour'd under the same passions too; for there was no love lost

Herod walls up the passage, upon this judgment.

Herod and his family punished for the sacrilege.

The artifice and hypocrisy of Antipater.

* Three thousand Hebrew talents weighed three hundred forty two thousand one hundred and eighty seven Pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one million twenty six thousand five hundred and sixty two Pounds ten shillings of our money.

betwixt Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, and the daughter of the king of Cappadocia: betwixt her, I say, and Salome; whom the other mortally hated, both out of the love she bore her husband, and out of a womanish spirit to see her daughter that was marry'd to Aristobulus, sit upon the same level with herself.

Herod offers his daughter to Pheroras, and he refuses her.

THERE happened likewise at the same time, another unlucky circumstance, that engaged Pheroras, the king's brother, in the controversy, and it was improv'd, in the conclusion, to a high degree of jealousy and hatred. Herod made an offer to Pheroras of his daughter in marriage; who being desperately in love with his own maid, prefer'd her embraces, and rejected the proposal. The king could not but lay this refusal to heart, especially from a brother that he had been so kind to, even to the degree of sharing his government with him. But, in short, finding himself so ill-requited, the honour he offer'd him rejected, his good intentions disappointed, and that there was no way of bringing him to reason, he marry'd this daughter upon it, to the son of Phasaël, his elder brother. Some time after Herod supposing his brother's love might be cool'd, went to Pheroras once again, and when he had reprov'd him sufficiently about the affront of his former repulse, as a fresh instance of his affection, he made yet another offer of his other daughter Cypras.

He offers him his other daughter Cypras.

Pheroras went presently upon this proposal to advise with Ptolemy about it; who told him, that if he were not a madman, he would close with his brother, and not hazard his fortune as well as his quiet, in the loss of the king's favour, which would make him an enemy instead of a friend; and all this for the poor satisfaction of a scandalous amour: Pheroras could not but approve this, and he embrac'd the counsel; begg'd the king's pardon; and discharging himself of the first woman, by whom he had one child, he promis'd the king within a month to marry the other daughter; binding himself by an oath to make good his word, and never to have any thing more to do with her he had now renounced. In this while, Pheroras relaps'd into his old fit of dotage again, took the former woman home to him; and when the month was expir'd, without any regard to his oaths and promises, most shamefully broke faith with his brother. The provocation of this affront, put Herod into so violent a passion, that he could not forbear lashing out into intemperances of language against his brother: There were make-bates enough to lay hold of this, and to heighten Herod's displeasure by suggesting lyes and scandals. So it was, in fine, that there scarce pass'd a day, or an hour, without bringing some new trouble or other into the family, by the inflaming of piques and jealousies, and setting the nearest, and the tenderest of friends and relations, one against another. Nay, so deadly was the rancorous hatred of Salome to the sons of Mariamne, that she would not suffer her daughter to enjoy so much as the conjugal conversation of her own husband Aristobulus; but was still pumping her to blab, and divulge the most sacred privacies that pass'd betwixt them; or if they happen'd at any time to be but a little out of humour one with another, as that's a common case, the

Pheroras breaks his oath and promise.

Salome hates the children of Mariamne mortally. She makes a spy of her own daughter against her husband. The private confidences of man and wife betray'd.

never fail'd of blowing the coal, and doing her part toward the enflaming of the discontent. By this means she div'd into all her secrets; and as she saw occasion, endeavour'd all she could to make a breach betwixt the wife and the husband. She got out of her what the brothers said of Mariamne, when they were by themselves: how disrespectfully they talk'd of their father; and how they threaten'd all the sons he had by other women, if ever they came to the throne, to make scribes and country town clerks of them, as a profession that best suited with their way of education: and she had heard them talk further, she said, that if ever they should see any of Herod's wives set out with their mother Mariamne's jewels, they would, without any more ado, put them into sackcloth, and lay them up where they should never see the sun. Salome, by this, thought the time long till the king had the story, wherefore she hasten'd to carry it to him herself. It gave him no small disturbance upon the main; but inclining yet to try if he could set things right by fair means, rather than by foul. In one word, they ply'd him so hard with infusing continual jealousies and whimsies into his head, that they brought him at last to take a delight in listening after tales and calumnies; and to such a degree of credulity, that he believed whatever was told him; but contenting himself however, for the present, with a severe rebuke to his sons; and upon their answer he came pretty well to himself again.

BUT this was not the worst on't yet; for Pheroras took an occasion to inform Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, that Salome had told him Herod was fallen so passionately in love with Glaphyra, that he could not be quiet for it. The young man, that was naturally of a jealous temper was so gaul'd at this discourse, that whatever Herod did, day after day, in favour of Glaphyra, for his son's sake, was still interpreted in confirmation of his suspicion. This passion, in short, had made so strong an impression upon him, that when he could bear the importunity of it no longer, he went directly to his father, with tears in his eyes, and told him what he had heard from Pheroras. If he was outrageous before, this made him stark-mad, to see himself so basely calumniated for the foulest of crimes, and this out of his own insensible family too, in return for all the good offices he had done them. In this heat, he sent for Pheroras, and angry reproved him in terms to this effect.

A story from Pheroras to Alexander, of Herod's being in love with Glaphyra.

Alexander grows jealous upon it, and tells Herod the story.

"How should it come into thy head or mine, (says he) thou vilest, and most ungrateful of mortals, to report, or but so much as to think me guilty of so horrid a wickedness! but the malice of the design is only this, under the colour of an office of confidence to my son, to incite him to some treacherous practice upon the life of his father; for what son that were not restrain'd by a special providence, would put up such an indignity from a father, unreveng'd! where's the difference, at this rate, betwixt the putting of a jealousy in the head of this son of mine, or a sword in his hand against his own father? but what would you be at? for you hate both alike; and at the same time, with fair words to my face, make the lowdest wretch in nature of me behind my back.

Herod calls Pheroras to account about it.

"back. Go, go, thou most unthankful of men, to so tender a brother; but I shall rather deliver you up to your conscience for your tormentor, and endeavour to be better than my relations, in not returning evil for good, after your example; but, on the contrary, good for evil."

Pheroras says he had it of Salome. Salome denies and out-faces it.

THIS was so clear a case against Pheroras, that he had no way to come off but by discharging himself upon Salome, and laying the scandal at her door, as the original of the story. Salome happening to be then present, the better to be believed, with a compos'd hypocritical face broke out into violent exclamations, "That it was all a lye, and only a malicious practice and conspiracy, for the taking away of her life in revenge of the zeal and affection she had express'd for the saving of the king's; who, at that instant (she said) was in greater danger than ever. Pheroras, (says she) abhors me to death; for it was I that press'd him to turn off the strumpet he doated on, and marry the king's daughter. This is the thing he hates me for, (says she) tearing her hair, and beating her breast, with a rage so done to the life, that never was a part better acted." Pheroras was all this while in the greatest pain imaginable, betwixt two inextricable difficulties; for he could neither deny what he told to Alexander, nor prove what Salome said to him. The dispute, however, continued a good while; but the king grew sick on't at last, and being now late, sent them both away, and went to supper; Herod highly commending the moderation of his son, and the generous candour of his nature, in coming so frankly to him with the story. This quarrel brought Salome under the scandal of being thought the authoress of this calumny, and the king's wives were ready enough to set it forward; for the woman being four, fickle, and of an uneven temper, kind and cross by fits, as the toy took her, they did not like her humour at all; and in this disgust, they were perpetually ringing something or other in Herod's ear against her; and this disposition was assisted by an accident as pat as could be to their purpose.

Salome suspected for the authoress of this report.

Obodas, king of Arabia. Syllæus his prime minister.

Syllæus in love with Salome.

An intrigue observ'd betwixt them.

OBODAS was at that time king of Arabia; a lazy slothful prince, that minded nothing but his ease. Now there was one Syllæus, who was his chief minister of state, a man of sense and address, in the prime of his years, and a well-made graceful person. This same Syllæus, coming to Herod about business, as he was once at supper with him, and Salome in the company, he took a particular liking to this princess: insomuch, that hearing she was a widow, he ventur'd to make her some kind of overture toward marriage. The woman finding herself every day more and more uneasy with her brother, and being well enough pleas'd with the young man's person; all these things considered, was not averse to the proposal: and upon further conversation, and better acquaintance, (for they were often together) people came to take notice by their countenances, and twenty little love-tricks, that the amour advanc'd on both sides. This

went all to the king; and the women made themselves merry with it; but Herod was not yet satisfy'd with what the women told him, till he set Pheroras for a spy upon them; who brought him word, that by what he gather'd from the intelligence of looks and signs, there was undoubtedly a reciprocal passion betwixt them. Herod taking it now for granted, the Arabian went his way home again. Within some two or three months after this, he returned upon the same errand, and treated with Herod himself about the match; enlarging upon it how advantageous it would be to his interest, not only in the point of commerce, but in respect also of his own right and pretensions to the government of the whole country, a considerable part of which he was in possession of already. The king immediately put the question to his sister, whether she had a mind to marry or not; who without any hesitation answer'd in the affirmative. This was told Syllæus; and that if he would turn Jew, he might have her: but otherwise by law of the country, it could not be. Syllæus reply'd on the other hand, that if he should relinquish his religion, the Arabians would stone him to death; and so the treaty broke off. Pheroras took occasion from hence to be several times hinting to the king how Salome expos'd her reputation; but the king's wives carry'd the liberties she took with the Arabian, to the degree of incontinence itself.

Herod sets a spy upon them.

And he is convinc'd of the amour. Syllæus goes back again; and returning soon after, proposes the match.

Salome consents; but they break off upon religion.

HEROD was now half resolv'd, at the importunity of Salome, to marry his own daughter, that Pheroras had refus'd, to a son of hers that she had by Costobarus. But Pheroras defeated the design, by telling him that the young man would never forgive his father-in-law the death of his father, and advis'd him rather to give her to his own son that was to succeed him in the government. The king took his counsel; gave her a * hundred talents for her portion, and all past misunderstandings with Pheroras were forgiven and forgotten.

A match betwixt Pheroras's son and Herod's daughter.

BUT this was so far yet from composing the disorders of Herod's family, that they went every day from bad to worse, and from dishonest shameful beginnings, to tragical ends. Herod had three handsome eunuchs to attend him, for whom he had a mighty kindness; one served him in the quality of a cup-bearer; another, in the office of a steward, and a third waited upon him in his bed-chamber; over and above, that he made further use of them in matters of state. Some body had told Herod, it seems, that Alexander had been tampering with these young men, for a large sum of money, to betray him. Upon this information, they were put to the torture to make them discover what communication had pass'd betwixt them. They acknowledg'd they had been together; but for any treasonous design Alexander had upon the life of his father, they knew nothing of it. The torments being of Antipater's faction, press'd them still harder and harder, till at last in the tolerable anguish of their pains, they extorted this declaration from them, (viz.) "That Alexander hated his father mortally,

The confession of three eunuchs against Alexander.

* An hundred talents weighed eleven thousand four hundred and six Pounds three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen Pounds fifteen shillings; and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand five hundred Pounds of our money.

"and did what he could to seduce them from their allegiance to him, as a prince that was now good for nothing, old, and out of date: only he cover'd his decays the best he could with paint and artifice. Now if they would come over to him, it should be his care, (he said) to see them prefer'd in a very short time; for the government was not only to descend to him in course, but matters were so laid, it was not in his father's power to disappoint it: for over and above the prerogative of his title, every thing was ripe and ready for the putting of him into the possession of his pretences. He had made a great party among the officers of the army, (he said) and the king's friends, who were all resolv'd to stand by him with their lives and fortunes." This confession put Herod into a fit of rage, and trembling, both at once; for there was contempt and menace in it; and in the distraction of an uncertainty, how to behave himself for fear of an immediate surprize, he could not resolve, upon the sudden, whether to avoid the danger, or to encounter it. But the result at last was this, to manage his business by spies and informers, without the pomp of any public enquiries. Wherever he suspected, he consequently hated; and he suspected those too that did not deserve it, as well as those that did; for his own security depended upon it. And there was no end of this jealousy neither, for the nearer the relations, the greater was his apprehension of them, as persons that had it more in their power to do him mischief. As for those he never had any thing to do withal, the least word of an informer's mouth was certain death to them; for he could never think himself safe while they were living. The condition of his domesticks was yet more to be pitied than all the rest, for they had no way to save their own lives, but by calumniating their fellows; by which practice, even when they succeeded in it, they drew upon themselves such an envy and detestation, that they seldom fail'd of being paid in their own coin, and of receiving the same measure themselves that they had meted to others. And so in the case of private grudges, they inform'd against one another by turns, and were noos'd in their own snares. Not but that the king was now and then touch'd in conscience, for putting so many to death without trial and conviction; but this did not yet hinder him from doing the same thing over again. He was so fair however in the conclusion, as after the destruction of so many innocents, to do justice at last upon the false witnesses themselves.

Herod's jealousy spares neither friend nor foe.

The false witnesses themselves brought to justice at last.

Andromachus and Gemellus banish'd.

THE court was at this time in such a fright and consternation, that many of the king's most intimate friends were banish'd his palace and presence; and those in the first place that were generally reputed to have merited best at his hands; as Andromachus, and Gemellus (two favourites of an antient standing) were turn'd off among the rest. These ministers had serv'd the king both abroad and at home, in embassies and counsels; the careful education of his sons; and in places, in fine, of the

greatest confidence and trust. He renounc'd Andromachus for the kindness Alexander shew'd to his son Demetrius; and then he discarding Gemellus, for the love he bore to Alexander; having been a kind of governor and tutor to him, as well as a companion in his travels to Rome. Nay, in all likelihood, he would not have stopt here neither, if the popular reputation of the persons had not kept him in some sort of awe; so that he contented himself with putting them out of office, and sending them away, that he might be the more at liberty in their absence, to exercise his rage and cruelties without controul.

THE first, and the chief author of all this misery, was Antipater, who finding Herod fearful and suspicious, insinuated himself into his counsels, and apply'd to his humour; enflaming him to fierceness and cruelty; and inculcating this maxim to him, as a state-masterpiece, to make sure of all those that had it in their power to do him any mischief. And this was the way that Herod went to work; for when he had expell'd Andromachus, and the rest of his friends that had the honesty and courage to be plain and free with him, he put all the confidants of Alexander to the question, concerning treasonous plots and commotions, who dy'd upon the torture, having nothing to confess. This generous constancy being taken for obstinacy, they encreas'd the torments; in great admiration, that with all this extremity, they were not able to extort so much as the shadow of one disloyal thought. Now Antipater craftily took the matter by another handle, and made it a point of honour in them, rather to deny the truth in question, than to violate the faith and trust reposed in them by their friends and masters. So that he was for putting more and more still to the torture, making no doubt, as he pretended, but some or other of them would confess at last; and in the end one faint-hearted wretch, that shrunk under the pain, declared that upon occasion of people's commending Alexander for a person of a goodly stature, an excellent marksman, and other laudable qualities, he had heard him say divers times, that these natural advantages were rather misfortunes to him than benefits; for his father bore him such an envious hatred for them, that when they were walking together, he was fain to go stooping, that he might not seem the taller of the two, or so tall as he really was: and so at the chace, he durst not strike the mark; for his father he knew could not endure to see him do any thing well, or to hear him well spoken of. Upon this pretended discovery, they respited the poor man's torment, and so he went on with his tale, "How Alexander and Aristobulus enter'd into a conspiracy once to take away their father's life, when he was abroad a hunting: and if they succeeded, Alexander was to fly to Rome to demand the succession." There were certain letters also produced from him to his brother, complaining of his father for giving away two * hundred talents a year in land, to Antipater. Herod look'd upon all

Herod govern'd by Antipater's counsels.

An information upon the torture against Alexander.

* Two hundred talents weigh'd twenty two thousand eight hundred twelve pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred thirty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thousand pounds of our money.

Alexander
put into pri-
son.

His friends
and confi-
dents tor-
tur'd.

A false evi-
dence upon
the torture.

The bravery
and constancy
of Alexander.

A generous
defiance of
Herod.

Salome
charged with
incontinence.

Ptolemy and
Sapinnus
named among
the conspira-
tors.

The palace
rather a mad-
house than a
court.

this together to be a sufficient evidence to confirm the suspicion he had of his children. And upon this he fell into another raging fit against his son Alexander, and order'd him to be cast into prison, and loaded with chains upon it: Not that he himself gave much credit to what he heard, for what interest could they have to destroy their father? Or what should they go to Rome for, after the commission of so notorious a parricide? There might be somewhat, I confess, in the turbulent and childish heats among the young ambitious people about Antipater, and that was all. But in the mean time, however, Alexander being imprison'd, and no body knowing for what, Herod could not think himself safe, without giving the world some better satisfaction in the reason of it: So that he put divers of Alexander's confidants and friends of the best quality, first to the torture, and afterwards to death, the better to colour the pretence of Alexander's guilt; but they confess'd nothing. While the palace was in an uproar, and nothing to be seen or heard of in it but tumult, terror, and torments, a certain young man that had been tortur'd it seems beyond his strength and resolution, gave information, how "Alexander had written to some friends of his at Rome, to inform Cesar that there was a conspiracy against him, and that if he were but sent for thither, he could discover it; for that his father had abandon'd the interest of Rome, to treat with Mithridates, the king of the Parthians; adding withal, that there was a poison in readiness that he had gotten prepar'd at Ascalon." This invention had such credit with Herod, that he presently order'd the strictest enquiry after the poison that could be made; but there was no such thing to be found. The parasites he had all this while about him, comforted him in his calamity, pretending to justify the sobriety of his conduct.

ALEXANDER was so far from sinking under this oppression, that he disdain'd to advance so much as one word, either by way of denial or defence, partly to exasperate his father by the contempt of these outrages, and partly to put him out of countenance for giving an ear to such silly and insignificant scandal: Or otherwise, in case he should go on to swallow lies and forgeries at that credulous rate, he took up a resolution to involve him and his whole family in the most calamitous perplexities. He sent him four pieces in writing, wherein he gave him to understand, that he should not need to torture any more people upon interrogatories, to learn the truth of things; for he did assure him there was a conspiracy against his life; and that Pheroras, and several others that he least suspected were in the bottom of it. He told him how Salome stole to bed to him one night, and lay with him, whether he would or not; telling him likewise, that in short, all people were agreed upon the absolute necessity of taking him off; for there was no freedom or happiness to be expected without it: Naming Ptolemy, and Sapinnus (the two men of the world that he most confided in) among the conspirators. The court was by this time rather a mad-house, or a medley of wild beasts, than a society of reasonable men; the greatest friends in nature one day, and tearing out one another's throats the next: And no time or place left for argu-

ment or proof; for the punishment went before the judgment. Some were put in chains; others kill'd outright, and the rest in a despair more painful than death itself. There was nothing to be seen in the palace of what it had been; but instead of the gaiety and splendor of it in former times, there was little now but heaviness of heart and inconsolable sorrows. Nay, Herod himself was as weary of his own life, as he had made other people of theirs; for there was no body he could trust; his present state was miserable, and no prospect before him, but of confusion and horror. He never took any rest either sleeping or waking for hideous frights and imaginations. One while he would fancy his son with a dagger at his heart; another while somewhat else; and in one word, he was upon the whole matter little better than a madman.

Herod restless, and miserable, and no creature to trust to.

CHAP. XII.

Archelaus moves Herod to be friends with Alexander, who palliates the matter with an artificial mediation. Pheroras asks Herod pardon, and all is well. Archelaus in great esteem with Herod. He goes to Rome, and reconciles Titus to Archelaus.

WHILE Herod lay in this anguish and torment of thought, Archelaus the king of Cappadocia, reckon'd it the part, both of a father and of a friend, to make him a visit, and to do the best offices he could toward the effecting a reconciliation betwixt Herod and his daughter and son-in-law; for whom he had an exceeding tenderness and compassion. Matters went very ill, he heard; and upon his arrival, he found them rather worse than he imagin'd; but he thought it would not be proper however, to pick a downright quarrel with him for his temerity, and for taking so many senseless shams as he did, upon trust. A contest he thought would look like a reproach, and do more hurt probably than good; so that instead of falling upon Herod himself, he laid the blame upon Alexander; "For the king (he said) had done nothing but what was honourable and just; and that for his part, he would dissolve the marriage, and never own Glaphyra again for his daughter, if he should find that she was privy to the plot, and did not discover it. This passionate pretence and zeal of Archelaus, for the vindication of Herod, brought him, upon second thoughts, to a more considerate sense of what he had done, and by little and little to the softness of a father again. In this merciful humour, the king, that before took any man for his enemy that gave Alexander a good word, fell now directly into tears to hear Archelaus speak against him, begging of him that he would not break off the match, and transport himself to that degree for the folly of a young man. When the Cappadocian had now brought Herod into a more practicable temper, he palliated the mistake as well as he could, by laying the fault in some measure upon evil counsel, and the company he kept. "He might be tractable, indeed (he said) but truly he never found him malicious. He might perhaps be misled and

Archelaus makes Herod a visit to reconcile him to Alexander. An artificial way of mediation.

Archelaus palliates the matter.

"cor-

rupted; insinuating all this while his suspicion that it was by Pheroras the king's brother." Now Pheroras was come by this time sufficiently to understand how desperately he had lost himself in the opinion of Herod; and reflecting upon it that no man was so proper for him to make use of as Archelaus, he made his address to him in mourning, and with the humility of a most penitent suppliant, implor'd his intercession for him to the king. Archelaus was not wanting to him in any matter of respect, but he told him withal, that Herod's displeasure was not so easily remov'd as he might imagine: But if he were to be his adviser, he should rather go and humble himself to his brother, and owning himself the cause of all the calamities of the family, crave his pardon. Such a confession might perhaps * work upon him, and make way for a mediation. He follow'd the advice, and it succeeded both ways; for Alexander, beyond all expectation, was discharg'd of his pretended crime; and Herod at the instance of Archelaus, reconcil'd to his brother. Herod was now so sensible of the obligations he had to Archelaus in his extremity, that he look'd upon him as the best friend he had in the world: The other returning into Cappadocia, charg'd with rich presents, and no less satisfaction in the success of his voyage. They were now agreed upon it that Herod should go to Rome to inform Cesar of the present state of his family, having written formerly to him upon the same subject. They went together to Antioch, where Herod reconcil'd † Titus the governor of Syria to Archelaus, and so return'd to Judea.

Pheroras asks Herod's pardon, and all's well again.

Herod highly sensible of the good offices of Archelaus.

Herod goes to Rome, and reconciles Titus to Archelaus.

CHAP. XIII.

In Herod's absence, the Trachonites revolt. The king's troops give them an overthrow. Sylleus receives and protects them. Herod breaks into Trachon, and addresses to Saturnius and Volumnius to deliver up the robbers. Sylleus says, there are none in Arabia. Saturnius and Volumnius order satisfaction to be given to Herod.

In Herod's absence the Trachonites revolt to the Arabians.

WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, there broke out a war with the Arabians, upon this occasion. The inhabitants of Trachon (a province that Cesar took away from Zenodorus, and gave to Herod) when they could no longer exercise their old trade of free-booting, betook themselves to planting and tillage; a course of life that yielded them neither satisfaction nor profit. But yet for a while, at first, Herod, to his honour, kept them in pretty good order, and without any barbarous inroads upon their neighbours; but upon the king's going into Italy to accuse Alexander, and recommend Antipater; and a rumour spread at the same time, of the death of Herod, the Trachonites revolted, and betook themselves to their former course of life; but they were quickly broken and sup-

press'd by the king's troops; only forty of the heads of them made their escapes and fled into Arabia; where Sylleus (who had not as yet digested the refusal of Salome) gave them entertainment and a safe retreat, with a strong, and a well fortify'd place for their habitation: from whence they did not only infect Judea, and Cele-Syria, and carry away booty and cattle into their holes, but they committed all these outrages, without opposition or controul. When Herod found at his return from Rome, what spoil the robbers had made, and that he was ty'd up from meddling with them so long as they were under the Arabians protection, the affront so highly provok'd him, that without any more ado he presently made an incursion into Trachon, where he put whole families of these people to the sword. This transported the rest into such a rage, being obliged by a law of their own country not to pass over such an indignity unrevenged, that, in contempt of all danger and opposition, they would never let Herod be free from the vexation of their perpetual incursions. Under these circumstances, he apply'd himself to Cesar's governors of those provinces, Saturnius and Volumnius, to deliver up those vagabonds into his hands. This complaint made them madder and madder: so that getting about a thousand of them into a body, they ranged up and down in parties; ravaging town and country, and killing whatever they could come at: so that, in fine, these encounters had the face rather of a war than of a scuffle; Herod insisting upon the delivering up of the thieves, and the repayment of the sixty ‡ talents (some time since due) which Herod by the hand of Sylleus lent to Obodas. Sylleus, who had now usurped the government of Obodas to himself, flatly deny'd any of the thieves to be in Arabia, and artfully delay'd the payment of the money, till Saturnius and Volumnius order'd the full satisfaction of the debt, within the compass of thirty days; and that the fugitives should be deliver'd up on both sides. This article discover'd the fraud of Sylleus; for there was not so much as one Arabian that either upon the account of having committed robberies, or any other offence, had taken sanctuary with Herod, but vast numbers of the robbers were found with the Arabians.

The king's troops give them an overthrow. Sylleus receives and protects them.

Herod breaks into Trachon.

And addresses to Saturnius and Volumnius to deliver up the robbers; and an arrear of sixty talents.

Sylleus denies the having any in Arabia. Saturnius and Volumnius order satisfaction upon both points.

CHAP. XIV.

Sylleus breaks his word. Herod gets leave to right himself by force. He takes Repta by assault. The Arabians defeated, and their general slain. Herod marches with three thousand Idumeans to Trachon.

WHEN the time came for the payment of the money, Sylleus would not stand to his agreement, but took a journey to Rome; Herod pressing hard, both for the

Sylleus refuses both the money and the thieves. Herod gets leave to right himself by force.

* See Cotelierius's notes upon the second volume of his Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 578.

† Casaubon reads Titius for Titus; but bishop Montague defends the vulgar reading. See Casaubon's Exercit. Ann. DCCXLI. and Montague 4. Appar. 4.

‡ Sixty talents weighed six thousand eight hundred forty three pounds nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to twenty thousand five hundred thirty one pounds five shillings, and in gold to three hundred twenty eight thousand five hundred pounds of our money.

He marches to Repta, where the thieves were shelter'd, and takes it by assault.

The Arabians defeated, and Nicebus their general slain. Herod marches with three thousand Idumeans to Trachonitis.

debt and for the article of delivering up the thieves. But finding the Arabians false and stubborn, he got leave of Saturnius and Volumnus, to attempt the recovery of his right by force. Having obtained their permission, he fell with an army into Arabia, and in three days march'd seven stages. Coming at last to the castle, by name Repta, whither the robbers had withdrawn themselves, he took it at the first attack, and then demolish'd the fortifications, without doing any other damage to the inhabitants. While this pass'd, Nicebus the Arabian general march'd away to the succour of his party, and brought it to an encounter, wherein a few of the Herodians were lost; and five and twenty of the Arabians, together with their generals, slain upon the place, the remainder of them being scatter'd and put to flight. The king having now taken his revenge upon the thieves, he march'd with three thousand Idumeans into Trachonitis, to keep the rovers there within compass. Herod sent a narrative of this proceeding to the Roman governors also in Phenicia, giving them to understand, that he had done nothing without leave, in fighting with a party of rebellious Arabians: and this account upon a further enquiry, the governors found to be true.

CHAP. XV.

Sylleus receives false intelligence at Rome, and presents Cesar with the contents of his packet. Cesar writes a sharp letter to Herod. The insolence of the Arabians. Cesar denies audience to Herod's ambassadors. Obodas dies, and Aretas succeeds him. Sylleus endeavours to supplant Aretas. Letters from Aretas, with ambassadors and presents. Audience deny'd a second time. Herod sends Nicolaus of Damascus on a third embassy.

A false report sent to Sylleus at Rome. Sylleus presents Cesar a packet.

The contents of the packet.

THIS was the naked truth of the matter; but the Arabians report of it to Sylleus at Rome, as it was dress'd up in their way of amplification and disguise, was quite another thing. Sylleus had already so far insinuated himself, as to be personally known to Cesar; and as he was walking before his palace, an express brought him a packet; whereupon he shifted his clothes immediately, and in a mourning weed, with tears and lamentations, carry'd the sad story to Augustus: how Herod had enter'd Arabia with an army; overturn'd the government, and totally ruin'd the country; kill'd two thousand five hundred noble Arabians upon the place, with his friend and kinsman Nicebus their general among the rest; pillag'd Repta of a vast treasure that was laid up there: and all this by the advantage Herod took of the weakness and neglect of Obodas, who had neither troops in readiness to oppose him, nor a general in his absence that was fit to command them. Sylleus said further, that he should never have undertaken this journey to Rome, but in confidence that Cesar would provide for the publick peace of all his people; and that if he himself had been upon the place, Herod should have paid dear for the undertaking. This unlucky business made Cesar very uneasy, and put him upon enquiring from

one to another among Herod's friends as well as his own that came lately out of Syria, whether or no Herod had been any where with his army out of his own jurisdiction. When he saw this could not be deny'd, he took all the rest for granted, and without any more ado immediately dispatch'd a sharp menacing letter to Herod, with a direction to this purpose; "Formerly to my friend, hereafter to my subject." Sylleus wrote also to the Arabians at the same time. When they came to find by these letters, that Herod was in disgrace with Cesar, they grew so insolent upon it, that there was no dealing with them. They would neither deliver up their malefactors, nor pay their debts; no, not so much as their rents, nor do any thing else, according to the rules of common faith and contract. The Trachonites made the same advantage of this occasion too, against Herod's Idumean garrisons, by joining with the Arabian ravagers: committing all manner of outrages, and spoiling and pillaging, not so much for profit, as for revenge. But Herod having now offended Cesar, was fain to dispense with all this and more; for his courage as well as his credit fail'd him. He made two trials to justify his conduct by his ambassadors; but Cesar would not so much as see them the first time, nor take any notice of their business the next. Herod had a terrible apprehension of Sylleus all this while, who never fail'd of improving Cesar's fears and distractions to his own benefit; for being still within distance of making the best of opportunities, and finding him ductile and credulous, he could wind and turn him which way he pleas'd; beside that he had far greater matters now in prospect.

KING Obodas being by this time dead, Obodas dies, Aeneas succeeded him by the name of Aretas: and Aeneas Sylleus doing all that was to be done by callumnies, court-bribes, and large promises to Augustus, toward the outing of him again, and engrossing the power to himself. The thing that encourag'd him to this attempt, was the disgust that Cesar had taken to Aretas, for entering upon the administration, without his privacy and consent. This new king complimented Cesar by his ambassadors, with letters and magnificent presents; one above the rest being a crown of gold of a prodigious value. Now these letters were in substance a flat accusation of Sylleus for poisoning his master Obodas, after the usurping of his authority in his life-time: for debauching the wives of the Arabians, and taking up vast sums of money to make way to his pretensions. But Cesar deny'd these ambassadors audience as well as Herod's; rejected their presents, and sent them away without having accomplish'd what they came about. During this distemper, matters in Judea and Arabia went every day worse than other: a general confusion, and no body to compose it; one of the kings not being as yet establish'd in his government, and the other as little master of his people; for Herod's condition was such, that he could not defend himself without affronting Augustus: so that he lay under a kind of necessity of crouching and submitting to all indignities. But being now brought to the last extremity, he took up a final resolution of making the best interest he could to Cesar by his friends, and trying the fortune of

Cesar writes a sharp letter to Herod.

The insolence of the Arabians.

Herod's ambassadors to Cesar deny'd audience.

Obodas dies, and Aeneas succeeds him. Sylleus endeavours to supplant Aretas.

Letters to Cesar from Aretas, with ambassadors and presents.

Cesar denies these ambassadors audience also.

Herod sends Nicolaus of Damascus upon a third embassy.

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of a third embassy to Rome, employing Nicolaus of Damascus upon the commission.

C H A P. XVI.

Deadly feuds in Herod's family. Eurycles makes an acquaintance with Herod. Alexander makes Eurycles his confidant. Eurycles carries stories to Antipater and Herod. Herod presents him with fifty talents. He gets money out of Archelaus. Eurycles banish'd out of Lacedemon. Herod credulous and jealous. Jucundus and Tyrannus banish'd the court; and forced by torture to accuse Alexander. The governor of Alexandrion put to the question. Counterfeit letters produc'd against Alexander. The brothers and the witnesses brought to Jericho. The people stone the witnesses. Salome betrays Aristobulus. The brothers prosecuted upon Salome's information. Glaphyra examin'd also, and likewise Alexander. They all deny the charge. The substance of Archelaus's answer. Cesar reconciled to Herod. Sylleus accused; the Articles of his charge. Nicolaus charges Sylleus, and defends Herod. Sylleus breaks his word and his oath. Sylleus condemn'd to die. Instructions to Olympus and Volumnius. Cesar writes Herod a condoling letter.

The feud in Herod's family higher than ever.

Eurycles makes an acquaintance with Herod.

Alexander makes Eurycles his Confidant.

HEROD's family was a house always divided against itself by intestine jealousies, which are the plague of all courts; but the feud at this time ran much higher yet than ever, and it was upon this occasion. There was one Eurycles, a Lacedemonian; a man nobly born, but of a pestilent disposition; sensual and glorying to extremity; but so artificial a dissembler, that there was nothing to be seen in him of either. This Eurycles made an acquaintance with Herod; enterchang'd presents and other good offices with him in the house of Antipater; and by that means (being often together) became familiarly acquainted with Alexander: and he would be often saying what a wonderful friendship there was betwixt him and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and how great an honour he had for Glaphyra. So that under the semblance of the most unconcerned and indifferent person in nature, he lay upon the catch for every thing that was said or done, and never fail'd of some pick-thank story or other to carry away with him. He had, in fine, so obliging a way of dividing his good humour, that wherever he apply'd himself, he had the faculty of making people believe that he lov'd nothing else, and that it was only for their sakes and service, if he had any thing to do with others." By this address he gain'd so far upon the affection and esteem of Alexander, that he made choice of him for the single confidant of all his secrets, and the only man that he could safely trust. So he disclos'd to him the whole history of his misfortunes; the unkindness of his father, the death of his mother; Antipater's preference to his brothers in the good graces and affections of the king their father. This oppression, he said, was not to be endur'd; for the aver-

sion was now come to that pass, that he could neither eat nor talk with his children. These secret grievances were safe, he thought, in the breast of a friend; but Eurycles however carry'd every word that pass'd to Antipater. "These are things (says he) that do not concern me; and truly in matters of so dangerous a consequence, I cannot but advise you to look to yourself, and to have a care of Alexander; for he is grown so confident, I perceive, that he does not think it worth his while to mince the matter; but without any scruple throws out the very bottom of his heart in words at length; and the design he has upon the person of his father." Antipater took this from Eurycles as so singular an instance of a respect and friendship, that he could not but acknowledge it with some very considerable presents; and was prevail'd upon in the end to discourse the matter with Herod. The king was so prepossess'd with a disposition to believe any ill thing of Alexander, that what with that prejudice, and other ambiguous hints and circumstances of discourse, he contracted a hatred far more implacable than ever, as was given to understand soon after. Herod, in fine, made him a present of fifty * talents for the generous office he had done him. After this Eurycles went to Archelaus king of Cappadocia, extolling to the skies his son Alexander; and not forgetting the honour he had done himself upon several occasions towards working a reconciliation betwixt him and his father. So that he got money of Archelaus too on the other hand; and carry'd it all off before the mystery of this imposture was detected. Eurycles was now returned into his own country, where he follow'd his old practices still, till he was brought to justice upon the discovery, and banish'd Lacedemon.

Eurycles carries the story to Antipater and Herod.

Herod presents him fifty talents for the good office.

Eurycles gets money out of Archelaus too. Eurycles banish'd out of Lacedemon.

Herod credulous and jealous.

HEROD was not now of a humour as formerly, to content himself with lending an ear to calumnies against his sons, and wait till the slanders were brought to him; but his suspicions did the office of tale-bearers, and his particular scrutinies and enquiries sav'd him the need and trouble of any other accusation: not but that his ear was still open to all informations against the brothers, let them come whence they would; neither was there any thing more welcome to him than those stories: as he was told of one Evaratus of Cous, that was said to be a confederate with Alexander.

It was now come to a kind of strife and competition, who should do most mischief; the worse the office appear'd to the sons, the more acceptable it was to the father; the care of the king's safety being the main pretence. The young princes fell at this time into the most desperate calamity that had yet befallen them. There were two persons, by name, Jucundus and Tyrannus, formerly of Herod's life-guard, and men of mighty credit with him for strength and stature; but somewhat or other they had done that they were banish'd the court for. Alexander knowing these men to be very brave; took them into the guard of his person, and was a bountiful master to them. The king hereupon fell under jealous appre-

Jucundus and Tyrannus banish'd the court.

* Fifty talents weighed five thousand seven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, ten pennyweights; and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds, seven shillings, and six pence; and in gold to two hundred and seventy three thousand, seven hundred and fifty pounds of our money.

And forc'd
by fortune to
accuse Alex-
ander.

The gover-
nor of Alex-
andria put
to the ques-
tion.

Letters pro-
duc'd under
Alexander's
hand.
Alexander
affirms them
to be coun-
terfeits be-
twixt Anti-
pater and
Diophantus.
The brothers
and the wit-
nesses against
them brought
to Jericho.
The people
stone the wit-
nesses, and
would have
ston'd Alex-
ander and
Aristobulus
if Ptolemy
and Pheroras
had not pre-
vented it.

Aristobulus
makes Sa-
lome his con-
fident, and
she betrays
him to He-
rod.

The brothers
bound, and
examined up-
on Salome's
information.

Mela, an am-
bassador
from Arche-
laus to He-
rod.

hensions of them; so that he had them put to the question about the conspiracy: and when they had stood it out as long as flesh and blood could live under the torments, they yielded in the end to this confession, that "they had been solicited by Alexander to take an opportunity of killing the king some time or other while he was a hunting; which might be easily shifted off, under the colour of a fall from his horse upon his own arms; especially having narrowly escap'd such a danger once before. They made a farther discovery of money hid in the stable, and some of the king's lances and darts deliver'd out by the master of the game, to the servants of Alexander by his own order."

THE next man they put to the torture was the governor of Alexandria, upon the question of promising to receive the brothers into the castle, and of putting into their hands the king's treasure that was there deposited. The governor deny'd the charge; but his son declar'd it, and produc'd letters under Alexander's hand, as he pretended, to this effect: "You shall be sure to hear of us, God willing, so soon as ever we are ready for you: wherefore remember to take us into the castle according to your promise." After these letters, Herod made no longer doubt of the conspiracy; but Alexander all the while, insist'd upon the whole story to be only a contrivance of Antipater's, and a forgery of the secretary Diophantus; who was a man famous for counterfeiting other people's hands, and taken afterward in the very act, and punish'd for it.

HEROD, being now at Jericho, after the tormenting the witnesses, had them brought thither to accuse his sons before the people: where the multitude ston'd them to death, and in this fury would have done as much for Alexander and Aristobulus, if Herod, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras, had not prevented it. They were however committed close prisoners; spies set upon them to observe every thing they did or said, and given over for dead men by every body else, as well as by themselves.

IN this extremity Aristobulus bethought himself of trying if he could work Salome his aunt and mother-in-law into some commiseration of his distress, and to a just indignation for the author of it. "Madam, (says he) can you think yourself safe under an accusation of holding a private intelligence with Syllus about the king's affairs in hopes of marrying him?" Salome carried this to her brother, who in a rage forthwith commanded his sons to be both bound, and laid apart one from another, and there to set down severally in writing the particulars of their treasonous design. They wrote as they were order'd, and both agreed in the same story, that they were in no conspiracy at all, and never so much as thought of any. They had some thoughts indeed of making an escape, they said; for the life they led under perpetual jealousies was worse than death.

THERE came at this time upon an embassy to Herod from Archelaus king of Cappadocia, one Mela, a person of eminent quality in that country. Herod was so fond of giving Archelaus to understand how ill he took some-

thing at his hands, that he sent for Alexander out of the prison, and examin'd him over again in the presence of Mela about his escape, whither he intended to go, and what he meant to do with himself. His answer was, that he propos'd to go to Archelaus, his father-in-law, upon his promise to convey him to Rome; and this is all, says he, that ever we were guilty of toward our father, whatever our calumniating adversaries by false and feign'd reports may pretend to the contrary. He wish'd, he said, that Tyrannus and his companions had but been a little more particularly examin'd; but it was Antipater's business to have them put out of danger of telling tales as soon as he could; and so upon the instigation of his instruments, they were hurried to death by the rabble.

HEROD, in this very instant, order'd Alexander and Mela to be carried to Glaphyra, and to have her put to the shift too to discover what she knew of this abominable treason against Herod. They were no sooner come within view of the princess, but upon the first sight of her husband in chains, she fell to tearing of her hair, with other violences upon herself; and into such groans and passions, (the prince bearing her company also in her lamentations) that the people stood amaz'd and confounded, as if they had been planet-struck at so surprizing a spectacle, without knowing what they did, or what they came for; but Ptolemy, at last, who had the guard of the prince, put it to him to know whether or no his wife was concern'd in his plot. "Why you need never doubt that, says Alexander; for wherever I am, she is; a woman as dear to me as my life and soul, and the best wife, and the best mother both in one, upon the face of the earth." "No, no, says the princess, my conscience acquits me; but yet if my owning of a guilt might be any ease to my husband, I would frankly declare it, though I were sure to die with that lye in my mouth." "No, no, again, says Alexander, we are guilty of nothing that's charg'd upon us, and we have de-

serv'd better things at their hands too, who suspect us. As to the thought we had of getting away to our father, and thence to Rome, if that be treason, we are both to answer for it; and Glaphyra confess'd as much." There was matter enough against Archelaus in this passage for a jealous head to work upon; so that Herod presently sent away Olympus and Volumnius with letters to him, with orders to call at Eleusa, a city in Phoenicia, and there to deliver them. They had farther instructions also to expostulate with him, upon a strong presumption of his being engaged with his sons in the confederacy. Their orders were, after the delivery of these letters, to sail forward for Rome; and in case they should find by Nicolaus of Damascus, that Cesar was any thing more tractable now than formerly, they were to present another express to him with the proceedings against Alexander and Aristobulus, and copies of the evidence whereupon they were convicted. Archelaus in his answer own'd his willingness indeed to receive the young men, and that he undertook it as the best service he could do both the father and sons; for he was in truth afraid, lest Herod, in that violent heat of

Glaphyra ex-
amin'd also
before Alex-
ander and
Mela.

The same
question put
also to Alex-
ander.

They agree
in the denial
of the charge.

Herod sends
Olympus and
Volumnius to
Archelaus
with letters
and instruc-
tions.

The sub-
stance of Ar-
chelaus's an-
swer.

wrath

wrath and jealousy, might put them to extremities; but affirming, upon the main, that he had no thought after all, either of sending them to Cesar, or of supporting them against their father.

Cesar reconciled to Herod.

OLYMPUS and Volumnius, upon their coming to Rome, finding Cesar reconciled to Herod, deliver'd their letters according to their order. They were fram'd by the address of Nicolaus, who manag'd his commission after this manner. So soon as ever he came to Rome, and to the emperor's palace,

A formal accusation against Sylleus.

over and above the instructions that he had in charge, he drew up a formal accusation against Sylleus, having gotten unquestionable proofs upon him from the Arabians themselves (who were then miserably divided) of the most flagitious practices that could be imagin'd; as the murder of Obodas, together with several of his relations, for one; and this was all to be made out undeniably by intercepted letters under his own hand. Now this Nicolaus, whose business it was to re-instate Herod in Cesar's favour, took this providential discovery by the right handle, and improv'd it to the advantage of his principal. "If, says he,

The articles of his charge.

"I should now begin my application with an excuse or defence of Herod, it would strike too point-blank upon the emperor; but if I make my way to my matter by a previous charge upon Sylleus, the king's justification will fall in by-the-by." So that the cause being brought on, and a day appointed for the hearing, Nicolaus, with the assistance of the agents of Aretas, advanced an accusation against Sylleus, as the murderer of his lord and master the king, and greater numbers of the Arabians; a man that took up extravagant sums of money toward the embroiling of the publick peace; a profligate corrupter of women, both at Rome and in Arabia; beside the most audacious affront of imposing with lyes and calumnies upon Cesar himself; as for instance, the account he gave of the action of Herod, which was all false from one end to the other. They proceeded upon the whole, till they came to the last article, and there Cesar interposed with a command to Nicolaus to pass over all the rest, and speak to that single point. "Tell me, says the emperor, as

Cesar puts one single question to Nicolaus.

"to that particular of Herod; did not he come with an army into Arabia? Did he not kill two thousand five hundred men there? Did he not carry away prisoners, and ravage the country?" Nicolaus made answer, "That no body could give a better account to these questions than himself; and says he, there is little or nothing true in this whole story, as he has reported it. Neither, with submission, was Herod any Thing to blame upon that occasion." This was such a surprize to Cesar, that with very great attention he heard him forward; and so in order he told him first, "of five hundred talents that Herod had lent him upon his bond, the time of payment claps'd, and the law on his side, for the recovering of the debt upon his country." He told further, "That this body of men that Sylleus calls an army, was no more than a strength barely competent for the putting of

Nicolaus charges Sylleus, and defends Herod.

"a legal claim fairly in execution; and he did not yet proceed rashly neither, though the time of payment being expir'd, he might put the bond in suit when he pleas'd; but he rather applied himself in the first place to Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria; and upon this appeal Sylleus in their presence at Beritum, oblig'd himself upon his oath, by the fortune of Cesar, to make payment of the money to Herod, and to deliver up all refugees to him in thirty days. The time came, but Sylleus perform'd neither of the articles; so that Herod was forced to address the governors once again, who gave their opinion that he might do himself right by distress. Now this was the occasion of his going into Arabia; and this the war that his adversaries have complain'd of with so much aggravation. But how can this be taken for a war, that was done by the approbation and permission of the governors, in prosecution of a lawful right and compact, and after a perjurious violation of a sacred oath, both in the name of the Gods and of Cesar?"

Sylleus swears to make all good, but breaks his word.

Herod gets leave to right himself.

BUT to come now to the prisoners: "There were first a matter of forty of the heads of the Trachonite robbers, and after them a great many more, that when they had broken into Judea, and made havock in the country, fled from Herod into Arabia for sanctuary, where Sylleus did not only entertain them, though the common enemies of mankind, but gave them lands also and protection, and went shares with them in their booty. These were the men now that Sylleus bound himself by oath to restore, together with the borrow'd money, within the time prefix'd; and, Sir, I can with modesty defy any mortal now to say that Herod took any other prisoners in Arabia than these free-booters; nay, and there were several of these that escap'd too."

BUT now after this odious sycophant story of the prisoners, let Cesar only vouchsafe to hear one imposture more that is yet behind, and still more scandalous and provoking than all the rest. "I do affirm, that at the time when we were invaded by a band of Arabians, and that some few of our men fell, Herod in his own defence was forced to make head against them; and upon defeating them, that their general Nacebus was kill'd, and five and twenty of his people with him, and not one man more. Now this number Sylleus has enlarged, and made every man a hundred." Cesar was so mov'd at this Relation, that turning toward Sylleus, he ask'd him with an angry countenance, how many Arabians were slain in that action? He hesitated in his answer, and confess'd himself somewhat mistaken in the number. After this they read the conditions of the bond, and the arbitrations of the governors, and the remonstrances of the cities and towns, complaining of the robberies. Augustus being by this time fully inform'd in the whole matter, pass'd a sentence of death upon Sylleus; took Herod into favour again, and not without acknowledgment of his mistake, in hearkening to those calumnies that transported him to

Sylleus condemn'd to die.

* Five hundred talents weigh'd fifty seven thousand, thirty one pounds, three ounces; and their value in silver amounted to one hundred seventy one thousand, ninety three pounds, fifteen shillings, and in gold to two millions, seven hundred thirty seven thousand, five hundred pounds, English money.

Instructions
to Olympus
and Volum-
nius.

Cesar writes
Herod a con-
doling letter.

such severities against him; telling Sylleus that nothing but the audacious impudence of his lies and flanders could ever have transported him to have departed from the duties of friendship. It came, in fine, to this, that Sylleus was order'd back into Arabia, there to pay his debts, and after that to be put to death. As for Aretas, his presuming to usurp royal authority, without the emperor's leave and consent, stuck in Cesar's stomach still. This was a presumptuous indignity that still gaul'd him; insomuch, that he was thinking to transfer the government of that province to Herod; but upon reading the letters which Olympus and Volumnius brought him, all full of invective and bitterness against his own sons, Cesar chang'd his purpose. Now their instructions were, in case they found Cesar pacified, to deliver him those letters, which they did accordingly; and Cesar, upon the reading of them, considering his age, passion, and misfortunes, retracted his resolution, and thereupon called for the ambassadors of Aretas, and gave them audience, with a check for the temerity of their master in assuming sovereign power to himself upon his own account; and after this reprimand, to their great admiration, he accepted of their presents, and confirm'd Aretas in his authority.

Cesar, upon this reconciliation, wrote Herod a condoling letter for the mortification he had in two such sons; giving him free leave and power to proceed against them as parricides, if he found them engag'd in so unnatural and impious a conspiracy; but if there should be no more in it at last, than the bare contrivance of an escape, it would become him, he said, to content himself with some more moderate animadversion. The advice he gave him upon the whole, was to call a council at Berytus, a place where there were a great many Romans; and there with the assistance of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, together with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, and men of quality, to hear and determine upon the whole matter, and to bring the point to a final decision. This was the substance of Cesar's letter.

CHAP. XVII.

Herod outrageous in his prosperity. He summons a convention to Berytus. Herod charges his sons with rage and bitterness. The power of parents. Resolv'd, that Herod may dispose of his children. Saturninus is for punishing, but not to death. Volumnius presses it for death, and so he was condemn'd. Herod goes for Tyre, and takes Nicolaus with him to Cesarea. Tyro's generous resolution, and his expostulation with Herod. Tyro committed. Tryphon's information against Tyro. Divers tortured about it; three hundred captains, Tyro and his son torn to pieces. Alexander and Aristobulus strangled at Sebaste. The case of Herod and his sons. Herod's inhuman cruelty.

Herod more
outrageous in
his prosperity
than adversity.

THIS letter of Cesar's was joyful news to Herod, upon two accounts; first, as an assurance that he was in favour again; and secondly, as it left him at liberty to do with his sons what he thought fit. It is remarkable, that though he had been formerly in the time of his prosperity a very severe fa-

ther, he never appear'd in those days yet to be rash and bloody toward his children, where matter of life was the question; but now upon this change and re-establishment of his fortune (how it came to pass I know not) he abandon'd himself to an outrageous and unbridled degree of hatred, more extravagant than ever. He sent a summons to all the members of the convention that were to meet at Berytus, according to Cesar's appointment, save only to Archelaus; perhaps out of an aversion to the man, or otherwise for fear he should cross him in his design. When they were all together according to the summons, he would not bring his sons up to the council, but rather kept them a little way off at Platane, a village in Sidon, within distance of appearing, if they should be call'd. The assembly being now met, Herod advanced into the council-chamber alone, and there deliver'd an accusation against his sons, in the presence of a hundred and fifty persons, but without any prologue to the story upon the subject of his own misfortunes, or the necessity of such a proceeding. It was a charge, in fine, of rage and bitterness, that very ill became the mouth of a father, and accompanied with words, countenance, and behaviour, that were all menacing and violent, and not without suspicious symptoms even of a furious madness. His reasonings were confused and inconsistent; his discourse fluttering backward and forward, and dubious; no proofs produced for the guiding of the court; but every thing to be taken upon the credit of the accuser, and the bench rather made parties than judges, and of counsel with the prosecutor against the prisoners. There were some letters of the young princes read, 'tis true; but not one syllable of treachery or malice in them. The crime was their consulting how to get away, and here and there a word in them that imported some dissatisfaction and offence; and when Herod came to that part of the letters, how did he exaggerate the matter with clamours and outcries, that there never was a clearer proof of a conspiracy; backing those exclamations also with oaths, that the very words were worse to him than death. "I might, says he, insist upon the power I have received over my own children, both from nature and from Augustus; to say nothing of an express provision for it by the law of my own country, that if a stubborn and rebellious son shall be accused by his parents, and they lay their hands upon him, the men of the city shall stone him with stones that he die. But I shall yet rather decline my privileges in this cause, and leave the matter to your further consideration, not as judge, whether it be so or no, in a case so indubitably manifest; but to take your opinions along with mine in the justification of the sentence; and for an instructive document to posterity, that such exemplary impieties ought not to escape unpunish'd."

THE convention plainly perceiv'd by the king's violent and furious manner of expressing himself, the bitterness of his intentions; and, since he would not so much as suffer the brothers to speak for themselves, that the business was already resolv'd upon, and hopeless; and so in a despondency they gave their votes that Herod might dispose of his children as he pleased.

He summons
a convention
to Berytus.

Herod
charges his
sons before an
hundred and
fifty persons.

A charge of
rage and bit-
terness.

A speech up-
on the power
of parents
over chil-
dren.

Tyro g
rouly
ates th
fortuna
princes.

Saturninus
for punish-
ing, but not
with death.

The sons of
Saturninus
give their
vote with
their father.
Volumnius is
for nothing
less than
death, and so
they were
condemn'd.
Herod goes
for Tyre, and
meets Nico-
laus in his
way.

Herod takes
him along
with him to
Cesarea.

Tyro gene-
rally vindi-
cates the un-
fortunate
princes.

pleased. The first man that stood up was Saturninus, a person of consular authority, and one that had discharg'd many honourable commissions. "He was, 'tis true, for punishing the prisoners, but not to death, he said; for having children of his own, he was the more sensible of the case; and would be loth, after so many calamities as Herod had endur'd already, to oppress him with the heaviest of all at last." His three sons, as his deputies, spoke next in course, and gave the same sentence as their father; but Volumnius exclaimed, that nothing else but death would satisfy for so horrid a crime; and the majority, following his opinion, carried the question.

THE sentence was no sooner pass'd, but Herod went to Tyre, taking his sons along with him; and meeting Nicolaus in his return from Rome, he first gave him an account of what had pass'd at Berytus; and then ask'd him how affairs went at Rome, and what his friends there said of his sons. Nicolaus told him that every body blam'd them for their lewd practices, and said they deserv'd to be laid in chains for what they had done; nay, and to be put to death too, if the conspiracy should be made out unquestionably clear against them; for people would be apt to say else, that this prosecution had more of caprice or passion in it, than of justice or reason. But however, if Herod found himself otherwise dispos'd, he might do well to set them at liberty, without plunging himself into a difficulty never to be recall'd: this, he said, was the discourse and judgment of his friends at Rome. Herod, upon these words stood a good while, pausing and thoughtful, without one word speaking; and, in the end, bad Nicolaus put to sea with him, and so they went together to Cesarea.

WHEN they came thither, they found the whole town full of the story of Herod and his sons, and every body in pain, and solicitous to think where that prosecution would end; most people fearing the worst, and that so inveterate a rancour would very hardly be satisfied without the death of the brothers. They pitied them with all their hearts, but durst not either openly say so much themselves, or hear it from others; so that they were fain to smother all their resentments, as well of grief as of compassion.

ONLY there was one Tyro, a Veteran soldier of the king's, and a very brave fellow, who, having a son of about Alexander's age, and his particular friend, made no difficulty of speaking out and at liberty, those truths that others suppress'd and kept to themselves, crying out publicly many times, that there was neither truth nor justice left upon the face of the earth, but imposture and malice govern'd in their places; and such a mist cast before the eyes of all mortals, that they could no longer discern right from wrong, or good from evil. This was a dangerous freedom; but withal, so generous an instance of his virtue and courage, in such a time as this, that every person was pleas'd with it; and those who durst not venture so far themselves, had yet a reverence for his hazards; and the man, in truth, must have been insensible and inhuman, that was able to suppress his commiseration in such a case as this; nay, and he did

not rest here neither, but march'd up boldly to the king himself, with a request to have a little private discourse with him; which being granted, he deliver'd himself as follows:

"SIR, says he, I must either break my heart, or give it vent, at what rate soever; for I know the danger of the province I am to undertake, and of the words I am now about to utter; danger, I say, as to myself; but on the other hand of as great a service and advantage to Herod, if he pleases. Pray give me leave to enquire, Sir, what is become of your sense of things and your understanding, that magnanimity of mind and resolution, that in time past hath carried you through so many difficulties? What have you done with all your friends and relations? Have you none left? for I do not reckon those people in that number, that can see such horrid things done in your once happy court and family, and stand idle spectators and unconcern'd? Where are your own eyes all this while? Do you not see what is a doing? Are you resolv'd then to destroy the children of once so dear a wife, and a pair of such matchless hopeful youths too? Can you think at this time of day, of trusting yourself in the hands of an ambitious young man, and of those very persons of your relations that you yourself have so often doom'd to punishment? Do you not find yourself tacitly condemn'd, and your sons lamented by the very multitude, in the profound silence and astonishment of the people? And so for the military men, both officers and common soldiers; they have all aking hearts for the young princes, and lie cursing the authors of their misery."

So far as Tyro's discourse ran upon the subject of his masters calamity, and the treachery of his domesticks, Herod took his liberty well enough; but when he came to pass the bounds of discretion and good manners, in a bold, blunt, military way of expostulation; this freedom look'd liker a reproach than a caution: And Herod taking it that way, ask'd him who those officers or soldiers were that he spoke of. Tyro, nam'd the men, and the king immediately order'd them all, together with Tyro himself, to be taken up and committed.

UPON this occasion, Tryphon, the king's barber, went to Herod with an information against Tyro, for tempting him several times with promises of money and Alexander's favour, to cut the king's throat when he was a shaving him. He had no sooner express'd these words, but the barber, Tyro and his son were all put to the torture. The son seeing his father so unmercifully tormented, and so resolute in his pains, and no hope of mitigation from so cruel a prince, call'd out to the tormentors to take him and his father off, and he would tell them the whole truth of the matter: So upon promise of ease, he declar'd that his father having private access to Herod by himself, had resolv'd to kill him with his own hand, what risk soever he ran, for the service of Alexander. Upon this declaration, his father was deliver'd from that lingering torture; but whether this confession was a truth, or only a pretended shift to get present ease, it does not as yet appear.

Tyro's ex-
postulation
with Herod.

He tells him
it makes the
officers and
soldiers
hearts ache.

Herod bids
Tyro name
them, and
then commits
them with
Tyro him-
self.

Three hundred captains, and the barber who was the evidence; and Tyro and his son torn to pieces by the rabble. Alexander and Aristobulus strangled at Sebaste.

The case of Herod and his sons agitated.

HEROD was now finally resolv'd to proceed to the execution of his purpose, without any further doubt or deliberation about it, (if ever he had made any difficulty of it before) and to leave no place for repentance. So that calling the people together, there were brought forth three hundred captains, Tyro and his son, upon his accusation of them to the multitude, the rabble tore them all to pieces to a man: But Alexander and Aristobulus were sent away to Sebaste, where they were strangled by their father's order; and their bodies deposited at Alexandrion in a sepulchre, with their grandfather by their mother's side, and divers others of their progenitors.

THERE was no great wonder in it perhaps, for an aversion of so long growth and continuance, to extinguish in Herod all sense of humanity and natural affection; but it may be yet a question where to lay the blame; whether upon the young princes forcing their father by a continu'd course of provocations to so implacable a displeasure, or to the hardness of the king's heart; and so insatiable a thirst of glory and absolute power, as not to bear any competition. Or shall we rather impute it to the irresistible power of fortune, which no human wisdom can pretend to controul? For my own part, I am fully persuaded that all human actions are determin'd into a necessary train of consequences; and that providential power we commonly call fate, which orders every thing we do, though not without ascribing somewhat to our endeavours, and the freedom of searching into the causes of the variety of our actions: But this is a deep point, and we shall only touch upon it; the subject being handled more at large in the books of our laws: But now for the two first motives, as to what concerns the sons; they might perhaps in their heat of blood be too bold and imperious; too forward to entertain ill reports of their father, and partial judges of his life and

practice; spitefully suspicious, intemperate in their discourses, and so laying themselves open to spies and informers that sought for matter against them to work upon. But then on the other hand, what could be more scandalous or unpardonable, than for Herod, without any proof, or conviction of any treasonous design, or so much as the presumption of any such contrivance to indulge an impotent passion in the putting of his own sons to death: Persons endow'd with such excellent accomplishments both of mind and body: Well skill'd in all manner of exercises for sports, as well as war; besides considerable for eloquence and polite literature; Alexander, the elder, especially. If nothing less than a condemnation would content him, why were they not rather imprison'd, or banish'd? There would have been no fear of treachery under those circumstances; and as little of any open force either, under the patronage of the power of Rome. Now the taking away their lives thus in such a hurry, to gratify an ungovernable phrenzy, what was it but an instance of an impious, and a tyrannical outrage; and at such an age too as admitted no plea of ignorance or want of experience? Neither does the delay in putting it off thus long, make it one jot the more excusable; for the deliberation aggravates the crime; and it would in some degree have extenuated the horror of the wickedness, if it had been committed in hot blood; or upon the surprize of some enflaming provocation. But to meditate, and consider so long upon so daring an affront to God and nature, and at last to go through with it, nothing but a barbarous and abandon'd profligate could ever have done it. But he liv'd to make this, and the remaining part of his life all of a piece; for he spared none of the rest of his relations, though never so dear to him. They were the less to be pity'd, 'tis true, because they perish'd deservedly; but his cruelty was never the less however, as will be seen further in what follows.

Herod's cruelty to all people made his life all of a piece.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XVII.

From the Tear of the World 3961 to 3973.

CHAP. I.

The death of the sons leads to the murder of the father. Antipater universally hated. Herod had the name, but Antipater the power. Antipater sticks at nothing. He pretends to Salome, and she countermines him. Salome in love with Sylleus. Herod forces him to marry Alexis. He sends Glaphyra back to her father: Whom Herod favours, Antipater hates. The people's tenderness for the princes was a heart-breaking to Antipater. Herod dissolves certain contracts.

The death of the sons, a step to the murder of the father.



ANTIPATER had now made a large step toward the compassing of his impious design upon the life of his father, in the abominable murder of his brothers; but his ambition

spurring him on, things did not yet advance so fast as he would have had them: For there were other obstacles yet in the way. After this remove, there was no body left, 'tis true, betwixt him and home: So that there was no longer any fear or danger of competitors; but he had yet a greater difficulty to encounter, before he could gain his point: That is to say, the mortal hatred of the people, and (what he dreaded more than all the rest) that of the soldiery, the only safeguard and support of princes against factions and tumults. These mischiefs he drew upon his own head, foolishly as well as wickedly, by the destruction of the princes; for if the exercise of power would have tempted him, it was effectually Antipater that govern'd at that time, though Herod sat upon the throne, and the administration of affairs was wholly committed to him: Nay, the very crime that he deserv'd to die for, pass'd for an instance of his affection

and respect; as if he had only consulted the safety and preservation of the king in the death of the princes: Whereas he gratify'd his aversion to the father in what he did, as well as to the sons; and such was his pestilent malice, that he detested them even for their father's sake. It was his business, in short, not to leave one soul alive that could either give evidence of his treason, or oppose him in the execution of it, or that might be in condition to protect Herod against him. But the project being now a-foot, he was upon his utmost peril to go thorough with it. He look'd upon the government as his own, 'tis true, after the death of Herod; but then delays he thought might be hazardous; for if he should come, betwixt this and that, to be detected to his father, it would be his ruin for ever: Wherefore, he spared for no cost or pains, to gain the goodwill of his father's friends, by all the courtly ways of civil offices and magnificent presents that are usual in those cases, even to the degree of overcoming unkindnesses with benefits: His friends at Rome especially, and in the first place, Saturninus the governor of Syria, with his brother. He was not without hope neither of bringing over Salome to his interest, the wife

Antipater universally hated.

Herod had the name of king; but Antipater the power.

Antipater sticks at nothing to advance his interest.

He pretends
to Salome,
and she coun-
termines him

Salome in
love with Syl-
leus.
Herod forces
her to marry
Alexas.

He sends
Glaphyra
back to her
father.

Alexander
had two sons
by Glaphyra;
and Aristobu-
lus had
three sons
and two
daughters by
Berenice.
Herod in-
tends well
for these or-
phans.

The more
Herod fa-
vours them,
the more An-
tipater hates
them.
The people's
tenderness
for the mur-
der'd princes
was a heart-
breaking to
Antipater.

of a particular friend and confident of Herod's. Now Antipater was a man of address, and none better skill'd perhaps in the ways and arts of obliging; beside that for a fair outside to disguise a false heart, no man upon earth was beyond him: But Salome, his aunt, that saw through him all this while, was not to be impos'd upon; but, countermining his mischievous artifices, kept a watchful eye upon him through all his disguises; tho' he had so order'd it, that her daughter, the widow of Aristobulus, was marry'd to his uncle by the mother's side; and the other daughter to Calcas. But neither the one affinity, nor the other, was sufficient, either to cover the wickedness of his intent, or to extinguish the odium he had most justly incurr'd. Salome herself was all this while passionately in love with Sylleus; but Herod, with the assistance of the empress Julia, put her upon marrying Alexas; the empress charging her not to oppose it upon any terms, unless she had a mind to break with her brother for ever, who had bound up himself with a solemn oath, never to own her for his sister, after such a refusal. Salome could not say but it was wholsom counsel, and so yielded to the match.

HEROD, at the same time, sent away Glaphyra, the widow of his son Alexander, and the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, back to her father again, together with the portion he had in marriage with her, that there might be no farther cause of controversy; and, upon the whole matter, he took great care for the education of his grandchildren. Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus, by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, three sons, and two daughters. Herod frequently would be speaking affectionately of these children to his friends, deploring the misfortune of his sons, and putting up ejaculations to God, to preserve their children from the like calamity, and that they might increase in virtue, as well as in years, and live to acknowledge their obligations to their parents. He design'd the daughter of his brother Pheroras for wife to the eldest son of Alexander; and the daughter of Antipater to the eldest son of Aristobulus; and to the son of Antipater, one of Aristobulus's daughters: the other daughter to his son Herod, that he had by the daughter of the high-priest; for Polygamy is allowable among us. The principal design the king had in these alliances, was in pity to the orphans, to oblige Antipater by this affinity, to treat them with the greater tenderness. But when all was done, he had just as much kindness afterward for the children, as he had for their fathers before; and Herod's commiseration was so far from softening Antipater, that on the contrary it made him fierce and jealous; and the more the king favour'd them on the one hand, the more Antipater hated them on the other, for fear when they were arriv'd at years of maturity they should set up themselves: especially with the assistance of Archelaus the king, and Pheroras the Tetrarch, whose son at that time stood fair to marry one of the daughters. It was another dreadful mortification to him, to see the compassion the people had for the case and memory of the unfortunate princes, and with what detestation they look'd upon the contrivers of their ruin; waiting all this

while over and above, for an opportunity of exposing Antipater for his malicious practices against his brethren. And it vex'd him to the soul again, to think, according to the present state of matters, how fair his nephews stood to put in for shares in the government; and no way to secure himself but by prevailing with Herod to dissolve the aforesaid contracts; which, with much importunity, he obtained, and got the promise of the daughter of Aristobulus for himself; and for his son, the daughter of Pheroras: Whereupon the former marriage agreements were all made void.

Herod pre-
vail'd upon
to dissolve
certain con-
tracts.

HEROD had now nine wives; the first, was the mother of Antipater; the second, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, by whom he had a son, whom he call'd by his own name. The third was the daughter of his brother; and the fourth his cousin-german, by which two he had no issue. The fifth, a Samaritan, by whom he had two sons, Antipas and Archelaus, and one daughter call'd Olympias, who was afterwards marry'd to Joseph the king's kinsman. Archelaus and Antipas were brought up at Rome by a particular friend. His sixth wife was Cleopatra of Jerusalem, by whom he had Herod and Philip, which Philip was also bred up at Rome. The name of his seventh wife was Ballas, by whom he had Phasaël. His eighth was Phedra; and the ninth Elpis, by whom he had two daughters, Roxana and Salome. As to his two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne, (those that Pheroras refus'd in marriage) he marry'd one of them to Antipater, the son of his sister Salome; and the other (as we have said already) to the son of his brother Phasaël: And let this suffice for the family of Herod.

CHAP. II.

Zamaris, a Jew, plants in Syria. Herod invites him to Batanea. Herod secures the Jews in their profession and liberties. Philip levies some small taxes. Zamaris dies. Facimus dies, and leaves his son Philip general of his army.

HEROD was now contriving how to fortify himself against the Trachonites; to which end he resolv'd upon the building of a large spacious village in the middle of the country, which might serve as a strong garrison, both to secure that quarter from inroads, and upon any occasion to fall out upon the enemy. While Herod had this project in his head, some body happen'd to tell him of a certain Jew that came out of Babylon with five hundred horse-men, with bows and arrows, and near a fifth part of them of his own relations: And that with these troops he passed the Euphrates to plant himself about Daphne in Syria, where Saturninus the governor gave him a castle called Valatha, not far from Antioch, for his habitation. Herod upon this intelligence, sent an invitation to the Jew, and all his people to come over to him, with a promise of lands, and other conveniences in the territory of Bathanea upon the borders of Trachonitis, with privileges of exemption from all duties and tributes, for the lands as well as for the men, and a commission only to defend that quarter against the incursions of vaga-

Zamaris a
Jew passes
the Euphra-
tes with 500
horse-men to
plant in Sy-
ria.

Herod invites
him to Ba-
thaneia, upon
certain con-
ditions.

The v
trust o
gover
lodg'd
tipate

None
great
tipate
Phero

Phero
hates
men;
makes
with

The Jew accepts of Herod's terms, and settles at Bathyra: and secures the Jews in the practice of their profession.

They enjoy their liberties during Herod's reign.

Philip levies some small taxes. Agrippa, and the Romans afterwards augment them; but their persons free. Zamaris dies, and leaves a virtuous issue.

Jacymus dies, and leaves his son Philip general of his army.

vagabonds and robbers. Zamaris the Babylonian was well enough pleas'd with the conditions; accepted the offer, and built forts upon the ground that was allotted him, together with a town that he called by the name of Bathyra; and in this post he did not only protect the inhabitants against the free-booters, but secur'd the Jews also who travelled from Babylon to Jerusalem, according to the duty and practice of their profession.

UPON this provision, there join'd him vast numbers of such of the Jews as made a conscience of the laws and religion of their forefathers, peopling the country to admiration, for the sake of the advantages and immunities above mentioned, which they enjoy'd without molestation or controversy, during Herod's reign: But Philip indeed that succeeded him, charged them with some small impositions; but they did not last long. Agrippa the Great, and his son after him, of the same name, burden'd them with heavy taxes, 'tis true, and so did the Romans after them; but still their persons were left at liberty, of which we shall say more hereafter. As for Zamaris the Babylonian, that Herod put into the possession of this command, after a long and a virtuous life, he left children behind him, that inherited the honourable qualities of their father. And among others, there was Jacymus a cavalier, than whom there was no man living had a greater reputation for courage and bravery; and one who had serv'd the kings of Babylon in their guards. This Jacymus dy'd at a great age, and left behind him a son, Philip; who for his exemplary valour and probity, was in such esteem with king Agrippa, that he made him general of his army.

CHAP. III.

The government lodg'd in Antipater. Pheroras hates, but flatters the women; who are all of a piece. The conspirators cautious. Salome discovers all. The women take part with the Pharisees; who refuse the oath of allegiance. A fine set upon the Pharisees; and Pheroras's wife pays it. Bagoas and other Pharisees put to death. An information against the wife of Pheroras. Pheroras refuses to part with his wife. Antipater and his mother forbid coming together.

WHILE Herod's affairs were in this posture, as above, and himself possess'd with such a confidence of the faith, zeal, and affection of his son, the authority and administration of all publick affairs was effectually lodg'd with Antipater, which trust, however, he did most abominably abuse; but daubing over the foulness of his hypocrisy with such specious and artificial pretences, that every word he said pass'd with his father for truth, and matter of fact: So that in effect he was not less dangerous for his craft, than for his power. But none so great in appearance, after all, as he and Pheroras; the latter being circumvented, and drawn into the snare by the women that were in the faction with the other. For Pheroras durst not disoblige, either his wife, his mother-in-law, or his sister; though in his heart he hated them all mortally, for the indignities they had put upon his virgin-daughters. But these were things to be dispens'd with, by one who had people to deal with so necessary to the main business;

and privy, over and above, to so many dangerous secrets, and consequently one to another: Beside that Antipater was devoted to them to the highest degree, both upon his own account, and his mother's; for these four women were all of a piece. But Pheroras and Antipater would be peevish one with another yet for trifles: That is to say, at the instigation of Salome, that blew the coal betwixt them, and was so particularly inform'd in the whole train of the design from end to end, that she was just upon the brink of discovering the conspiracy to Herod himself. Now the accomplices finding their cabals watch'd, and observ'd their correspondency suspected of mystery and intrigue, and themselves under the jealousy and displeasure of the king; they laid their heads together, and came to a resolution, not to meet so publickly for the time to come, but to pretend quarrellings and fallings-out, and be railing at one another continually; especially when either Herod himself, or any body else that would be sure to tell him again, was in hearing: But for the league and confidence, that was still carry'd on in private; and at this rate they manag'd. Now Salome plainly saw thro' their whole design; tracing every step of it from the first contrivance, quite through the whole conduct of it; and finally to the execution itself; and still as she pick'd up any thing to enflame the misunderstanding, she immediately inform'd her brother of it, not without additions: As she would be telling him every particular of the close intelligence they held, their secret consultations, and how much it concern'd him to provide for his safety betimes; for no less than his life was at stake. As for the contumelious language they used to one another before company, that was all counterfeit and collusion, she said; for they were very good friends when they were alone; but enemies undoubtedly to all those to whom they would have that friendship carry'd as a secret. She made the best, in fine, of her discoveries, and all went to her brother in course, who, by this time, had gotten some intelligence of the matter; but conceal'd his thoughts awhile, without taking all for granted that his sister told him, whom he knew to be ill-natur'd enough to make the worst of every thing.

THIS set of women were mightily devoted to a certain sect among the Jews that valu'd themselves upon their legal righteousness, and an ostentation of being holier than their neighbours. These people had the name of Pharisees; an arrogant, crafty sort of men, that in the pride and vanity of their hearts, make no conscience of affronting kings, and trampling royal authority under their feet. As for instance: When the whole nation of the Jews were call'd upon to swear allegiance to Cesar, and to the king, these were the only refusers, to the number of above seven thousand: And being condemn'd afterwards in a sum of money for this refusal, the wife of Pheroras laid down the fine. These people having gotten to themselves the reputation of the spirit of prophecy, and the special direction and assistance of divine revelation, gave it out, in requital for the good office of paying the fine, that God had determin'd the transferring of the kingdom from Herod and his line, to the prince, and her husband Pheroras, and their issue. Salome gave the king notice of this, and of the

The women all of a piece.

The conspirators manage with more caution.

Salome discovers the intrigue and the cabal.

The women much addicted to the Pharisees.

They refuse to swear allegiance to the king and Cesar, and are fin'd for it. Pheroras's wife lays down the fine.

The Pharisees foretel the translation of the government to Pheroras.

The whole trust of the government lodg'd in Antipater.

None so great as Antipater and Pheroras.

Pheroras hates the women; but makes fair with them.

Bagoas, and other Pharisees, taken up and put to death.

Herod exhibits information against the wife of Pheroras;

and presses Pheroras to put her away.

Pheroras absolutely refuses.

Herod forbids Antipater and his mother, &c. any communication with Pheroras. But they meet still by stealth.

bribery and corruption that had been practis'd at court in favour of this interest. Upon a strict search and enquiry, there were several of the Pharisees taken up, and put to death, as the principal authors of this seditious presage; and among others there was Bagoas the eunuch, and Herod's minion Carus; a youth that he doted upon for the charms of his person and beauty: beside several others in his own family that were convicted of the conspiracy, upon the proof and testimony of the Pharisees themselves: who perswaded Bagoas into an opinion and belief, that he was to be celebrated as the parent and benefactor of the prince that was design'd for the throne; for every thing should succeed well to the new king, and the government be establish'd to his family in a legitimate issue.

SOON after the trial, conviction and execution of the Pharisees, Herod call'd a council of his friends, and exhibited an accusation against the wife of Pheroras; "alleging, that it was by her counsel and advice, that his brother so contemptuously rejected the tender of the royal virgins to him in marriage, and that she had, most unnaturally and against all law, fomented a feud betwixt brethren to the uttermost of her power, as well in deeds as in words: that she herself had sided with the rebellious and contumacious Pharisees, in paying the fine that himself had impos'd upon them: and in short, that she was guilty, more or less, of the whole conspiracy. And therefore Pheroras should do well, he thought, to cast off that lewd woman of himself, that had done such wicked offices betwixt so near relations: especially considering the case to be now come to this point, that Pheroras must either reject that woman for his wife, or never expect to be own'd by Herod for his brother."

THESE passionate expressions of Herod could not but affect Pheroras very sensibly; but yet with a saving to all the duty and respect that he ought, both to a prince, and to a brother; he made a publick protestation that nothing in the world should ever make him renounce his dear wife, and that he would rather die than live without her. Herod sufficiently resenting this indignity; but stifled his resentment, only forbidding Antipater and his mother any communication with Pheroras, and barring the court ladies the freedom of their usual conversations. They all promis'd that they would observe the king's orders, but nevertheless kept up by stealth their private entertainments; Pheroras and Antipater especially. People talk'd at that time of an intrigue betwixt Antipater and the wife of Pheroras, and that the mother of Antipater brought them together.

CHAP. IV.

Antipater uneasy. He gets himself sent for to Rome. Herod sends him with presents, and his last will and testament. Sylleus charg'd with treason, and to be try'd at Rome.

Herod's ill humour makes Antipater uneasy.

ANTIPATER began now to be uneasy, under the ill humour and growing jealousies of Herod; and fearing to be ru-

in'd by the effects of his displeasure, he wrote to his friends at Rome, to get him sent for in all haste to wait upon Augustus. This was done, and Herod dispatch'd Antipater with rich presents, and his last will and testament; wherein he declar'd Antipater his successor; or in case of his decease, his son Herod, that he had by the daughter of the high-priest.

AT the same time, Sylleus the Arabian went also to Rome, not having performed, it seems, what Cesar had order'd him. Antipater charged him there before Augustus, in like manner as Nicolaus had done before. Artas accused him also, for having put several men of honour to death at Petra, contrary to his will and order, and among others Sohemus, a man upon all accounts eminent for his virtue: and so likewise Fabatus, a servant of Cesar's. The business was this: There was a certain Corinthian in Herod's guards, that the king very much confided in. Sylleus treated with this man for a sum of money to kill the king, and proceeded so far with him, that the thing was agreed upon. Fabatus had this account from the mouth of Sylleus, and forthwith went and inform'd the king of it. The Corinthian was presently put to the question, who upon a particular scrutiny, acknowledg'd the design, and brought two Arabians also into the plot; the one of them a person of great quality; and the other a singular friend of Sylleus, who being likewise put to the torture, confess'd that they came thither on purpose to press the Corinthian to the execution of what he had undertaken, and to assist him also in the exploit, if there should be occasion. The informations were sent by Herod to Saturninus, and by him to Rome, where the cause was to be heard and decided.

Antipater gets himself sent for to Rome. Herod sends him to Rome with presents, and his last will and testament.

Sylleus charg'd with treasonous practices.

The cause to be try'd at Rome.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras sent to his government; who swears never to return, during Herod's life. Herod falls sick, and sends for Pheroras: who excuses himself upon his oath. Pheroras falls sick and dies.

WHEN Herod saw that the love and tenderness Pheroras had for his wife cou'd not be shock'd, he sent him back to his government, which he very willingly comply'd with, binding himself by an oath never to return again during the life of Herod; and he was as good as his word; for the king soon after falling sick, and he himself being call'd upon to make him a visit, and receive some secret orders from him before he dy'd, Pheroras excus'd himself that he was under an oath, and durst not break it; but Herod lov'd his brother still as well as ever he did; and without following his example. Pheroras himself falling sick soon after, Herod, of his own accord, went to visit him. This distemper carry'd him off, and the king took order for the transporting of his body to Jerusalem, where it was honourably interr'd. This calamity was the forerunner of great mischiefs to Antipater, tho' at present at Rome; for divine justice call'd him afterward to an account for the blood of his brothers. I shall now give the story of it at length, and in order; for an exemplary case

Pheroras sent back to his government; who takes an oath never to return in Herod's life.

Herod falls sick and sends for Pheroras.

Pheroras excuses himself upon his oath.

Pheroras falls sick soon after, and dies.

to mankind, and for a caution to posterity, to govern themselves in all contingencies, by the measures of equity and virtue.

C H A P. VI.

An enquiry about the death of Pheroras. A poison brought him by a confident of Sylleus's mistress. The sister and mother of Pheroras's wife fetch it. Several women tortur'd about it. The mother of Antipater charged with it, and the practice prov'd. Doris stript of her jewels, and banish'd. Antipater in a plot to poison the king. Pheroras's widow discovers all. Pheroras's last words in discharge of his conscience. More witnesses examin'd. Herod turns off one of his wives. Bathyllus brings poison from Rome, for Antipater's mother and Pheroras.

Enquiry about the death of Pheroras.

A poison brought him by a confident of Sylleus's mistress.

The sister and mother of Pheroras's wife fetch it.

Several women tortur'd about it.

The mother of Antipater charged with it. The practice prov'd to every point.

PHERORAS being now dead, two of his Trachonite-freemen that he lov'd extremely were very earnest with Herod for a strict enquiry to be made how their master came to that miserable end; and that in case it should be found he was poison'd, his death might not pass unreveng'd. They inform'd Herod (who laid a great stress upon every word they said) that the night their master was taken ill, he sup'd with his wife, where he was treated with an odd and unusual dish of meat that struck him to the heart upon the very taking of it. This was brought him by an Arabian woman under the name of a dish to inspire love, but was in truth, a mortal poison; the women of that country being the best skill'd in the art of poisoning of any in the world. The woman they charg'd it upon, was found to be an intimate friend and acquaintance of Sylleus's mistress, the mother and sister of Pheroras's wife, the persons that went to her for the poison; and that they came back together, the day before the administering of this deadly draught. The king was so transported upon the hearing of this story, that he presently order'd several of the women to be put to the torture, free, as well as slaves. They stood mute a long time; but one of them at last, in the horror of her pain, burst out into this exclamation: "Ah! (says she) that the mother of Antipater were in my place now; for that lewd woman has been the cause of all our misery." This discovery put Herod upon a resolution to extort out of them every particular of the intrigue, and so to run thorough the whole history of it from point to point: as all their secret meetings, collations, close consultations and cabals; several occasional discourses that pass'd betwixt Herod and Antipater, were made common talk among the women, even to the * hundred talents that were given to keep things from the knowledge of Pheroras. The women witnesses farther enlarged upon the hatred he had for his father, and how he would be often complaining to his mother, that "he thought the old fellow would never die;" when yet at the same time, he was so far in years himself, that the government wou'd have been but of little service to him, had he acceded to it; beside so

many sons, and grand-children in view, that he had a very uncertain prospect of the succession: nay, and as matters stood at present, the kingdom was to descend to his brother, not to his son, in case he himself should be taken out of the way. The witnesses spoke farther to his common practice of inveighing against his father for his cruelty and barbarity to his own sons; insomuch that he himself was forced away to Rome, and Pheroras to his government to get out of his reach.

THIS was all so consonant to what his sister had formerly told him, that without the ceremony of any farther doubt or deliberation, Doris, the mother of Antipater, was as good as convict of a most malicious part of the treason, and immediately stript of all her jewels to the value of many talents, and expell'd the palace: but for the women of Pheroras's family, the king was gentler to them, for the sake of their information. There was matter abundantly against Antipater; but the most provoking and unpardonable Article of his accusation, was drawn from the confession of Antipater the Samaritan, an officer in a place of trust under the other Antipater: who, among other things, declared, that his master had put a mortal poison into the hands of Pheroras for the king to take in his absence, when the work might be done with the less suspicion. This poison he said, was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus a friend of Antipater, whose uncle Theudion, the brother of his mother Doris, sent it to Pheroras, who gave it to his wife to keep. Herod, upon this, took the woman into examination, who confess'd she had it; and making a shew as if she went to fetch it, she cast herself down from one of the palace galleries into the court: but falling upon her feet, the bruise was not mortal. So soon as she came to herself again, the king promis'd both her, and her family their pardon, upon condition that they declar'd the whole truth; with menaces of the uttermost rigour of torments, if either by obstinacy, or otherwise, they should conceal any part of the design. Upon this Pheroras's widow bound herself by a solemn oath to tell the whole matter of fact without any reserve; and most people were of opinion, that her confession was ingenuous and true. "That poison (says she) was brought by Antiphilus out of Egypt, and prepar'd by a brother of his, that was a physician there. Your son Antipater bought it with a design to poison your majesty. Theudion brought it to Pheroras, who deliver'd it to me. My husband afterward falling sick, had so pious and passionate a sense of your generous friendship, in the charitable visit you were pleas'd to make him, that he called me to him, and told me: wife (says he) here's Antipater has inveigled me into a most unnatural plot for the poisoning both of my brother and his father; so that in the sense I have of the steadiness of the king's affection to me, and of my own condition as a dying man, I am resolv'd, God willing, never to carry into another world with me, the guilt and infamy of so base a conspira-

Doris stript of her jewels, and banish'd.

Antipater in a plot to poison the king.

Pheroras's widow declares the whole upon oath. Pheroras's last words to his wife in discharge of his conscience.

* An hundred talents (as was before observed) weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred eighteen pounds fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand, five hundred pounds of our money.

“cy; wherefore let the poison be immediately brought up and thrown into the fire before my face: upon which words (says she) I fetcht it presently, and threw it into the fire, as he had order’d me; saving only a very small remainder of it that I kept for my own use, in case it should be my lot after the death of my husband to be put to extremities myself.” With these words, she took out the poison that was left, with the box it was in, and produced them both in the court. In the next place, the mother of Antipater, and another brother of his, were both put to the question, and confirmed the same thing over again, with evidence to the very box itself. There was an accusation exhibited also against one of the king’s wives, the daughter of the high-priest; but they got nothing out of her: Herod however, cast her off, and struck her son, of his own name, out of his will, whom he design’d his successor, if Antipater had dy’d before him. He deposed Simon also, his father-in-law, and the son of Boethus, from the pontificate, and promoted Matthias of Jerusalem, the son of Theophilus, in his stead.

More witnesses put to the question.

Herod turns off one of his wives.

Bathyllus brought poison from Rome, for Antipater’s mother and Pheroras.

In this interim, Bathyllus, one of Antipater’s freemen, came from Rome, and being put to the torture, confess’d that he brought poison, for Antipater’s mother and Pheroras, with an intent that if one fail’d, they might try the other. There came at the same time certain letters from Rome, to Herod, but of Antipater’s direction and contrivance; and manag’d likewise by his friends, who in presents and gratifications were well paid for their pains. These letters insisted much upon the liberties that Archelaus and Philip took at every turn, to talk so scandalously of Herod for the murder of Alexander and Aristobulus, and of the compassion they had for the poor innocent brothers; suggesting also, that they themselves were now call’d back again only to be treated after the same manner with those that went before them. This was all Antipater’s contrivance from one end to the other, and not without fair letters to Herod of his own too, over and above, for the better colour of the business. They were hot young men, he said, and the more excusable, tho’ perhaps not so temperate and respectful in their words, as they might have been; with a great deal more of such stuff to the same purpose. The controversy went on all this while with Syllus; and Antipater had made as many friends at court as the expence of two * hundred talents, in presents, and gallantries, could procure him. It was a strange thing now, that in seven months time (for so long had this scrutiny been a foot) Antipater should never get the least intelligence of the matter; but what with the watches and guards that beset the passages, and the universal malice of the people to Antipater, there was not a man to be found that would run any risque for the informing, or the saving of him.

CHAP. VII.

Herod’s letters to Antipater. The news of Pheroras’s death. Antipater goes to Sebaste;

where he is received with curses instead of acclamations. Quintilius Varus in council with Herod at Jerusalem. Antipater comes in his robes to the palace-gates, where himself is admitted, and his followers kept out. Antipater charg’d with fratricide and treason; to be try’d next day, and Varus his judge. Salome, the witnesses and discoverers, all produced. Herod’s aggravation. Antipater’s defence; who offers himself to the torture. Nicolaus of Damascus manages the cause; advising Varus to do justice. Antipater accused for dealing with wizards. His character and hypocrisy. An experiment of the poison. Antipater made a prisoner. Letters intercepted from Antipater to Antipater. A letter from Acme. Forg’d letters. Acme a pensioner to Antipater. Antipater names Antipater for a conspirator. Herod sends a state of the case to Rome.

ANTIPATER, having written to the king that he was upon settling his affairs at Rome, and preparing for his return, Herod advised him by all means, in a sly temperate way of answer, to make what haste he could homeward, for fear any thing should fall out amiss in his absence: and not one angry word in his letter, more than some slight glances upon his mother, which would be easily made up again when they came together. This was all carry’d with mighty professions of candour and friendship from Herod; for he fear’d if Antipater had entertain’d the least suspicion of a trick in it, he would delay his journey upon it, nor did he know what interest he might make at Rome toward the supplanting of him in his government. These letters came to Antipater’s hand as he was upon the way in Cilicia; but for those that brought him tidings of the death of Pheroras, he received them at Tarentum, and with a sorrowful heart too, not for the love of Pheroras, but for the disappointment of poisoning the king, which he had undertaken for. Upon his coming to Celenderis, a city of Cilicia, he had a kind of misgiving upon him, that stagger’d him, whether he should go forward or no. The scandal that lay upon his mother very sensibly affected him; and deliberating what to do, his friends were divided upon the question. Some advis’d him to delay his return a while, and wait the event; others, for hastening all he could home again, making no doubt at all but upon his appearance he would clear himself to all manner of purposes; for what was it, even at present, but his being out of the way that gave his adversaries so much advantage over him, by tales and calumnies! this advice carry’d it: so that he continu’d his course to Sebaste, a port that Herod had erected at an incredible expence, in honour of Augustus. By this time, every body read Antipater’s fate; for he that at his departure was follow’d with benedictions, vows and acclamations, had not so much as one person now to take any kind of notice of him, or to bid him welcome; but for curses and imprecations, he had them in abundance; the people crying aloud to heaven for vengeance upon him for the blood of his murder’d brothers.

An artificial way of correspondence betwixt Antipater and Herod.

Herod’s letters came to Antipater upon the way in Cilicia.

The news of Pheroras’s death met him at Tarentum. Antipater doubts at Celenderis whether to go forward or no.

His friends are for it, and so he advances to Sebaste; where he is received with curses instead of acclamations.

* Two hundred talents weighed twenty two thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred and thirty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thousand pounds of our money.

Quintilius Varus in counsel with Herod at Jerusalem. Antipater comes to the palace-gates in his robes. Himself admitted, but his followers shut out.

Antipater charged with fratricide and treason, to be try'd next day, and Varus his judge. He consults his mother and his wife, and prepares for his trial. The council meets; Varus and Herod presidents.

Salome, the witnesses and discoverers all produc'd.

Herod aggravates Antipater's ingratitude.

QUINTILIUS Varus, the successor of Saturninus in the government of Syria, happen'd to be now at Jerusalem, and at this very time in counsel with Herod. While they were sitting upon publick business, Antipater in his purple robes, comes to the palace gates, which were set open to him; but immediately shut again upon his followers. This struck him into such a damp (for he knew nothing as yet of the matter) that he began now to think with himself whereabouts he was: but more especially, when upon presenting himself to his father's embrace, he found himself rejected with indignation, and upbraided with reproaches of fratricide and treason; for these, he was told, were the crimes would be charg'd upon him the day following; and Varus there present to be his judge: this surprize daunted him as if he had been thunder-struck; so he went his way, meeting his mother and his wife in his passage. The latter was the daughter of Antigonus, Herod's predecessor, by whom being inform'd of all that had pass'd upon the state of the cause, he prepared for his trial.

NEXT day there met a great council; Varus and Herod presidents, and their friends about them. Salome the king's sister, was cited thither also, with others of their relations. There was likewise the discoverers of the conspiracy; the witnesses that had been upon the torture; and in the last place, some of the domesticks of the mother of Antipater that had been taken up a little before his return from Rome, and letters for him found about them to this effect: giving him caution, "That he should not by any means come back; for the king knew all, and he had best have a care how he fell into his hands: concluding, in fine, that he had no way in the world to save himself, but by casting himself upon Cesar's clemency and protection." Antipater made it now his request to Herod, only to be admitted to his defence, and not condemn'd unheard. The king presently bad him rise, and stand forth to take his trial.

"I AM (says Herod) an unfortunate man to have been the father of such children, and to fall at last in my old age now into the hands of such a wretch as Antipater. And so he amplify'd upon the care he had taken for him in his institution and education; and reproaching him, that he never ask'd, or so much as wish'd for any thing out of his fortune that he deny'd him. And what return for all this, but a conspiracy against his life, in requital; and the seizing of a crown, by an impious violence, that by the double right of both title and free gift, were to come to him in course? I cannot imagine (says he) what advantage he could propose to himself in the gratifying of so extravagant an ambition; for he had made him a successor (he said) by his will, and effectually a partner with him in dignity, glory and power, even in his life-time: beside the settling of * fifty talents a year

upon him for a revenue, and an allowance of three † hundred more, for the expence of his journey now to Rome. As for his charge upon his brothers, either they were guilty, and he himself at the same time their imitator, as well as their accuser; or on the other side, if innocent, then was he again the calumniator and the murderer. For he had nothing against them (he said) but out of his own mouth, and so was the sentence as well as the information: so that in this act he had acquitted his brothers, and taken the execrable impiety of treason and parricide upon himself."

HEROD was overcome with so passionate a fit of weeping upon this tender occasion, that he could go no further; and so desired Nicolaus of Damascus, his antient and particular friend, and one that was thoroughly instructed in this matter, to proceed to the examination of the criminals, and to the conviction of his son. Antipater, by way of prevention, apply'd himself to his defence, and improv'd all the instances of his father's kindness to the justification of his own piety and deserts, assuming to himself to have done his duty to all purposes. "What likelihood

Antipater's defence.

(says he) that after the rescuing of my father from the treacheries of so many other people, I should at last turn traitor to him myself, and blast the reputation of a try'd and an unspotted loyalty, with so foul a blot in the conclusion? what could I pretend, or but desire to make me greater, or better than in truth I was? or how could I be such a fool, as under these splendid circumstances, to make myself a scandalous villain, only for infamy and loss? for the succession was with all formality of law already settled upon me, and myself so far admitted by the king's bounty into a share with him in the exercise of his royal power, that I was effectually in the very possession of the government, rather than in the expectancy of it; and no one either to controul, or to envy my claim. Why should I struggle now for that with danger, which my virtue had put me in a quiet enjoyment of; and expose myself by so doing, to a most certain infamy, for the vain flattery of an uncertain hope; especially considering how this ambition sped with my brothers, whom I myself accused, convicted and punish'd? this I did (says he) and this I shall never repent of; but on the contrary, value my self upon the merit of that service, as the highest instance I could give my dear father of a filial and inviolable love and duty. As to my behaviour in the city of Rome, I dare appeal to Cesar himself, who is no more to be imposed upon than an oracle, and to several of his letters that I could produce under his own hand in my favour. Pray then, would it not be hard now to set up the calumnies of wicked men, and profess'd enemies against the authority of these sacred evidences? A scandalous sort of pick-thanks, that are never

* Fifty talents weighed five thousand seven hundred and three pounds one ounce ten pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds seven shillings and sixpence, and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred fifty pounds of our money.

† Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thousand two hundred eighteen pounds nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred two thousand, six hundred fifty six pounds five shillings, and in gold to one million six hundred forty two thousand, five hundred pounds of our money.

“ so well pleased as when they are embroil-
 “ ing the royal family; as they have now
 “ made advantage of my absence for the pos-
 “ sessed of people with false and defamatory
 “ rumours against me, which they were never
 “ able to compass so long as I was within di-
 “ stance of speaking for myself.” Toward
 the end of his discourse, he made a short di-
 gression upon the reason and custom of examin-
 ing by torture; “ which was as likely a way
 “ (he said) to extort a falsity as a truth; for
 “ whether true, or false, the tormented must
 “ expect to be kept in pain till he be brought
 “ to confess what the tormentor would have
 “ him say:” and yet Antipater, after all this,
 offer’d himself to the question, and to abide
 the issue of it. He deliver’d these words
 with so passionate a transport of tone, tears,
 action, striking his head, and the like, that
 the council were extremely mov’d at it; and
 the greatest enemies he had could not but pity
 him: nay, Herod himself was observ’d to re-
 lent, notwithstanding the utmost he could do
 to conceal it.

Antipater of-
 fers himself
 to the tor-
 ture.

Nicolaus of
 Damascus
 takes up the
 cause where
 the king left
 it.

WHEN Antipater had gone thus far, Nico-
 laus took up the cause where the king left it;
 “ scann’d and sifted every article; cited and
 “ summ’d up the proofs; the names of the
 “ witnesses, and the particular confessions of
 “ those that had been put to the question.
 “ He pass’d then to the subject of the king’s
 “ bounty, care and tenderness in the educa-
 “ tion of his children, and how ill it was
 “ answer’d. As for Alexander and Aristobu-
 “ lus, while they were under the dominion
 “ of ambition, rather than avarice, and hur-
 “ ry’d on by the intemperate motions of youth
 “ and hot blood, it was not so much a won-
 “ der for them (he said) to be debauch’d by
 “ evil counsel and lewd company, into a neg-
 “ lect or contempt of their duty; but as to
 “ the case of Antipater, it was worse than
 “ brutal, for in the very fiercest of beasts them-
 “ selves, there is yet a kind of natural gra-
 “ titude for their keepers and their feeders:
 “ whereas this young man was so far from
 “ being gain’d upon by the goodness and
 “ bounty of an indulgent father, that as he
 “ was not to be deterr’d by the calamitous
 “ example of his brothers; so on the contra-
 “ ry, he valu’d himself upon an emulation of
 “ their wickedness and cruelty. Was it not
 “ yourself, Antipater (says he) that first dis-
 “ cover’d their design? were not you then
 “ the prosecutor? and you yourself again, the
 “ director of the sentence, and consequently
 “ of the punishment? this is not now to re-
 “ flect upon your zeal and indignation in so
 “ just a cause; but it stumbles me to find you
 “ so bitter against your brothers, for the ve-
 “ ry same thing that you do yourself: which
 “ manifestly shews, that your business was
 “ not so much the preservation of the father,
 “ as the ruin of the children; and under the
 “ colour of a severe brother, to get the re-
 “ putation of a tender and a dutiful son; and
 “ so with the more security, to stalk under
 “ that cloak up to the king himself. And
 “ this was the exploit you were now about.
 “ How came it to pass else, that the brothers
 “ were put to death, and not their accomplices?
 “ what could be the meaning, or the end of
 “ this; but first, that you and they were a-
 “ gued upon the matter; and secondly, that

“ so soon as the first difficulty should be over,
 “ they might be within call to help you out
 “ with the next? so that you had a double
 “ satisfaction in the contemplation of your
 “ wickedness; the one was by imposing pub-
 “ lickly upon the world in a most flagitious
 “ impiety for an honourable and a meritori-
 “ ous virtue; the other was in the carrying
 “ on, and the hope of executing that inhu-
 “ man barbarity yourself, which you took up-
 “ on you but now to revenge in others. If
 “ you had heartily detested that malice, you
 “ would as well have abhorr’d the imitation
 “ of it. But you, have had the wit however,
 “ to take the best people out of the way first;
 “ and to set yourself clear of competitors,
 “ being resolved to leave neither rivals nor
 “ witnesses; and that being done, to crown
 “ the murder of the brothers with that of the
 “ father, and by so doing, not only to escape
 “ the punishment you have deserved, but to
 “ bring your parent to bear the burden of
 “ your crimes, in such a parricide as was ne-
 “ ver either heard or dreamt of before: for
 “ the treason was not form’d against a person
 “ of the common rate of fathers; but against
 “ a parent, tender and indulgent to the high-
 “ est degree; the conspirator mark’d out for
 “ the succession already; a half sharer in the
 “ crown by advance; settled beforehand in
 “ the present enjoyment of his greatness, and
 “ secure of the reversion of it by his father’s
 “ will: but, (says Nicolaus) your insatiable
 “ desires were not to be bounded by his good-
 “ ness, but by such measures only as your own
 “ ingratitude and perverseness should pre-
 “ scribe. Your own half of his right would
 “ not answer your end, unless you might
 “ have his part too. Your pretence was
 “ the saving of him, when at the same
 “ time the plot was to destroy him: and
 “ the lewdness was not at all to yourself
 “ neither, but your mother was made a
 “ party to it; the whole family embroil’d
 “ upon it, and the brothers all together by the
 “ ears. And after all this, you had the im-
 “ pudence to call your father beast; when
 “ you yourself was worse then the worst of
 “ beasts. But neither your relations nor your
 “ benefactors are to escape the poison of your
 “ scandals. And as if the venom of your
 “ own heart had not been sufficient to instruct
 “ and irritate a revenge, you have called to
 “ your help, your guards, counsellors, and
 “ suborners, of both sexes, to lay all their
 “ heads together in a confederacy against one
 “ antient man: and now after the torturing
 “ of so many men and women; free, and
 “ slaves, one with another, upon your ac-
 “ count, and after such a cloud of undeniable
 “ evidences, you have yet the confidence to
 “ out-face the truth, and to follow your en-
 “ terprize upon the life of your father, with
 “ an attempt upon the authority of the very
 “ law that punishes such criminals; and this
 “ you do in contradiction to the equity of
 “ Varus, and to the universal measures of na-
 “ tural justice. What is it that makes you
 “ disparage extorted testimonies, but because
 “ you would derogate from the credit of
 “ those Proofs that lay open your wickedness,
 “ and conduce to the preservation of your fa-
 “ ther?”

“ SIR,

Nicolaus ad-
jures Varus to
do justice.

"SIR, (says Nicolaus to Varus) by the majesty of the Roman empire, and by your own honour, I adjure you that you vindicate the king from the indignities of his own flesh and blood, and deliver up this monster of an hypocrite to death; that under a pretext of reverence to his father, hunts after the blood of his brothers; and if he had not been seasonably detected, his father's turn should have been next, to make his own way to the crown. You know very well, Sir, that parricide is no private crime, but a publick affront to the laws of life, and of our reasonable being; and so abominable a pollution in the very thought, as well as in the act, that whoever suffers it to pass unpunish'd, offers an indignity to human nature itself, in that violence, and to the common mother of us all."

Antipater
charg'd with
dealing with
wizards.

NICOLAUS had a glance too upon some foolish words, that had imprudently dropp'd from the mouth of Antipater's mother; concerning prognosticators, wizards, and sacrifices, that had been consulted about the life of the king, and the succession of the crown: Reciting also the extravagant and beastly debauches of wine and women that Antipater had been guilty of in Pheroras's family. There were several particulars produced with proofs to every article; some extorted, others voluntary; some again deliver'd upon recollection, and others upon pressing, and occasional necessities: And these were by so much the more credible; for every thing came out now to Antipater's condemnation, but they durst not so much as mutter so long as he was in favour. In short, the people knew ill things by him, hated him, and told all.

His condition was every way miserable; but the horror of his conscience was yet the most insupportable part of his calamity; having the blood of his father (in the sight of God that knew his intention) together with the division, the confusion, and the treason of the family to answer for. His kindness, or his hatred, was altogether steer'd by his interest; and he never was either a friend, or an enemy to any man, but for his own ends: And this narrow soul of his was so well known, that all honest men liv'd in a kind of opposition to him, as if it had been impossible to have an esteem for Antipater and for virtue together: Insomuch that so soon as ever they found him abandon'd by the government, and expos'd for a mark, people brought in their informations against him in abundance, striving as it were to outdo one another therein, and with outcries for justice; nor did there, in all the discoveries that were made, appear to be any falsity in any of the different crimes charged upon him, since there was not any room, need or pretence for subornation in the case; there being no place for a court-flattery on the one hand, nor any danger, if they should have suppress'd the truth, on the other: But Antipater, for his vile practice, was condemn'd by the universal consent of all men, as a wretch, whose death was not so necessary upon the single score of his father's safety, as for the sake of mankind itself, in clearing the world of so abandon'd a miscreant. And his accusation was not grounded neither upon bare interrogatories, whether upon the torture, or the good faith of the witnesses; but multitudes came

All men ex-
claim against
him.

thronging in with articles against him of their own accord, and made the matter so clear, that with all his art and impudence, he had not one word to reply.

WHEN Nicolaus had done speaking, Varus told Antipater, that if he had any thing to say for himself, the court was ready to hear him: And that his father and himself should be the gladdest men in the world to find him innocent. Antipater cast himself immediately down upon the ground, with this short prayer in his mouth. "Lord, (says he) thou who art the searcher of hearts, I most earnestly beseech thee to vindicate my innocence as to any thought of mischief to my father, by some signal token from heaven, that may convince the world of my integrity." This is the way of men harden'd in impiety, first to cast off the fear of God in their practices, and so, by degrees, they come to renounce or affront him in their words; and yet when their wickedness hath brought them into danger, they go on calling upon God still, and appealing to that righteous judge, with certain formal pretences of resignation to his will and pleasure. Antipater, that had gotten a habit of this way of proceeding; and after he had led the life of an atheist, without any regard to a divine power or providence, came in the conclusion to fall under the stroke of a just vengeance; and in that distress, for want of human aid, either by friends, or laws, "he cast himself (he said) upon the power and goodness of the Almighty, who had preserv'd him hitherto by a miracle, to take care of the life of his father." Varus seeing that he could get no direct answer to any of his questions, nor any thing but invocations, and appeals to heaven, he found there would be no end of it that way, and so call'd for the poison to be brought out, and some trial made of the force of it. It was fetch'd presently, and given to a condemn'd man, who no sooner took it but he dy'd. Upon this experiment, the court rose, and Varus went away the next day to Antioch, the place of his usual abode, in regard that the kings of Syria commonly made that their residence.

Antipater's
hypocrisy.

An experi-
ment made of
the poison.

HEROD and Varus having conferr'd upon the matter, Antipater was made a prisoner; the resolution not known; but most people imagining that what the king did was with the advice of Varus. Soon after Antipater's commitment, Herod inform'd Cesar, both by express messengers, and by writing, with the whole history of his case and crimes. There happen'd at the same time to be some letters intercepted from Antipater out of Egypt, to Antipater, wherein were these words: "I have sent you here a letter of Acme's, and you know I run the risk of my life in the doing of it; if I should be laid at the mercy of two powerful families, and my deadly enemies. Pray have a care that nothing miscarry." This was the substance of the letter; but the king was at a loss still for the other letter of Acme's, and caus'd a strict search and enquiry to be made after it; but there was none such to be found; and the servant of Antipater, upon examination, absolutely deny'd the knowledge of any such letter. When they had been a good while at a loss how to find it out, one of the king's friends happen'd to spy a seam in the lining of the servant's in-ward-

Antipater
made a priso-
ner: and the
court breaks
up.

Letters in-
tercepted
from Anti-
philus to An-
tipater.

ward coat; (for he had two on) and which suggested to him a thought that perhaps the letter they look'd for might be in that fold: And his conjecture prov'd true; for there they found the letter; and this was the tenor of it.

A letter from Acme.
A copy of a forg'd letter, as from Salome to the empress, enclosed in one to Herod from Salome.

"Achme to Antipater. I have written to your father, according to your direction; and I have put in a counterfeit copy of a letter, as if it came from Salome to the empress, my mistress. I make no doubt, but upon the reading of it, Herod, without any more ado, will treat her as a traitress." This letter that pretends to be from Salome, was the project and invention of Antipater, with Salome's name to it; but dress'd up by Acme, who wrote to the king to this effect. "Acme to king Herod. Out of the care and desire I have to serve you, in acquainting you with any thing that may concern the safety of your person, I have transcrib'd, and sent you a letter that I found of Salome's to my mistress the empress, against you; desiring her leave for the marrying of Syllaus. Pray let it be torn to pieces, for the discovery would be as much as my life is worth." Now the letter of Acme to Antipater laid open the whole cheat, in shewing that she did nothing but by his order, writing to Herod and sending a copy of Salome's counterfeit-letter to her mistress, and a plot in the bottom of it.

Acme, a Jew; Julia's servant, and in pension to Antipater.

Acme was by nation a Jew, in the service of Julia, the wife of Cesar, and brought over to Antipater's interest by a vast sum of money, to assist him in his practices, both upon his aunt and his father. This discovery expos'd Antipater for so turbulent an incendiary, and so pernicious and dangerous a wretch, to himself and his sister (to say nothing of his corrupting the honour and discipline even of Cesar's roof and family) that Herod was within a very little of having him put to death upon the very instant; and Salome was not wanting neither to provoke him to it; breaking into extravagant outrages, as beating her breasts, and other frantick violences, and offering herself to a thousand deaths, if they could but prove against her so much as the least colour for a suspicion of one disloyal thought. The king, upon this occasion, sent for his son, and bad him speak the word freely, if he had any thing to say in his own defence. Antipater stood astonish'd, without one word speaking; and Herod, finding him in that confusion, put him to it once again, since he could not excuse himself, to tell him at least who were his accomplices. He laid the whole blame upon Antipater, without naming any body else. Herod took this way of trifling for such an indignity, that he had some thoughts in his passion to send him away to Rome to take his trial before Cesar. But upon second thoughts, for fear he might be rescu'd upon the way, or acquitted when he came thither, he kept him in prison as before: but sent his ambassadors however with a state of the case; instructions and copies of the letters given in evidence; and in particular, with an account of Acme's being a party in the plot.

Antipater names Antipater for a conspirator.

Herod sends a state of the case to Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod falls sick, and makes his will. A sedition, and the occasion of it. Judas and Matthias, two eminent Jews. Herod given over. Judas and Matthias against the golden eagle. News that Herod is dead. The golden eagle thrown down. Judas and Matthias taken prisoners. They justify themselves. The king sends them bound to Jericho. Matthias the high-priest depos'd, and Jozar put in his place. The mutineers burnt alive. Herod's sickness, a judgment. Herod sends for Salome and Alexas. A horrible order of Herod's for a farewell.

WHILE the ambassadors were now with their letters and mandates upon the way toward Rome, Herod fell into a fit of sickness; made his will; and being highly exasperated against Archelaus and Philip by the calumnies of Antipater, he declared his youngest son his successor. He gave in legacies, a thousand * talents to Cesar; to his wife Julia, his children, friends and freemen, five † hundred talents more. The rest of his money, with his lands and revenues, he gave to his own sons and grandchildren: and for his sister Salome, he bequeathed her a very considerable fortune, in acknowledgment of the steadiness of her affection to him. He was now in the seventieth year of his age; and, his illness increasing upon him, past all hope of recovery: cholerick, and furious as a madman, and so mischievously cross-grain'd, that there was no possibility of pleasing him. The thing that troubled him was the haughtiness of his stomach, upon a fancy that he was fallen into the contempt and hatred of the people, even to the degree of their taking pleasure in his misery: beside that he was further confirm'd in this opinion by a commotion that soon after follow'd upon it, at the instance and instigation of some popular men that headed the sedition. The thing was this:

Herod falls sick, and makes his will.

A sedition, and the occasion of it.

THERE were two men that had a mighty reputation among the Jews, both for the eminency of their learning in general, and likewise for their particular skill and excellence in the law. And they had yet further endeared themselves to the people by the exceeding care and pains they took in the training up of their children to the knowledge and practice of their duty and profession, which they made effectually the main business of their lives: their names were Judas the son of Sariphaeus, and Matthias the son of Margalothus. No sooner was it come to the ears of these two famous men, that the king was given over, but they put it presently in the heads of the young men to set upon a reformation, and to destroy all those new works and structures that the king had erected contrary to the laws of their country; giving them all assurance that if they shew'd themselves champions for the truth, they should not fail of their reward. They bad them further consider, that all the broils and factions of the king's family, and the desperate condition of the king's sickness,

Judas and Matthias two eminent Jews.

Herod given over.

The people encourag'd to destroy innovations against law.

* A thousand talents weigh'd one hundred fourteen thousand sixty two pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to three hundred forty two thousand one hundred eighty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to five millions four hundred seventy five thousand pounds of our money.

† Five hundred talents weigh'd fifty seven thousand thirty one pounds three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred seventy one thousand ninety three pounds fifteen shillings, and in gold to two millions seven hundred thirty seven thousand five hundred pounds English money.

Judas and Matthias inveigh against the golden eagle, &c.

and press the destroying of it.

After this comes news that the king is dead.

The people throw down the eagle.

A party of horse scatters them: only Judas and Matthias, with about 40 more, stand their ground, and are carry'd prisoners to the king.

They are charg'd with insolence, and justify what they have done.

were only divine judgments upon him for his innovations; which Judas and Matthias zealously insisted on. Among other instances of a superstitious magnificence, there was a dedication of a golden eagle set up over the portal of the temple, of a prodigious weight and value. Now this being a flat contradiction to our laws, that absolutely forbid the use and ornament of images in such cases, these doctors set their disciples at work to pluck down the eagle. "It would be an enterprize of hazard, (they told them) but withal, that a glorious death was much more eligible than a life of pleasure, and that their blood could not be better spent than in the vindication of the laws and rites of their country, which would also make their names immortal: whereas otherwise the brave and the mean would lie undistinguished in the same common fate; wherefore all men of honour and virtue should do well, (they said) to improve the irreversible necessity of death, by a right choice of the most glorious occasion for it; and so to quit the troublesome world with comfort. It takes away the sting and the terror of mortality itself both at once, to die in the conscience of an honest action and of a good life; and to transmit both the fame and the reward of it to those that shall come after you."

Just upon the finishing of this harangue, came a rumour that the king was dead: so that betwixt the discourse and the report, the people were so inflam'd to be upon action, that they mounted the portal at noon-day; tore down the eagle, and hack'd it to pieces with their axes, in the sight of a vast multitude of spectators in the temple. The king's commander in chief immediately upon the news of this uproar, hasten'd away to the tumult with a strong body of troops, to prevent further mischief; suspecting the matter, in truth, to be much more considerable, than he found it. For coming to the place, there was no enemy to be seen, but a rude undisciplin'd rabble, without either order or arms, which was easily broken and scatter'd upon the first charge, only about forty of them, with their leaders Judas and Matthias, stood their ground, upon a point of honour not to turn their backs. These were all taken and carry'd prisoners to the king; who put it to them how they durst presume to lay violent hands upon that sacred figure. Their answer was, "That they had thought of it a long time, and coming at last to a resolution, they did as became men of honesty and courage, in the putting of it in execution; and that what they had now done was only in vindication of the honour of God, and of the precepts of their great master, whose disciples they profess themselves to be; beseeching Herod not to make it a matter of wonder, if they prefer'd the laws that they had received from Moses, and he from God himself, before any other decrees whatsoever. They did not suffer (they said) for evil doing, but for conscience and duty; and that they were ready to deliver up their bodies in this cause, either to death, or to punishment." It was clear that their tongues and their hearts went together in all that they said and did; and they were now ready to suffer with the same constancy they acted with before. The king,

after this, sent them bound to Jericho, where he call'd a great council of the Jews, and was himself (being sick and weakly) carry'd in his chair into the assembly; where "he gave them to understand what unweary'd pains and labours he had undergone for the service of the commonwealth; his rebuilding their temple at an immense charge: a work that the whole race of the Asmonean family had not been able to compass in a hundred and twenty-five years: setting forth also that he had not only re-edify'd the fabrick, but beautify'd, endow'd and enrich'd it with ornaments, presents and donatives, worthy of so magnificent an undertaking. And now (says he) in the conclusion, when I thought myself sure of surviving my own funerals in the fame of a happy memory, and an everlasting glory for the good offices I have done, here am I treated with contempt whilst living, and paid with indignities for all my benefits and respects; affronted in the face of the sun and of the people; my gifts and oblations torn from the very temple, and an act of malice improv'd into a sacrilege; for the injury is to God, not to me."

The leading men of the council not knowing how far Herod's cruelty might transport him, thought it their safest course to purge themselves by way of prevention; which they did, "by declaring, not only their innocency of the fact, but their opinion also, that the rioters deserv'd to be severely punish'd for it." These words sweeten'd him toward all the rest. He took away the high-priesthood from Matthias, upon a presumption that he was no stranger to the contrivance, and gave it to Jozar his brother-in-law. It so happen'd that while Matthias was in the exercise of his function, and upon the eve to a fasting-day, he dreamt that he lay with his wife; by which accident he became unqualify'd for the next day's service; so that Joseph, the son of Ellemus his near kinsman, was substituted for that day to supply his place. After Herod had deprived Matthias of the pontificate, he gave order for the burning of the other Matthias, the ring-leader of the sedition, and all his companions with him alive. The moon, as it fell out, was that night in an eclipse.

The king grew every day worse and worse, and his disease look'd like a judicial punishment for his wickedness. He was parch'd up with a faint inward fever, that almost burnt his heart out, and yet scarce sensible to the touch. He was tormented with an insatiable dog-appetite; ulcers and cholicks in his guts; phlegmatick tumors in his feet and groin; his privy parts putrifying and crawling with worms; a noisome and painful tentigo; asthma's, cramps and contractions of the nerves: all men, in short, of religion, philosophy, or observation, were agreed upon it, that the hand of God was evidently upon Herod in this visitation. But still in the hopeless extremity of this his intolerable as well as incurable misery, he himself was the only man that did not despair, but continu'd laying out every where for physicians and remedies. He went over the river Jordan himself, to the hot baths at Callirrhoe, that empty themselves into the lake of Asphaltitis. These waters, beside their mineral virtue, are no unpleasant drink. Upon his coming

The king sends them bound to Jericho; enters the council in his chair, and reasons the matter with them.

He deposes Matthias, and puts Jozar in his place.

The mutineers burnt alive.

Herod's sickness judicial.

ing hither, his physicians order'd him to be set up to the shoulders in a vessel of oil, which put him into such a fit of fainting, that his domesticks giving him for dead, broke out into lamentations and outcries, that brought him to himself again. By this time he found all his flattering hopes of life to be vain and idle; and therefore appointed a donative of fifty * drachma's a man to be distributed among the soldiers; large sums among his friends and officers, and so he return'd to Jericho; where the evil humour so far prevail'd upon him, that he took up a final resolution for a farewell; one of the horridest perhaps that ever enter'd into the heart of a man to imagine. He sent out a summons to all the eminent Jews of the country to repair immediately to him at Jericho, and not to fail, on pain of death. Upon their appearance, according to the proclamation, they were all shut up in the Circus, or Tilt-yard, one with another, whether guilty, or innocent. He sent in the next place for his sister Salome, and Alexas, her husband, and spoke to them to this following effect.

He sends for Salome and Alexas.

"My time (says he) is drawing on: I am oppress'd with pains; and flesh and blood must yield to fate, which is no more than the common lot of mankind. It would be troublesome, I must confess, to think of wanting any of the funeral honours that belong to crowned heads. I know very well what sort of treatment I am to expect from the Jews. They hated me in my lifetime, and they'll be glad to see me dead. But it lies in the power of you two (says he) to give me some ease yet, even at my last gasp; and it is no more than what you owe me too. Do but follow my counsel, and I dare yet promise myself the most honourable funeral-solemnity that ever any prince had under the sun; the most to the joy of my soul; and for a conclusion, an universal mourning, without one single tear of hypocrisy or affectation. Wherefore, so soon as ever the breath is out of my body, let the Circus be surrounded with soldiers, and the word of command given to destroy every man within the enclosure: but not a syllable of my death, till the work be done. In the due execution of this order you will lay a double obligation upon me; one in the performance of my will; the other in the celebration of my death, with the honour of a publick mourning." He accompany'd these words with tears and lamentations, adjuring his relations by all that was sacred in human faith, consanguinity and friendship, to be true to him in the punctual discharge of all he had committed to their trust; which they promis'd to make good to him in every particular.

A horrid order given for a farewell.

SOME or other will pretend perhaps in the history of this bloody monster's barbarities, to his nearest relations in time past, that there might be dangerous jealousies and competitions perchance; and consequently a kind of necessity upon him to be cruel in his own defence. But in this last action of his, he has laid himself open, even in his pure naturals, for the veriest brute that ever wore the shape

of a reasonable creature. When he could live no longer himself, he bequeathed destruction to those he left behind him, and took care to make the whole nation mourners for him, by the order he left for the destroying of one at least out of every family. And all this too, without any injury, provocation, exception, or so much as any reason given for the doing of it; whereas among people that have but the least spark of humanity or religion, death puts an end to all controversies, and reconciles even the greatest enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Acme put to death. Antipater left to Herod's discretion. Achiab prevents Herod's killing himself. Antipater gives the king for dead; and treats with the keeper about his escape. The keeper tells the king of it, and the king orders him to be put to death.

WHILE Herod was giving his last orders to his kindred, his ambassadors brought him an answer from Cesar to the letters they carry'd to Rome. The substance of it was briefly this; "that Augustus had put Acme to death for a correspondence with Antipater; and that he left Antipater himself to the king his father, either to be put to death or banish'd, according to his discretion." This news gave Herod some satisfaction and respect, to find himself both reveng'd upon Acme, and at liberty to do with his son what he pleas'd: but he relaps'd quickly again into his pains; and in an outrageous fit of greediness and hunger, he call'd for a knife and an apple, it being usual with him to pare his own apples, and so eat them little by little. He was observ'd to look suspiciously about him, as if he had some thought of stabbing himself; but his nephew Achiab kept his eye upon him, and in the very instant of the attempt catch'd hold of his uncle's right-hand with an outcry, and prevented it. This noise put the court now a second time into an uproar, all people taking it for granted that the king was just then expiring. Antipater took all for granted; and making no doubt at all but his father was dead, he made as little also of procuring his liberty, upon this occasion, and by that means, clearing his way to the throne. In this confidence, he treated with his keeper about his discharge; with large offers and promises, both of rewards at present and of future preferments, when he should come to the crown; but the keeper was so far from complying with his proposals, that he went and discover'd the whole practice to the king, who hated him sufficiently before; but this story of the keeper's put him into so extravagant a passion, that he started up, tho' in the very agonies of death, and falling out into violent outrages upon himself, both in actions and exclamations, he commanded one of his guards in that very moment to go and kill him, and order'd his body to be buried privately in the castle of Hyrcania.

Augustus writes Herod word that Acme is put to death. Antipater left to Herod's discretion.

Herod calls for a knife and an apple.

Achiab watches him, and prevents his stabbing himself. The outcry puts the court in an uproar. Antipater gives the king for dead, and treats with the keeper about his escape. The keeper tells the king of it.

The king orders him immediately to be put to death.

* An Hebrew drachma (as we've before observ'd) was of the same weight with the Grecian and the Roman, and weighed two pennyweights, six grains, three fourths, and its value in silver amounted to sixpence three farthings and three eighths, fifty therefore must amount to about one pound nine shillings of our money.

CHAP. X.

Herod alters his will, and declares Archelaus his successor. Herod's character. His death kept secret. The noblemen discharg'd in the Circus. The king's death publish'd. Archelaus sets up. Herod's funeral. Archelaus waits for the ratifying of Herod's act.

Herod alters his will, and declares Archelaus his successor.

Herod's character.

Herod's death kept secret. Salome and Alexas discharge the people in the Circus in the king's name. The king's death publish'd. The soldiers summon'd to Jericho; and the king's letters to the army read. Archelaus the king's son and successor set up. The testament read with a proviso.

HEROD, upon change of mind, changed his will too, and made Antipas, whom he had design'd in his former testament for successor to the government, Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; but gave the kingdom to Archelaus: the provinces of Trachon and Gaulon, Batanea and Panias, to his son Philip, the brother-in-law of Archelaus, under the title of a Tetrarchy. Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, he gave to his sister Salome, with fifty thousand pieces of minted money, not forgetting his other relations also, either in land or cash. He left Cesar, beside gold and silver plate and rich furniture of all sorts, ten millions of pieces in ready coin; and to the empress Julia, with her friends, five millions more of the same. Matters being thus settled, Herod departed this life five days after the death of Antipater, four and thirty years after the expulsion of Antigonus, and in the thirty seventh year from his being declar'd king of the Jews by the Romans. He was a man inexorably cruel; a slave to his passions; his will was his law, and yet no man in the general more fortunate than himself. He mounted the throne from the condition of a private man; fell into many difficulties, but surmounted them all, and liv'd at last to a great age. As to his domestick broils with his children and family, how unhappy soever he might be in my opinion, he was yet fortunate in his own; for he still got the better of his enemies.

HEROD being now dead, Salome and Alexas kept it for the present as the greatest secret in the world, and went directly to the nobility that were shut up in the Circus, telling them in the king's name, that they might go home, and follow their own business, for there was no further occasion for them. This contrivance laid upon the Jews the highest obligation imaginable. It was now a proper time to make publication to the king's death; and the soldiery being summon'd to meet at the amphitheatre at Jericho, Herod's letters to the army were there read; full of gracious acknowledgments of their past faith and services, and desiring them to continue the same dutiful affection to his son Archelaus for the future, whom he had now declared his successor. Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's seal, read after this the testament itself, with this conditional clause in it express, that "the act itself, was to be reputed to be of no force without the consent of Cesar." This was follow'd with acclamations of God save king Archelaus, and wishes of a happy reign to him, both from officers and soldiers, with

promises of the same fidelity to the new king, that they had paid to his predecessor.

THE next work was to provide for the funeral-solemnity, and this was the province of Archelaus, to see that nothing should be wanting to the pomp and splendor of it; he himself resolving in person to bear a part in the ceremony. The body was born upon a golden litter; sparkling with variety of precious stones, * cover'd with purple, a diadem upon his head; and over that, a golden crown, with a scepter in his right-hand; his sons and relations marching by his side. After these, follow'd the soldiers in their distinctions and divisions; first the guards, then the Thracians; after them, the Germans; and next, the Galatians: all of them arm'd and appointed as for a battle. After these, follow'd the rest of the army under their respective officers, with five hundred of the court-domesticks in the rear, with aromatics and perfumes. They march'd in this order as far as Herodium, eight † furlongs from Jericho, where the body was bury'd, according to a former appointment; and this was the end of Herod.

WHEN Archelaus had celebrated the funerals of his father, for the space of seven days, according to the custom of the country, the appointed time of mourning being now at an end, he treated the multitude, and so went up to the temple; where he plac'd himself upon a golden throne to receive the gratulatory prayers and acclamations of the people; which were answer'd on his part, with great affability and respect; taking it very kindly, after the hard usage they had met with from his father, to find them so well inclin'd towards himself, and assuring them withal, that their good-will should never be forgotten. "He did not pretend (he said) as yet, to assume the name of a king, having no right so to do, without the assent and authority of Cesar, in the ratifying of his father's testament; and that was it made him decline the acceptance of the dignity when it was press'd upon him by the army at Jericho, for want of being lawfully vested in the possession thereof. But, (says he) whenever I shall come to be settled in this command, it shall be my care to do all things to your advantage and satisfaction, and to make my reign much easier to you than ever you found my father's." The people were mightily pleas'd with the modesty of their new prince's behaviour and discourse, depending (as is usual in such cases) upon the good faith of every thing he said: insomuch that they put his good nature presently to the trial by asking him boons; some one thing, some another: some to be eas'd of their taxes; others to have their friends and companions set at liberty; there being a great many of them that Herod had taken up, and kept a long time in prison. Some again were wonderfully importunate and clamorous against duties and impositions, that were laid upon market-stuff and other provisions. Archelaus, in fine, found it for his interest and convenience to deny them nothing, for fear of exasperat-

The order and pomp of Herod's funeral.

Archelaus waits the ratifying Herod's act by Cesar.

* See Cotelerius's notes to the second volume of Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 519.

† Among the antients eight furlongs made one of their miles, which, according to the translators of Calmet, exceeded one of our miles twelve geometrical paces.

ing the multitude; so that when the sacrifice was over, he took his friends to dinner with him to make merry.

CHAP. XI.

A design to embroil the government, &c. A party of factious Jews crowd into the temple. Archelaus sends a party to quiet them, and they are almost all destroy'd. Archelaus afterward gives them a great defeat. Archelaus goes to Rome, and Philip administers in his absence. He meets Sabinus at Cesarea in his way to Judea. Varus stops his journey; being engaged on the same errand, &c. Archelaus goes for Rome, and Varus for Antioch. Sabinus goes to Jerusalem, and demands Herod's books and keys; but the officers keep them for Cesar. Antipas goes for Rome, and sets up for himself with a strong party. Sabinus puts in an information against Archelaus. Archelaus presents Augustus with his defence. Cesar compares it with the charge, and calls a council, where Caius the son of Agrippa sits president, and gives them a hearing, &c. Antipater appeals, and Nicolaus manages the cause. Archelaus casts himself at Cesar's feet.

A design to embroil the government.

Satisfaction demanded of Archelaus for Herod's misdemeanours.

THERE was at this time a dangerous faction of male-contented Jews, laying their heads together in conventicles and cabals, how to embroil the government. The fittest matter they could find to work upon, was the case of Matthias and his companions, that Herod had put him to death for the afore-said riot upon the golden eagle. During the life of the king, they did not dare to make any publick attempt, either in the honour or in the vindication of these reformers; but now he was dead, all mouths were open against him in clamours and invectives, to the disgrace of his memory: Infomuch, that they gather'd together in tumultuary meetings, to demand justice and satisfaction from Archelaus, upon those friends of Herod, that were instrumental in the execution; as if that vengeance upon the living would have been some comfort to the dead. They insisted particularly upon the removal of the high-priest that Herod had promoted, and the putting of some worthy man in his place. This peremptory way of importunity was provoking enough; but * Archelaus however (who was now hastening away to Cesar, both for authority and orders) did what he could by fair means to set things right for the present; and to this end he dispatch'd away one of his prime officers to try what might be done upon terms of reason and moderation. "This was not a time (he told them) for violence and revenge. The men that suffer'd (he said) had a lawful trial; and their interposing after that manner was the usurpation of a power they had nothing to do withal. They should do well to consider that Archelaus was just now upon his expedition to Rome, and that upon his coming back with his commission ratify'd, all these difficulties would be provided for to their content: Only in the mean time, let them

live amicably and peaceably one with another, without incurring the danger of a sedition." This discourse was encounter'd with so impetuous an outcry and opposition, that one sober word among them was as much as a man's life was worth. "They had the law in their own hands, (they thought) and nothing less would serve them, than a revenge, now Herod was dead, for the friends he destroy'd of theirs while he was living; which they reckon'd hard to be deny'd them." In this eagerness of passion, they consulted no other measures of right or wrong than the impulses of their own humour and interest, and so intent all this while upon the ruin of other people, that they neglected the most necessary means of their own safety. In the mean time, there was no want of seasonable applications to them, as well from the king himself, as from others; but these gentle ways made them only more insolent and outrageous: Infomuch, that they wanted nothing but numbers, to improve this tumult into a direct rebellion.

A tumult like the short of rebellion.

THE feast of unleavened bread, or the passover, being now at hand, the celebrated memorial of the Israelites being deliver'd out of Egypt; vast numbers of people coming up to Jerusalem, as well from abroad as at home, to worship and offer sacrifices upon that occasion: A seditious party of men crowded into the temple, and there made a stand, with a resolution not to stir out, though they were forced to beg their bread to keep themselves from starving: Their business there being to condole with the people for the loss of their two doctors, Judas and Matthias; and to irritate the rabble to a revenge. No body knew how far this riot might go: So that Archelaus, for fear of the worst, sent an officer with a party of soldiers to suppress it in time, before the whole body of the multitude had taken the infection; and with orders also to seize the ring-leaders of the tumult, and to bring them before him to make them exemplary, in case of any obstinate resistance. The guards no sooner appear'd, but the mutineers ran down the soldiers with such a torrent of rage and clamour, that the whole multitude falling upon them with stones and other weapons, destroy'd them all, save only the officer himself, who with some few wounded men escap'd. After this action, they went on with their sacrifices. The contest was now brought to such a height, that Archelaus must either crush that rabble, or fall himself: So that he sent out his whole army to encounter them, with orders to his horse, to put all to the sword that should endeavour to make their escapes; and to keep all succours out from them. This body of horse cut off three thousand of their men in the action, and the rest fled to the neighbouring mountains for shelter. So soon as this brunt was over, proclamation was made for every man to return to his own home; and after all their swaggering, tho' they were men of the most insolent and audacious spirits, they were glad to get off upon these terms, and to leave the festival, for fear of a worse mischief.

A party of factious Jews crowd into the temple. They irritate the people to a revenge for Judas and Matthias.

Archelaus sends a party to quiet the multitude.

The people destroy them all but the commander.

Archelaus, with his army, cuts off three thousand, and scatters the rest.

ARCHELAUS put himself now upon his journey to Rome; taking his mother, Nicolaus, goes to Rome.

* See Cortellius's notes upon the second volume of his Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 614.

Philip administers in his brother's absence.

Salome an enemy to Archelaus. He meets Sabinus at Cesarea, in his way to Judea. Varus stops his journey, being engag'd on the same errand.

Archelaus goes for Rome.

Sabinus goes for Jerusalem, and demands Herod's books and keys.

Antipas goes to Rome, and sets up for himself. He takes his mother and Ptolemy to his assistance.

Sabinus exhibits an information against Archelaus, who presents Augustus a breviate of his defence.

Ptolemy, and several other of his friends along with him; leaving the care of his kingdom and family to his brother Philip. Salome and her family went also, and were accompany'd by divers others of his kindred, under a colour of joining interests to assist Archelaus in his pretence to the succession. But in truth, rather to obstruct, than to farther it; for they were resolv'd beforehand, to exhibit an accusation against him for the business of the temple: But however, away they went, he and his company together, meeting Sabinus, Cesar's procurator of Syria, at Cesarea; posting in all haste toward Judea to take care of Herod's money: But Varus, very opportunely coming in the way, put off his journey; being himself, upon the invitation of Archelaus by Ptolemy on the same errand: So that out of a respect to Varus, he neither meddled with any of the forts in Judea, nor seal'd up their treasure; but left all things in the power and possession of Archelaus, till Cesar should declare himself upon the matter. This he promised, and so continu'd in Cesarea. But soon after, upon the embarking of Archelaus for Rome, and the departure of Varus for Antioch, Sabinus advanced directly for Jerusalem; took up his habitation in the palace; sent for the king's officers, military and civil, demanding their books and their keys: But they were ty'd up, they said, by the orders of Archelaus, to keep all things till his return, in the same state they received them, for the use and service of Cesar.

At the same time, Antipas, one of the sons of Herod, took a voyage to Rome, in hope of getting the kingdom to himself. Salome did her part to put him upon it, under the colour of a prior right to the succession by an antecedent will; and suggesting that the first will ought to stand. He took with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a particular friend of Herod's, of a long standing, and ever well effected to his party. But the man above all the rest that fix'd him at last in his ambitious undertaking, and had the greatest stroke with him, was Ireneus; a man of a notable smooth tongue, and one that had been much, and long in the king's business. He was advised by others to consider the seniority of Archelaus, as elder brother, and the pretence he had to the succession by the will of his dead father; but the credit of Ireneus, and the incentive of his own ambition, carry'd it from all other considerations. To Rome, in fine, he went; and upon his arrival there, his kindred came all over to him; not so much out of any kindness to himself, as an aversion they had to Archelaus; their heads being altogether set upon liberty and a Roman government: Or they fancy'd however, in case of the worst, that Antipas would be the easier to them of the two; and for these reasons they employ'd their interest that way.

SABINUS had now sent an information to Cesar against Archelaus; and Archelaus, by the hand of Ptolemy, presented Augustus with a memorial of what he had to offer in his own defence, containing the ground of his claim; a recital of his father's will; an account of what monies he left; together with the ring that seal'd them up: remitting himself upon the whole to Cesar's good pleasure. When Cesar had perus'd these writings, with the

letters also of Varus and Sabinus; what money Herod had left behind him; and the yearly revenue of the government, and what Antipas himself had suggested in his own right, he call'd a council of his friends to advise upon the whole, and so gave audience to the competitors: Caius the son of Agrippa by his daughter Julia, whom he had adopted, sitting president. Antipater the son of Salome stood up first: (an excellent speaker, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, delivering himself in terms to this effect.

"It seems a strange thing to me, (says Antipater) that Archelaus should be so childish as to pretend title to a kingdom, after so absolute an exercise of sovereign power over it already; and not so much as troubling his head either for Cesar's ratification or assent. I speak of his late massacre of so many Jews upon one of their solemn festivals: or supposing the punishment itself never so reasonable, that which would have been an act of justice in a lawful prince, was yet a murder in an usurper. If he acted as a king without the emperor's approbation, it was an affront to Cesar: if he pretended to exercise acts of authority in the capacity of a private man, it was yet worse. So that he could not reasonably expect the benefit of a derivative power from Cesar in his favour, after what he had done to supplant it in the original. He charg'd him likewise with changing officers of the army at his own will and pleasure; placing himself upon the royal throne, and hearing causes there in the quality of a sovereign prince; receiving and answering publick addresses and petitions, and doing all those things, in fine, without any warrant, which Cesar himself could have enabled him to do; taking upon himself, in his own name also, to discharge those that were committed to the circus. He urg'd, upon the whole, a great many objections against him; some actually true, and others, considering the heat and ambition of a young man, rais'd on a sudden to such a pitch of dignity and power, not altogether improbable: beside the ill-natur'd extravagance of a revelling entertainment he made the very night after the death of his father: which the people look'd upon with so much horror for the unnatural ingratitude of it, toward so indulgent a parent, that they were ready to break out into an uproar, to see how he impos'd upon the world with a personated affectation of sorrow in the daytime, and spending the whole night in luxury and riot. How can the emperor imagine that this perverse man will ever be more thankful for a crown to him, than he has shew'd himself to so tender a father? What can be more inhuman than to sing, feast, dance and rejoice at the death of a parent, as if it were for the destruction of an enemy! With what face now shall this man desire Cesar to make him a king, that has already taken upon him to make himself one, even without Cesar! But the great aggravation of the wickedness in the temple, was the horridness of the murder in that sacred place; and the doing it upon a solemn festival, where both citizens and strangers promiscuously were slaughter'd like sacrifices; the holy place fill'd with carcasses; and this

Cesar compares it with the charge; calls a council; and gives the competitors a hearing.

Antipater against Archelaus.

Usurpation charged upon him.

Exercise of arbitrary power.

" violence not committed by a stranger neither, but by an usurper under the countenance of royal power, the better to colour his tyrannical and barbarous cruelties. His father knew his temper so very well, that he never so much as dreamt of him for a successor, so long as he was in his right senses; but Antipas was the man he pitch'd upon, in his former testament, while he was as yet in his senses and in sound health both of body and mind; or putting the case that Herod's opinion of Archelaus might have been the same upon the making of his first will, as it was afterward; has he not done enough since that time to shew what a king he is like to make, in assuming to act by a self-created power, and in the circumstances of a private man to cut throats in the very temple?"

Antipater appeals upon the matter of fact.

Nicolaus speaks to the heads of the accusation.

Antipater, upon these words, appeal'd to several of his relations that were there present for witnesses to the truth of what he had deliver'd, and so made an end of his discourse.

To this Nicolaus reply'd, and argu'd on the behalf of Archelaus, " that the blood of those that were kill'd in the temple rested upon their own heads; and that they had carry'd the tumult so far, there was no other way of suppressing it. The insolence, 'tis true, may seem to point at Archelaus; but the affront struck at the authority of Cesar himself in the murder of those men, contrary to the laws of God and nations, and without any respect to the sacredness of the place or occasion, that were sent in an orderly way to quiet the mutineers. Now these are the people that Antipater stands up for, without either honesty or shame, provided he may but gratify the rancour of his spleen to Archelaus. The fault was in the aggressors; and not in those that were both provoked and necessitated to take up arms in their own just defence. As for the rest of the articles that were charg'd upon Archelaus, they were all retorted upon the accusers themselves, who were all consenting to the very action they complained of: beside that they made the thing a great deal worse than it really was, out of spite to the manager, tho' a near relation, and one that had deserved highly well of the father, and done many good offices to the family. As to the authority of the king's testament, he was not only in perfect sense and memory when he wrote it; but second wills, as well as second thoughts are commonly best. And for a further proof that it was written with consideration, he submitted the validity of it to the good pleasure of Cesar. But Cesar (says he) is too generous to encourage ungrateful examples in favour of a sort of people, that after the highest obligations imaginable to Herod in his life-time, take such pains to overthrow his will now he is dead. Cesar will rather exercise his goodness in favour of a faithful friend and ally, that lays himself at his feet, and not suffer his imperial dignity and justice that have made him so famous over the face of the earth, to be impos'd upon by envy and calumny. Will Antipater have Herod's to be the will of a mad-man, because it designs so dutiful a son for a successor? Or is it a sign of madness to pay so absolute a deference to the liking and authority of Cesar? It would

" be hard to conceive, how Herod should be so mistaken in the person, and at the same time so right in the prudential part of the method and direction."

When Nicolaus had now finish'd his speech, Archelaus threw himself at Cesar's feet; who presently taking him up with great humanity, pass'd this judgment upon him, that he was worthy of a crown, which was understood for a kind of owning his authority. Cesar finding the young prince so well satisfied, discharg'd the meeting without coming to any final resolution at present, and so took time to bethink himself whether he should settle the government upon Archelaus alone, or in partition upon the whole family, in regard that they all depended upon him alike.

Archelaus casts himself at Cesar's feet, who does him great honour.

CHAP. XII.

Marthace the mother of Archelaus dies. A sedition in Jerusalem. Varus makes examples of the ring-leaders. Sabinus has the command in Varus's absence. The Jews threaten Sabinus. They draw into three bodies, mount the temple galleries and gall the Romans. The Romans fire the galleries and burn the Jews. The temple rifled. The Jews beset the palace, &c. Several rebellions. Simon, once a servant of Herod, set up for king, &c. Athronges sets up for king, with his four brothers; but in the end, they are all taken and suppress'd. Varus marches to the relief of Judea. The rendezvous at Ptolemais, &c. The Jews fly before Varus, who puts some two thousand of the ring-leaders to death. Ten thousand Jews in a body again. Abiab makes them prisoners of war, &c. The Jews send an embassy to Cesar, who gives them audience in the temple of Apollo. An invective against Archelaus. Nicolaus, in defence of Herod and Archelaus.

BEFORE this affair could be settled, Marthace the mother of Archelaus fell sick and dy'd; and news was brought from Varus the governor of Syria, that the Jews were revolted, having been very mutinous and troublesome ever since the departure of Archelaus. But Varus falling upon them with his troops before they could well gather to a head, made examples of the ringleaders, and so having, in a great measure, suppress'd the sedition, went back again to Antioch; leaving only one legion in Jerusalem to prevent tumults.

The mother of Archelaus dies.

A sedition in Jerusalem.

Varus makes examples of the ring-leaders.

A legion left in Jerusalem.

BUT this provision, it seems, was not sufficient; for Varus was no sooner gone, but Sabinus, Cesar's deputy governor in Syria, looking upon himself now by the enforcement of these troops and guards, to be at least a match for the multitude, he turned his arms against the Jews: galling and provoking them to the last degree of impatience; attacking several of their forts and castles; rifling and searching every where at pleasure for conceal'd money, under pretext of publick services; but all this while advancing his own private ends of gain and booty. The feast of the passover; (which is the name of the most celebrated festival we have) that festival, I say, now drawing on, brought up to Jerusalem a great many thousands of the Jews from all quarters; some for worship and devotion, and others out of pure spite and revenge. These numbers gather'd

Sabinus opposes the Jews in Varus's absence.

The Jews threaten Sabinus

together

together, not only from Judea, where the outrage fell heaviest, but from Galilee, Idumea, Jericho, and from the towns beyond Jordan; being all unanimously resolved to call Sabinus to a severe account for his insolency. They divided their troops into three bodies; one of them took possession of the circus; another was posted upon the north and east side of the temple; the third upon the west, where the king's palace stood. When they had thus begirt and hemm'd in the Romans, they made ready for the assault. Sabinus was not a little surpriz'd at the boldness of these people, and finding that they were desperately resolved either to conquer or die, he sent with all speed to Varus for immediate relief; for the legion that he had left there would undoubtedly be cut to pieces else. He himself, in the mean time, got up to the top of a high turret belonging to the castle of Phasaël, which was erected in memory of Herod's brother who was slain by the Parthians, and from thence gave the sign with his hand to the Romans to fall out upon the Jews; expecting that others should expose their lives to gratify his avarice, at the same time when he himself durst not so much as shew his head among his friends. But the Romans however made a sally, from which ensued a sharp encounter; for tho' the soldiers did all that was possible for brave men to do, the courage of the Jews was not abated, notwithstanding a great loss of their people. They possess'd themselves after this, of some of the outward galleries of the temple, whence they gall'd the Romans from above, with stones and arrows from their slingers and archers, as spectators rather than actors in that part of the combat; for the Romans below, were out of distance of reaching their enemies. The fight continu'd a long time upon this disadvantage, till in the end the Romans set fire to the timber-work under the galleries, and ply'd it so hard, by adding fewel to it, that the flame shot up to the roof in a moment, and laying hold of the pitch, wax and oils that were employ'd upon the ornament and gilding, put all into so furious a blaze, that it was certain death so much as to attempt a relief: for what with those that were crush'd to death with the fall of the building, and those that were put to the sword upon the ground, there was not so much as one man escap'd of those that had possess'd the galleries. Several of them in despair or astonishment, leapt into the flames in a fright; others cast themselves upon the points of their swords: and for those that thought to save themselves in holes and hiding-places, they were all cut off by the soldiers; for what could their courage avail them without arms? As the fire slacken'd, the Romans press'd thorough the ruins up to the very repository of the holy treasure, whereof a considerable part was pilfer'd and embezzled by the soldiers, and not above four * hundred talents (as Sabinus pretended) brought to him. The Jews were now in a double distress; partly for the loss of so many of their dear friends, and partly for the sacrilegious robbery committed upon their temple: but however, in this fit of desperation, they got a body together of the most resolute men they had, and beset the palace with them; menacing immediately to set

fire to it, and to put every man to the sword that should escape the flames, if they did not in that instant quit the place and depart; with a promise of impunity to Sabinus and all his people, if they went away presently; the greater part of the court being also on their side. Rufus and Gratus, with three thousand of Herod's choicest men, went over to the Romans, together with the horse that were under Rufus's command, which was a seasonable and a considerable enforcement; but the Jews ply'd their work yet nevertheless, mining the walls, menacing and advising the enemy to be gone while they might, without putting a people to the last extremity of desperation, that were resolv'd at all hazards to maintain their liberties, with the laws and customs of their forefathers. Sabinus was willing enough to have complied; but being conscious to himself of what he had deserv'd from the Jews, he durst not venture himself upon their promise; beside, that the conditions were too advantageous to be made good, he thought; and so he determin'd to venture the holding of it out, in the hope and expectation of succour from Varus.

WHILE matters at Jerusalem were in this posture, there were several other insurrections in different parts of Judea elsewhere, upon the instigation either of profit or of a vindictive malice. There was about two thousand of Herod's disbanded men gather'd together upon this occasion into a body, with a resolution to encounter a party of the king's under the command of Ahiab, Herod's nephew; but Ahiab knowing the people he had to do withal to be old soldiers and try'd men, he kept off from fighting all that possible, by shifting into fastnesses and defiles, where there was no coming at them.

ON the other hand there was Judas the son of Ezekias, a notorious robber, that held Herod formerly so long in play, though at last he worsted him. This same Judas, with a band of desperate men that he had gotten about him at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, made an inroad into the king's country; seiz'd his magazines and military stores; arm'd all his people to a man; took the king's moneys; made himself formidable to the inhabitants; pillaging and spoiling wherever he came, and aspiring, in fine, to the government itself; not by any arts and ways of honour (for he had no qualifications of that sort) but purely upon the encouragement of doing what mischief he pleas'd, in a licentious manner.

WHILE things were in this confusion, there was one Simon, formerly a servant of king Herod's; but a man mightily celebrated for his prodigious strength; the gracefulness and the goodliness of his person and stature. This man had the vanity and confidence to venture at the crown; took his guards about him, and was saluted every where by the mad multitude, with acclamations of God save the king, and look'd upon himself, in fine, to be the fittest man in the whole world for the command: And for a prologue to his greatness, he began with the burning and the rifling of the palace at Jericho, making the same havoc in other of the king's houses; still allow-

They offer an indemnity upon condition of departing. Rufus and Gratus go over to the Romans.

Several rebellions.

Judas the notorious robber harasses the king's country.

Simon once a servant of Herod's, sets up for king.

* Four hundred talents weigh'd forty five thousand six hundred twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred thirty six thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds, and in gold to two millions one hundred and ninety thousand pounds of our money.

A sharp fight
betwixt Si-
mon and
Gratus.
Simon routed
taken, and
his head
struck off.

ing his followers the advantage of the booty. And he would not have stop'd there neither, if he had not been seasonably prevented; for Gratus, one of the king's captains, and at that time taking part with the Romans, advanced with his troops against Simon, and there pass'd a very sharp and an obstinate fight betwixt them: But Simon's people that came from the other side of Jordan, managing the action with more courage than skill, were totally routed and cut to pieces, and Simon himself being taken prisoner in his flight over certain difficult passes; Gratus order'd his head to be struck off.

THIS humour of the common people was up every where; for the royal palace at Amatha, by the river Jordan, was burnt to the ground too by such another sort of rabble as those that follow'd Simon. This rage was little better than an epidemical madness; and all for want of their own king, by good reason and discipline, to keep the people in their duty. But upon the bringing in of foreigners to reclaim them, what with their intolerable pride and avarice, the people were only the worse for it.

Athronges
sits in coun-
cil with a
crown upon
his head, and
treated in the
style of king.
Outrageous
and cruel.

THERE was one Athronges too, a man neither of birth, virtue, nor fortune, but one of the meanest even of shepherds; only a huge bulk of body, and a brutal strength of limbs. With these qualifications, he put in for a pretence to the government, with a resolution to venture his life for the obtaining of a prerogative to domishief at will and pleasure. This Athronges had four brothers, as strong and as gigantick as himself, and each of them a troop of soldiers under his command, which they look'd upon as a foundation sufficient toward the gaining of their point. There were vast multitudes of people that came in to these five brothers; and Athronges made use of his four brethren to go upon parties, and to act as his lieutenants, while he himself sat in counsel with a crown upon his head, giving orders and resolutions in affairs of state. This pageantry continu'd for some time, and the royal stile and title did not seem altogether idle neither; for they did what he would, and there was no disputing of his commands: Unmercifully cruel, whenever either the Romans or the king's soldiers fell into his power: For he hated them both alike; the one for the liberties they had taken under Herod; and the other, for injuries of fresher date. The animosity grew every day so much more mortal and implacable than another, that, betwixt the havock they made for profit and booty, and the cruelties they committed even for cruelty's sake and to keep their hands in ure, there was no creature safe. They fell upon a Roman convoy out of an ambush near Emmaus, with corn and arms for the camp; kill'd the commander Arius, with forty of his soldiers, all brave men upon the place; and the rest must have expected the same fate too, if Gratus had not brought them off with a party just in the nick, leaving their dead behind them. They continued skirmishing at this rate for a long time, to the great trouble of the Romans, but a much greater to themselves; for in the conclusion they were all taken; one in an encounter with Gratus, another by Ptolemy. The eldest fell into the hands of Archelaus; and the last, finding the case desperate, their men spent with toil and

All taken and
suppress'd.

sickness, and no hope of recruits or redress, yielded himself to Archelaus upon his oath and honour for the performance of conditions. But this was some time after.

IN this licence of robbery and confusion, every new band of mutineers would be setting up new kings; which tore the commonwealth to pieces: the Jews that were still dividing into feuds and factions among themselves, suffer'd hereby extremely; but the Romans all this while came off at a cheaper rate.

THE news that Varus had received from Sabinus of the danger he was in, put him into so great an apprehension for the third legion (which was the whole number they had in Syria) that he took the other two, and four troops of horse, with the auxiliaries of the king's, and the tetrarch's, and hasten'd away into Judea to the relief of the besieged; appointing the rendezvous at Ptolemais, and taking fifteen hundred men along with him from Berytus by the way. There was also Aretas the petrean (he that espous'd the Roman interest out of a pique to Herod) who supply'd him with a considerable enforcement both of horse and foot; but when the army was drawn all into a body at Ptolemais, Varus gave the command of part of it to his son, and one of his particular friends, with order to march into Galilee, which is not far from Ptolemais. Upon this inroad into the country, he carry'd all before him, wherever he met with any opposition; took Sepphoris, laid the city in ashes, and sold the people for slaves at an outcry. Varus himself advanced with his army toward Samaria, but there was no damage done to the city, because he knew them to be well affected; and in their own disposition, peaceable enough. But he encamped in a village call'd Arus, which belonged to Ptolemy.

Varus
marches to
the relief of
Judea.
The rendez-
vous at Pto-
lemais.

Varus's son
lays Seppho-
ris in ashes.

This village the Arabians burnt, in revenge to the very friends of Herod, for Herod's sake. The army advanced afterward to Sampho, which the same Arabians rifled, tho' a strong place, and afterward set it on fire; but, in short, there was nothing escap'd them, that whole expedition, but all destroy'd by fire and sword. Emmaus was burnt by the order of Varus, in revenge of his soldiers that were slain there; but the inhabitants had quitted it first. Upon his approach from thence toward Jerusalem, the Jews who had besieged the legion upon that quarter, immediately upon the sight of the army, abandon'd their post, and in a fright brake up to shift for themselves. Varus fell very severely upon the Jerusalem-Jews for this scandalous uproar; but they had this to say in their excuse, that it falling out in a time when there was such a prodigious recourse of people to Jerusalem, it was the strangers made the war, not the inhabitants; and that they did not only oppose the Romans, but ran the very risque with them in the fate of the same siege. As for Sabinus, he declined coming in Varus's sight, and withdrew himself out of the city toward the sea.

The Arabi-
ans burn
Arus, and
rifled and burn
Sampho.

Emmaus
burnt by Va-
rus's order.

The Jews
at the ap-
proach of
Varus.

Sabinus ships
away before
Varus sets
eye on him.

Varus
searches out
the ring-
leaders of
this uproar,
and puts
near two
thousand to
much death.

VARUS, upon this, sent up and down all over the country to inform himself of the ring-leaders of the revolt; and upon clear proofs against them, some he punish'd, others he pardon'd and let go, crucifying about two thousand upon this occasion. Varus's soldiers had done a great deal of mischief

Ten thousand Jews in a body again. Varus leaves a garrison at Jerusalem, and returns to Antioch.

The Jews send an embassy to Cesar.

Cesar gives them audience in the temple of Apollo.

much against his will, in the heat and rage of a military licence; so that finding no further occasion for his army, he sent it away: but hearing afterward that ten thousand of the Jews were got into a body, he order'd out a strong detachment to fall upon them in their quarters; yet without daring to engage, they deliver'd themselves up to Ahiab prisoners at discretion. Varus set the common people at liberty; sent the heads of the riot to Cesar, and forgave all the rest, saving only some relations of Herod, that had so little honour or conscience, as without any regard to affinity, or justice, to engage in so wicked a war. Matters being thus compos'd, Varus left the same legion still in garrison at Jerusalem, and went back to Antioch.

THIS difficulty was no sooner over in Judea, but Archelaus was encounter'd with another at Rome, that happen'd as follows. "The Jews, with the permission of Varus, sent an embassy to Augustus, for leave to live according to their own laws. There were fifty Jews join'd in the commission, and upward of eight thousand more of the city, that presented themselves to second them. Cesar hereupon, appointed a select number of his friends, and others of the first rank in the city, to attend him in the temple of Apollo, a most magnificent structure of his own erecting. Thither came the ambassadors also with a long train of Jews after them, and Archelaus, with his friends likewise. But the king's relations could not tell which way to turn themselves: for on the one hand, they abhor'd Archelaus, and therefore could not side with him; and on the other hand, if they should have clos'd with the ambassadors, they must have betray'd themselves to the king for enemies to a prince of their own blood. There was also Philip the brother too, that came out of Syria by the advice of Varus in the prospect of assisting Archelaus, for whom he had a particular tenderness and respect: but yet Philip all this while was not without hope, that if the ambassadors should gain their end, and the dignity come to be divided among Herod's children, he might come to put in for a part of the kingdom himself.

THE first thing the ambassadors insisted upon in their address, was an earnest request that they might be no longer under the power of kings; and they began with the history of the misgovernment and iniquity of Herod. "He was a king (they said) only in name; but in the exercise of his power, a tyrant; and not only vers'd in the common arts of oppression, but fruitful in inventions of his own, to improve the misery. It would be to no purpose to reckon up how many lives he has taken away, when the survivors were yet more miserable than those he destroy'd; for they liv'd in perpetual danger and terror, under so merciless and rapacious a master, and as much at mercy in their fortunes as in their persons. What was all the pomp and vanity of his expences upon strangers for? the repairing, rebuilding, beautifying, and enriching of their cities; but a singular way he had found out by himself of dreining and begging his own people at home, to gratify his vanity abroad; and of

turning a flourishing and a plentiful country into a desert? how many of the nobility has he put to death, upon false, frivolous pretences, without any colour of law or justice, and purely for the benefit of their forfeited estates! and how many others has he necessitated to compound for their lives, with the loss of their fortunes! and so in the matter of tributes, and ordinary taxes, it was not enough for every man to pay according to his assessment and proportion, without bribes, and presents over and above, to court-minions, collectors, and other raking officers and servants, to prevent further vexation. We shall say nothing of his brutal practices, both upon virgins and matrons, but pass them over in silence, for the honour of those innocent names that suffer'd the abuse: but, in short, (says he) if the fiercest beast in the forest had been set over us, he would have govern'd us just as Herod did: and of all the miseries that ever this nation indur'd, the calamity of his reign was incomparably the greatest: wherefore the people might well be allow'd to compliment Archelaus upon the death of his father, for they were sure beforehand, they could never have a worse in his place. They were as frankly forward also, out of a respect to the son, in promoting the funeral honours of the father, and so in other offices of deference and good manners, which they thought might gain upon the good-will of the successor: but Archelaus quickly gave the people to understand, that he was his father's own son; and they might see even before he was in the seat, what might afterward be expected from him, whenever he came to govern. His whole fortune was as yet at the mercy of Cesar; and to give his new subjects some taste beforehand of his virtue, modesty, and justice, he sacrificed three thousand citizens of his own tribe to the honour of God, in the very temple, with as little regret, as if they had been but so many common victims. Let the world judge now of the confidence of this odious man, that can have the face, after the committing of so execrable an outrage himself, to charge the crime upon others, and at the same time to lay claim to the government." The ambassadors, in fine, summ'd up their whole business in a short request to Cesar, to change the form of their government, and deliver them from the oppression of a monarchy; annexing them to Syria under such rulers as Cesar should think fit to appoint: and it would then appear whether they were a people that delighted in broils and innovations, or men of order and obedience; under the authority of lawful governors.

THE ambassadors having now deliver'd what they had to say, Nicolaus stood up in the defence, both of Herod and Archelaus. "Pray, under favour, how came it (says he) if Herod was guilty of all this, that he should never be call'd to an account for it in his life-time, when they might have appeal'd to the justice of Augustus for remedy, and satisfaction? as for the case of Archelaus, it was not properly his act, but an absolute force put upon him by the contumacy of a faction that first trampled upon

An invective against Archelaus.

Nicolaus in defence of Herod and Archelaus.

"the laws in a seditious tumult; and then
 "with swords and stones, cut the throats,
 "and beat out the brains of those that were
 "sent to quiet them. And what was Archelaus's crime now, but the suppressing of an
 "outrageous insurrection by a stronger power? but, (says he) turning to the accusers;
 "ye are possess'd with a spirit of disobedience and licentiousness; sedition and rebellion are what you most delight in, now is there
 "any other nation under heaven whose people are of such an obstinate and refractory
 "temper.

C H A P. XIII.

Cesar's generosity in favour of Herod. The portion of the sons of Herod.

Cesar's generosity in favour of Herod. The portion of the sons of Herod.

WHEN Cesar had heard both sides, he dismiss'd the assembly, and after some few days declared Archelaus successor to the one moiety of Herod's jurisdiction, but under the title of an Ethnarch, not of a king, with a promise yet of the kingdom too, whenever he should make himself worthy of that honour. The other half was divided betwixt the two sons of Herod, Philip, and that Antipas who had the dispute with Archelaus about the intire succession. This Antipas had for his share, Galilee, with the country beyond Jordan, and two * hundred talents a year in revenue. Philip's portion was Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis; and part of the palace of Zenodorus, (as they call'd it) and a hundred † talents in yearly revenue. Archelaus had Judea, Idumea, and likewise Samaria; which was discharg'd by Cesar of a fourth part of the duty, for standing loyal when the rest were in rebellion. There fell to his lot also the tower of Straton, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem: for Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon, living in a conformity to the Greek customs and manners, were no longer dependencies upon the kingdom, but annexed by Augustus to Syria. The revenue of Archelaus upon the whole, was six ‡ hundred talents a year.

THUS stood the patrimony of the sons of Herod. And for Salome; beside the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand pieces of minted silver, which her brother had given her by will, Augustus gave her also a palace in Ascalon, within the dominion of Archelaus; and her income was reckon'd at * sixty talents a year: all the other legacies to the rest of the king's relations being made good also, according to the will of Herod. Augustus bestow'd like-

wife upon Herod's two virgin daughters, over and above what their father left them, two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of minted silver each, and marry'd them to the two sons of Pheroras. Nay, and what was yet more magnificent and generous than all the rest, he divided his own legacies, valued at fifteen † hundred talents, among the sons of Herod too; some few pieces of plate excepted, which he kept to himself; not for the value of the thing, but for the memory of the donor.

C H A P. XIV.

A counterfeit Alexander. The management of the imposture. The cheat passes among the Jews for current. He takes up money upon his royal credit. He goes to Rome with a princely train. The Jews flock to him at Puteoli, and elsewhere. Cesar sends Celadus to fetch him. Cesar finds him to be a counterfeit; and he confesses the abuse. The cheat is condemn'd to the galleys, and the adviser put to death.

THE business of the will, and the legacies being now over; there was a certain young man, by nation a Jew, and trained up at Sidon, with a freeman of Rome, who bore so exact a resemblance to Alexander the son of Herod, who was put to death by his father, that it was almost impossible to have distinguish'd the one from the other. This Jew took the hint by the right handle, and letting fall some words pointing at the relation he had to that family, he insinuated by this glancing way, some remote pretension that he might have to the crown. Upon this he form'd a project how to put his pretensions in execution; to which end he communicated his design to a cunning fellow of his own tribe and way: one that had run through all the cabals and intrigues of the court; and endued with a genius for plots and mischief. Upon laying their heads together, it was this politician's advice, that the young man should set up for that very Alexander who was said to be dead; and the story, in short, was to run thus: that the person entrusted with the execution of the two brothers, (Alexander and Aristobulus) had set up two other bodies in their places, and so preserv'd them both. The impostor was not only inwardly pleased himself with the conceit of the part he had to play; but the cheat pass'd as current upon other people too; insomuch, that coming to Crete, and after that, to the isle of Melos, the Jews were all so fully perswaded of the truth of the fact, that he took up several sums of money among them, upon the credit of his

A counterfeit Alexander a Jew.

Another Jew advises him to set up for the right Alexander. The management of the imposture.

At Crete, Melos, and among the Jews, the cheat passes for current.

* Two hundred talents weighed twenty two thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred thirty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thousand pounds of our money.

† An hundred talents weighed eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred eighteen pounds fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand and five hundred pounds of English money.

‡ Six hundred talents weighed sixty eight thousand four hundred thirty seven pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to two hundred five thousand, and three hundred twelve pounds ten shillings, and in gold to three million two hundred eighty five thousand pounds of our money.

* Sixty talents weighed six thousand eight hundred forty three pounds nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to two thousand five hundred thirty one pounds five shillings, and in gold to three hundred twenty eight thousand five hundred pounds of English money.

† Fifteen hundred talents weighed one hundred seventy one thousand ninety three pounds nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to five hundred thirteen thousand two hundred and eighty one pounds, and in gold to eight million two hundred twelve thousand, and five hundred pounds of our money.

royal

takes up
ney upon
royal
dit.
goes to
me with a
ncely
in at his
els.
he Jews
ne flock-
to him
Puteoli;

royal extraction. The delusion had wrought so far by this time, that he began now to build castles in the air, and to dream of principalities and powers; what favourites he would raise, and to what places and preferments. Big with these hopes, he embark'd for Rome, attended with a fair troop of his new courtiers and disciples. When he came to Puteoli, he had no sooner set foot on shore there, but all the Jews, every man of them that ever had any friendship or acquaintance with Herod, gather'd about him, and receiv'd him as their king: people being naturally curious and credulous, where they have such resemblances and presumptions to work upon: for this person was so very like the prince, that several of his intimate friends did not only affirm, but swear, upon the sight of him, that this was Alexander himself, and could be no other. The rumour of this discovery coming to Rome, brought all the Jews out of that quarter to meet him upon the way; with praises and thanksgivings in their mouths, for the blessing of so wonderful and so surprizing a deliverance. He was carry'd in a sedan with a princely pomp and equipage, (his friends sparing for no cost) follow'd with multitudes of people; loud acclamations, prayers, and good wishes, as we see commonly in such extraordinary occasions. But the great honour they did him was for the sake of his supposed mother Mariamne. Now Cesar looking upon Herod as a man not to be easily impos'd upon, in a matter of this importance, would not believe one syllable of the story; but yet for sureness sake, he sent a freeman of his, one Celadus, a contemporary and companion of the two brothers, to fetch this new Alexander, that he might have a sight of him, which he did; and Celadus was impos'd upon as well as the rest. But Cesar after this, was not to be so easily put upon; for tho' they were as like as like could be upon the main, yet if a man look'd narrowly, he might find some particular disagreements too, as the hands of the false Alexander were callous and harden'd with working; the grain of his skin coarser than theirs are commonly that are brought up in delicacy and pleasure. Cesar observing also how exactly the master and the scholar agreed in the same tale, and that it was all but a made story, asked him what was become of Aristobulus; and since they were both deliver'd together, how it came to pass they did not both appear together, and put in for their pretensions to their inheritance. The impostor made answer, that Aristobulus stay'd at Cyprus for fear of the danger of the seas; for if they should both have miscarry'd together, the whole race of Mariamne would have been extinct, and so care was taken for Aristobulus, in case of the worst. The false Alexander affirming this, and the contriver of the story joining exactly with him in the concert, Cesar took the young man aside. "Look ye, (says he) put none of your tricks upon me at your own peril. Speak truth now, and I'll give you your life. Wherefore tell me immediately what you are for a man, and who it was that put you upon this practice; for you are not

with compli-
ents every
here, and
clamations.

Cesar sends
Celadus to
fetch him.

and upon
lifting the
matter finds
it to be an
imposture.

Cesar pinches
him so close,
that he con-
fesses the
trick.

"old enough to be guilty of forming so cunning and malicious a design, without some other instigation." When the fellow found himself driven to this extremity, and that there was no evading, he told Augustus the whole history, with the author of the invention, and the manner of the proceeding. So Cesar was as good as his word to the counterfeit, and condemn'd him only to the galleys, being of a robust constitution of body, and proper for that service. His adviser was put to death; and as for the Jews of Melos, they were sufficiently punish'd in the expence they had been at for the honour of such a piece of pageantry: and we are now come to the infamous end of a rash and a bold impostor.

The counterfeit condemn'd to the galleys, and the adviser put to death.

CHAP. XV.

The history of Archelaus in his Ethnarchy. Archelaus banish'd, and his goods confiscate. A foreboding dream of Archelaus's. Simon, an Essene, expounds it. Glaphyra's dream of her first husband.

ARCHELAUS being now returned to Judea, and in possession of his Ethnarchy, removed Joazar the son of Boethus from the pontificate, for having taken part, (as was pretended) with a seditious faction; and so confer'd the dignity upon Eleazar his brother. He rebuilt the palace at Jericho, at a most magnificent expence, and drew down one half of the stream that water'd the village of Neara, to a grove of palm-trees that he had lately planted in the field below. He built also a new village, which he call'd Archelais, after his own name; and without any regard to the laws of his country, he took Glaphyra to wife, the daughter of king Archelaus, and the widow of his brother Alexander, to whom she had born several children; tho' such * marriages with brothers wives are expressly forbidden by the Jewish law; neither had Eleazar any long joy of his dignity; for Jesus the son of Sias was put into his office while he was yet living.

The history of Archelaus in his Ethnarchy.

In the tenth year of the government of Archelaus, the head men of the Jews and Samaritans were so disgusted at his tyrannical administration, that they join'd in a complaint against him to Cesar. And they proceeded in it with the more confidence, because they knew that extreme severity to be directly contrary to the order and good liking of Augustus; who had expressly charged him to govern his people with tenderness, impartiality, and justice. Upon the hearing of this complaint he sent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, to come to him immediately, and bad him go presently and fetch the other Archelaus to him; without vouchsafing him a letter. Archelaus posted away as fast as he could into Judea; where he found the other Archelaus making merry with his friends; shew'd him Cesar's order, and call'd upon him to hasten away. Upon his arrival at Rome, Cesar heard both charge and defence; pass'd a sentence of banishment upon Archelaus, with confiscation of all his goods, and so sent him away to Vienne, a city in Gaul.

Archelaus banish'd, and his goods confiscated.

* That is, to marry the wife of a brother who had issue by her; otherwise it was not only not forbidden, but expressly commanded; and the person publicly branded with disgrace and ignominy, who refus'd to do it. See Deut. xxv. 5-10.

A foreboding dream of Archelaus's.

Simon, an Essene, expounds it.

THIS Archelaus, a little before his being sent for to Rome, had this following dream, as he told it himself to several of his friends. He fancy'd that he saw ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and the oxen eating them. This vision, upon waking, seem'd to portend something extraordinary; so that he consulted several interpreters of dreams, about the meaning of it: but they being divided, one Simon an Essene, with leave of the rest, gave his opinion upon the signification of that dream, which was, that it foreboded some misfortune to Archelaus; for the dreaming of oxen, a creature design'd for labour and slavery, seems to import * misery; and a change of affairs beside, because upon their turning up of the ground every thing chang'd its place and figure. By the ten ears of corn is intimated the same definite number of years, which take their revolutions in course, and the reign of Archelaus seem'd to be now near an end. This was his interpretation of the dream: and upon the fifth day after this vision, Archelaus, Cesar's agent, came into Judea by the order of Cesar, to summon him before Augustus.

His wife Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, had also an odd kind of a dream. This Glaphyra (as we have said before) had for her first husband, Alexander, the son of Herod, and the brother of Archelaus. Her second husband, after the putting of the first to death by his father, was Juba the king of Mauritania; and after his death, living a widow with her father in Cappadocia, Archelaus turn'd off his former wife Mariamne; and falling passionately in love with Glaphyra, he marry'd her. During the time of her coha-

biting with Archelaus, she had this dream. "She fancy'd that she saw her first husband Alexander coming toward her; and that when she thought to receive him into her arms, with all possible joy and kindness, he enter'd with her into this manner of expostulation. Glaphyra, (says he), thou hast made good the old saying, there's no trusting to women. Was not I the husband of your virginity? and had we not children betwixt us, the pledges of that love? how could you forget that obligation so far, as to engage yourself in a second marriage? and after that, into a third; and so shamelessly to break into my family, and take my brother Archelaus for your husband? but, (says he) that ancient kindness shall never be forgotten, and it shall be my care to deliver thee from this reproach." She told this dream to several of her she-friends; and within a few days after departed this life.

HAVING had occasion in this place to discourse of these princes, I thought it might not be improper to mention this circumstance: especially as the example is very well worth the consideration; beside that it is instructive also, with a respect to the divinity of the soul, and to the wisdom of divine providence. He that will not believe this, is at liberty to think what he pleases, provided that others may be left to their freedom too, in making a moral use of these discourses. As to the lands of Archelaus, Cesar annex'd them to Syria, and sent Cyrenius, a man of consular authority, to tax the province, and to dispose of the palace of Archelaus.

* See Astrampsyclus in his Oneiro-Criticks.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XVIII.

From the Year of the World 3973 to 4003.

CHAP. I.

Cyrenius made governor of Syria: And Coponius governor of Judea, sent along with him. Cyrenius levies a tax: The Jews murmur at it; but Joazar keeps them quiet. Judas, a Gaulanite of Gamala, and Sadducus, a Pharisee, commit horrible outrages, under the colour of a common good. The temple burnt to the ground. The fruit of innovations. Judas and Sadducus start a fourth sect.

Cyrenius governor of Syria, and censor of the tax.



Cyrenius levies a tax, and seizes the estates of Archelaus.

The Jews murmur, but Joazar the high-priest keeps them quiet.

Judas a Gaulanite of Gamala, and Sadducus a Pharisee, stir up the people to a rebellion.

CYRENIUS was at this time sent governor by Cesar into Syria. He was a man of eminent fame; a Roman senator, and one that had pass'd through all the degrees and offices of honour, up to the dignity of a consul. Coponius, who commanded the horse, went along with him, as governor of Judea; but Judea being already annexed to Syria, it was Cyrenius's province to tax and assess those people, and to make seizure of the monies and moveables of Archelaus.

THE Jews at first express'd their dislike of this way of assessing; but betwixt the persuasion and authority of the high-priest Joazar, the son of Boethus, they were prevail'd upon to submit and comply without any farther trouble. There arose soon after this, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala; who together with one Sadducus a Pharisee, inveigled the people into a revolt. "Taxes," (they said) "were only marks of slavery, and therefore the whole nation should do well

"to stand up for an universal liberty; and one lucky hit would make them free and easy for ever, and advance them in their reputation, as well as secure them in their possessions: But in order to effect this, they were to stickle for themselves, and stand up in their own defence, otherwise they could not expect the assistance of heaven."

THIS evil counsel dispos'd the multitude, who listened to it with eager ears, to attempt the commission of all sorts of mischief and outrage; and it is not to be express'd, the havock these turbulent incendiaries made in the nation: What with murders, robberies, depredations, without distinction of friend or foe; assassinations, massacres, and what not? under a pretext all this while, of advancing the common good of liberty and property; and nothing at last but passion and private interest in the bottom. And at the same time, while the citizens were tearing one another to pieces at home with a civil war in their own bowels, a foreign war upon them from abroad, and a terrible famine to encounter over and above;

Horrible outrages, under pretext of liberty, property, and the common good.

Wars and famine,

The temple
burnt to the
ground.

The fruit of
innovations
Judas and
Sadducus start
a fourth sect.

nothing could yet put a stop to the outrageous course they were in, of blood and desolation; till the fire, in the conclusion, laid hold of the holy temple itself.

THIS was the fruit of hankering after new laws and customs, and quitting establish'd foundations. And Judas and Sadducus, out of a capricious singularity of humour, would needs be superadding a fourth sect to the three former; by which bait of innovation, they drew in a mighty party to them, and not only prov'd the occasion of a present confusion, but laid the foundation of greater mischiefs to come. Wherefore it would not be amiss to say somewhat in this place of those pernicious opinions and principles that have wrought us all this woe.

CHAP. II.

The Pharisees practices and opinions. Men of great reputation with the people. The way of the Sadducees. The Essenes; their doctrine, course of life and government. A fourth sect for absolute liberty, that owns no superior but God.

THERE were of old three famous sects of religion among the Jews. The Essenes, the Sadducees, and those that they call'd Pharisees. I shall touch upon them again, in the second book of my wars of the Jews; though it will not be improper to say somewhat of them also in this place.

The Phari-
sees practices
and opinions.

THE Pharisees manner of life is simple and austere, without any luxurious delicacies. They make a conscience of keeping close to the dictates of their reason, and pay such a veneration to the counsels of their elders, that they hearken to them without any contradiction or controul. They ascribe all things to fate; but not so, as absolutely to exclude free will neither: for though all things are done, they say, by God's order and appointment; this does not yet hinder the concurrence of the will, in cases that have a regard either to good or evil. They believe the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments in another world: The wicked to be condemn'd to perpetual chains and darkness, and the good to rise again with comfort. By these doctrines they have advanced themselves to a mighty reputation among the people; and all things are done in the solemn offices of prayer and divine worship, according to their sense and prescription: Such is the veneration the people have for the wisdom, temperance and integrity of these men.

Men of great
reputation
with the peo-
ple.

The way of
the Saddu-
cees

THE Sadducees on the other hand, hold that our bodies and souls die together; and that we have no other obligation upon us than to observe the law: Insomuch, that they value themselves upon a right they have to dispute the highest points with their teachers. These people are not many in number, but for the most part men of quality, and matters go seldom their way; for when they come once to bear offices, how unwillingly soever, they are forc'd to go over in a conformity to the Pharisees; for the common people will not suffer it to be otherwise.

The Essenes.
Their opi-
nions, course
of life and
government.

THE Essenes ascribe the government of the world to God's providence without any exception. They hold the immortality of the soul; and celebrate justice, both in practice and doc-

trine, as the sovereign virtue. They send their gifts to the temple, without going thither themselves; for they offer their sacrifices apart, in a peculiar way of worship, and with more religious ceremonies. As to their conversation, they are men of excellent morals; and their whole business is husbandry. They are eminent for their justice, beyond either Greeks or Barbarians, as a virtue that hath been a long time their application and study. Their goods are all in common, without any distinction of rich and poor among them. They have neither wives, nor servants; for they look upon the one as an encroachment upon the natural liberty of mankind, and the other as a circumstance that carries trouble and uneasiness along with it: So that they chuse rather by a mutual exchange of good offices to help one another. This is their way of life, and they reckon themselves to be upward of four thousand souls in this society. Their treasurers and commissaries are men of integrity, chosen from among their priests; and it is their care to make provision out of the fruits of the earth for the feeding and maintaining of the whole body. They live upon the main, much at the rate of the Pliti among the Dacians.

THE founder of the fourth sect of religion was Judas Galileus, and this was much the same with that of the Pharisees, saving only in the maxim of an uncontrollable liberty; for they own no other lord and superior than God himself, and will rather expose themselves and their dearest relations to the most exquisite of torments, than call any man by the name of master. But this is so known a truth upon every day's observation and experience, that it will need no farther confirmation; beside that all that can be said of it will fall infinitely short of expressing the invincible constancy of these people, in the contempt of pain: And this animosity was yet farther inflamed, by the insupportable cruelties of Gessius Florus, the governor of Judea, which ended at last in a downright revolt from the Romans. And this is all I have to say of their sects.

A fourth sect
for absolute
liberty.
They own
no king or
master, but
God.

CHAP. III.

Cyrenius sells Archelaus's estate, &c. Herod and Philip settled in their tetrarchy. Herod fortifies Sephoris and Betaramphtha: He beautifies Pales, &c. He enlarges Bethsaida, &c. The Samaritans prophane the holy temple. Coponius returns to Rome; and Marcus Ambivius succeeds him. The death of Salome. Rufus succeeds Ambivius. Augustus dies, and Nero succeeds him, &c. Ananus removed, and Ismael succeeds him. Eleazar comes after Ismael: Simon, after Eleazar, &c. Gratus returns, and Pilate succeeds him, &c. Herod cut off by a conspiracy. An embassy to chuse one of the hostages for king. Vonones beats Artabanus into Media. Vonones totally routed. He flies into Armenia. Cesar refuses to assist him, &c. He is received by Syllanus. Antiochus, the king of Comagena, dies. A dispute about the form of government. Germanicus sent to compose the controversy, and he is poison'd by Pytho.

AFTER Cyrenius had made sale of the forfeited goods and estate of Archelaus, and settled a tax according to his order; which hap-

Cyrenius sells
Archelaus's
estate.

happen'd in the thirty seventh year after the battle of Actium, wherein Cesar got the better of Anthony, the people broke out into a tumult against Joazar the high-priest, and Cyrenius depos'd him from his dignity, substituting Ananus, the son of Seth, to succeed in his place.

Herod and Philip settled in their tetrarchy.

Herod fortifies Sephoris, &c.

He enlarges Bethsaida, and calls it Julias.

In the time of Coponius, the Samaritans profane the holy temple.

Coponius returns to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius succeeds him. The death of Salome.

Annius Rufus succeeds Ambivius. The death of Augustus.

Tiberius Nero succeeds him.

Valerius Gratus, governor of Judea. Ananus removed, and Ismael high-priest in his place. Eleazar comes after Ismael. Simon after Eleazar: and from Simon to Joseph (or Caiaphas.)

HEROD and Philip, being now settled in their tetrarchies, put all things in the best order they could. The former began with the fortifying and walling in of Sephoris, which he made the bullwark and the capital of all Galilee; and after that, he fortify'd another town also, which at that time was called Betaraphtha; but he changed the name afterward to Julias, in honour of the empress. Philip, for his part, beautify'd and enlarged Pallas at the head of the river Jordan, and gave it the name of Cesarea; and so for the village of Bethsaida upon the bank of the lake of Genezareth; he built it up to the bulk and appearance of a magnificent city; enrich'd and peopled it, giving it the name also of Julias, out of a respect to Julia, the daughter of Cesar.

As for Coponius, who was sent (as we said) with Cyrenius into Judea, there happen'd this disorder while he was there in his government. It is usual for the priests upon the feast of unleavened bread, or, as we call it, the paschal feast, to open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now there was a company of Samaritans that stole privately into Jerusalem; and waiting for the opening of the doors, stept immediately into the temple, and threw dead men's bones about into the galleries, and every where up and down. The priest took this insolence for a warning; and after that, kept a better guard.

COPONIUS a little after this returning to Rome, Marcus Ambivius succeeded him to the government: in whose time died Salome, the sister of Herod, and left to Julia over and above her toparchy, the city of Jamnia, Phaselis upon the plain, and Archelais, with several plantations of palm-trees, that bear most excellent fruit.

ANNIUS Rufus succeeded Ambivius; and in his time, Augustus departed this life. He was the second of the Roman emperors, and ruled the common-wealth fifty seven years, six months, and two days; having been for fourteen years of the time a partner and companion with Anthony in the government; and upon the whole, his age was seventy seven years.

TIBERIUS Nero, his son-in-law, and the son of Livia his wife, succeeded Augustus, being the third emperor of the Romans. He sent Valerius Gratus, to be governor of Judea instead of Annus Rufus, and remov'd Ananus from the pontificate, putting Israel the son of Fabius in his place; who was soon after depos'd, and the honour transfer'd to Eleazar the son of Ananus the high-priest: and it was taken from him in one year more too, and given to Simon the son of Camith; who after another year, was commanded to deliver it up to Joseph, whose surname was Caiaphas. Gratus having been now eleven years in his government, went back to Rome, and Pontius Pilate succeeded him.

HEROD the tetrarch was now in great favour with Tiberius, and erected a city to his honour by the name of Tiberias. He built it upon the best spot of ground in all Galilee, on the bank of the lake of Genezareth, and not far from the hot baths at Emmaus. This city was peopled, partly by strangers, partly by Galileans: some were fain to live there upon force, and several of the better sort took up their habitation there upon choice. And for the peopling of it so much the sooner, there came a multitude thither from all quarters, and of all sorts, even down to men of the meanest condition; and several of them suspected to be slaves: but for their greater encouragement to fix and settle there, he gave them very considerable privileges and immunities; houses to some, and lands to others, to make the violation of the laws go down so much the better; for the place being full of sepulchres, and polluted with dead bodies, the inhabitants are accounted unclean for seven days after.

Herod in favour with Tiberius. He builds a city, and calls it Tiberias.

Encourages the peopling of it.

PHRAATES, the king of the Parthians, was at this time treacherously murder'd by his son * Phraataces: and the manner of it was this. Phraates, among other presents that were sent him by Cesar, had an Italian woman for one, whose name was Thermusa. He took her at first in the quality of a Concubine, but came in time to be so charm'd with her beauty and conversation, that having one son by her whose name was Phraataces, he took her to his lawful bed, having other legitimate children of his own already. This Thermusa had so great an ascendant over the king that she cou'd persuade him to any thing she pleas'd; whereupon she form'd a design to put her son in a way to be king of Parthia; but this she saw could not possibly be effected without first sending the legitimate sons out of the way: so she mov'd her husband in it, and it was done for the asking; so absolute was the dominion she had over the temper of that man. The young men being sent away to Rome for hostages, Phraataces was train'd up at home alone to an expectancy of the kingdom. But it was so tedious a thing, he thought, for him to wait for a crown in reversion, that he enter'd into a conspiracy with his mother to shorten the business, by taking away the life of his father, which was accordingly done; and he more than suspected also of an incestuous familiarity with that lewd woman: but Phraataces made himself so odious to the people, both for the parricide and for the incest, that before he could come to enter upon the government, he was driven out by a tumult, and so perish'd.

Phraates murder'd by his son Phraataces.

The son destroy'd by a tumult.

Now the Parthian nobility, considering that there was no living for them without a king, and resolving with themselves not to set any prince upon the throne, but of the family of the Arsacide (the blood of Phraates being already sufficiently tainted by the lusts of this beastly woman;) they sent ambassadors with an invitation to Herod; who was, 'tis true, of the royal line, but so hateful withal to the multitude, for the untractable outrageous cruelty of his nature, that a band of conspirators set upon him, and kill'd him; the Parthians never going without their swords. Some say

The Parthians desire Herod to take the government. Herod cut off by a conspiracy.

* Phraates in the version of Epiphanius Scholasticus.

the execution was done at a sacrifice or a banquet; but the most received account is, that he was kill'd a hunting.

An embassy recommending one of their hostages.

UPON this, they sent an embassy to Rome, desiring one of the Parthian hostages for their king, to supply the present vacancy; and making choice of Vonones before the rest of the brothers, he was recommended as a prince worthy of the honour that was now offer'd him, in the command of two of the most glorious empires upon the face of the earth, (the Roman, that is, and the Parthian.) But the Parthians being naturally fickle and haughty, quickly repented of their choice. Their stomachs were too big to truckle to a slave, they said, for so they translated the word hostage, and upbraided him at every turn with the reproach of that appellation: for this was not a king, they said, impos'd upon them by any law of arms, but a scandalous condition of a shameful peace. In this heat of indignation, they sent for Artabanus, who was then king of the Medes, and of the blood of the Arsacide, who was easily prevail'd upon, and came presently with a considerable army. Vonones engag'd him, and beat him back again into Media; the generality of the Parthians standing as yet firm to their duty; but Artabanus being in a short time reinforced, gave a notable overthrow to Vonones in a second battle, so that he had much ado with some few horse to save himself in Seleucia. Artabanus, taking advantage of the consternation the Barbarians were in, press'd upon the pursuit with a terrible slaughter, and so betook himself to Ctesiphon with his conquering army. This action put him in possession of the kingdom of Parthia. Vonones in the mean time fled into Armenia, with a project in his head to make himself master there; soliciting Cesar also at the same time by an embassy to assist him in his design; but whether it was that the emperor suspected his courage; or that he himself was afraid of disobliging the Parthians, who then threaten'd a war upon him, Tiberius absolutely stood off, and would not meddle in the matter. This repulse destroy'd all Vonones's hopes; especially finding that the great men of Armenia that border'd upon Niphates, sided all with Artabanus. So that in the conclusion, he deliver'd himself up to Syllanus the governor of Syria, who out of a respect to former acquaintance with him at Rome, gave him a very honourable reception and entertainment. Artabanus, being now at ease, made his son Orodes king of Armenia.

They dislike the word hostage, and send for Artabanus.

Artabanus advances, and Vonones beats him into Media. Vonones totally routed. Artabanus follows the blow, and enters into Parthia.

Vonones flies into Armenia.

Cesar refuses to assist him. Armenia sides with Artabanus.

Vonones honourably receiv'd by Syllanus.

Antiochus the king of Comagena dies.

A dispute about the form of government. Germanicus sent to compose the controversy. He adjusts the matter, and is poison'd by Piso.

THERE happen'd about that time, upon the death of Antiochus king of Comagena, a controversy betwixt the lords and commons, the former were for reducing the kingdom into the state of a province, and the other for being under a king still, as they were before. Upon this dispute, Germanicus was order'd away into the east by a decree of the senate for the composing of this difference, and fortune improv'd this occasion to the ruin of that excellent prince: for after he had settled and quieted affairs in Syria, he was poison'd by the practice of Piso, as we shall set forth elsewhere.

CHAP. IV.

Standards set up in Jerusalem with Cesar's image upon them, &c. Pilate demands money out of the holy treasury, &c. Joseph's testimony of Jesus Christ. Decius Mundus falls in love with Paulina; and in despair, resolves to kill himself. Ide undertakes to bring it about, and concert the matter with the priests of Isis. The priest gives her an invitation from the God Anubis, and puts one upon her for the other. Mundus twits her for it. The priest and Ide are crucify'd, and the temple of Isis is pull'd down.

PILATE the governor of Judea, upon the removal of certain troops from Cesarea to their winter-quarters in Jerusalem, brought several standards into the city with the image of Cesar upon them, to the scandal of the Jewish laws, which expressly prohibit the use of such figures; and for this reason it was that no former governors ever brought colours with pictures upon them into this city before. Pilate was the first that ever transgress'd this rule; and they were brought into the town by stealth too, and there planted in the dead of the night, when no body was aware of them. But when the citizens came to take notice of them the next morning, they gather'd together in great multitudes, and went their way to Pilate at Cesarea, with a petition for the removal of those images to some other place. After several days waiting, and Pilate still refusing, upon a pretext that it was a request not to be granted without an affront to Cesar, they still persisted in their importunities; but the governor, at last, upon the seventh day of the Jews attendance, commanded a party of soldiers to be privately ready in their arms, where he appointed them, and thereupon mounted a tribunal that he had caused to be erected in the Circus, as a place the most commodious for a surprize; the people pressing him over and over still, about the same business, till Pilate at last gave a signal to the soldiers to advance and surround them, order'd them immediately to cut all their throats; if in that instant they should not every man depart to his own home and be quiet: but the Jews cast themselves all flat upon the ground, and stretching out their necks, gave to understand that their very lives were not so dear to them as the laws of their country. This wonderful constancy wrought so far upon Pilate, that he presently caused the images to be carry'd back again from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

Standards set up in Jerusalem with Cesar's image upon them.

The Jews petition against them. Pilate denies them, and they still persist. Pilate lays an ambush for them. He gives the word to cut them to pieces unless they depart.

The Jews peremptorily refuse.

Upon this, the images are remov'd.

Pilate demands money out of the holy treasury for an aqueduct. The Jews gather into a tumult.

PILATE being now upon a design of bringing an aqueduct to Jerusalem, some two hundred * furlongs off from the city, demanded money out of the holy treasury to defray the charge of the work. The people took this so heinously, that they got several thousands of them in a body together, to try what might be done by multitudes and clamour, to divert him from his purpose. Some there were in this rabble (as it falls out commonly in popular confusions) that gave Pilate personal provocations, with foul language: insomuch that he order'd a certain number of soldiers to put themselves in a ring about the multitude, with

* Two hundred furlongs amounted to twenty five miles and three hundred geometrical paces; that is, fifty paces above twenty five miles and a quarter English measure.

clubs under their coats, in the habit of country-fellows; telling them what they were to do, upon his giving the word, in case of any further reviling or reproach. The rabble went on with their ribaldry; and the word being given, the soldiers fell on with their clubs, and went in truth beyond their commission too, for the innocent escap'd no better than the guilty. The encounter, in fine, was so unequal, betwixt men with weapons on the one side, and naked men on the other, that the Jews were some killed; others wounded and dispers'd, and so an end put to the tumult.

The soldiers disperse them

The author's testimony of Jesus Christ.

At the same time there was one Jesus, a wiseman, if one may justly stile him a man. He was a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of those that were curious and desirous to learn the truth, and he had a great many followers, both Jews and Gentiles. This was the Christ that was accused by the princes and great men of our nation. Pilate deliver'd him up to the cross; and notwithstanding all this, those that lov'd him at first did not forsake him. He was seen alive again the third day after his crucifixion, as had been foretold by several prophets; with other wonders that he wrought; and there are a sort of people that to this day bear the name of Christians, as owning him for their head.

ABOUT the same time there was another misfortune beset the Jews, and likewise a most scandalous passage discover'd at Rome, upon occasion of a sacrifice to Isis; but I shall begin with this, and proceed afterward to what concerns the Jews. There was at Rome one Paulina, a woman no less eminent for her virtue, than she was for her birth; rich, lovely, and in the very bloom of youth and beauty; and withal of a modesty beyond exception. She was marry'd to one Saturninus, a husband well deserving of such a wife; and one Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, and in the prime of his age, was fallen desperately in love with her. This Paulina being a person above the temptation of money or presents, the young man was the more inflam'd by the despair of gaining her; but proceeded so far however as to offer her two hundred † thousand drachma's for only one night's lodging. When he found this would not do, and that the rage of his love grew more and more intolerable, he took up a resolution of putting an end both to his passion, and to his life together, by starving himself. There was one Ide, a freed woman belonging to the father of Mundus, of a cunning and intriguing temper, and one that understood more tricks than were for her credit. This woman saw what he was about; and finding that there was no taking of him off by the force of argument and reason, she went another way to work by wheedling and encouraging him up to hope the best; for she did not yet despair, she said, of putting Paulina into his arms; and that she believ'd a present of fifty thousand * drachma's might do the work. Mundus was abundantly satisfy'd with the proposal, and gave her the money she desired; but that was not the way she knew to deal with Paulina: So that reflecting upon it, how passionate a reverence she had for the goddess Isis, she had recourse to this invention: She got together several of the priests of Isis,

Paulina the wife of Saturninus, a lady of unspotted virtue. Decius Mundus falls in love with her:

and in despair resolves to starve himself. One Ide taking notice of his passion, bids him hope the best.

He gives her money in hand toward the bringing of it about.

and having first sworn them to secrecy; and which is more, secur'd them of a reward of twenty five thousand drachma's down in hand, and as many more when the work was done; she told them the business of the amour, and most earnestly beg'd their assistance toward the bringing the young man and his mistress together. The charms of the money were strong and tempting, so that they promis'd fair; and the eldest of the company went presently to Paulina, where being admitted, he told her in a private audience, that he came with a message from the god Anubis, who was fallen extremely in love with her, and she must needs give him a visit. She made the messenger very welcome, and was so elated with the honour, that she could not forbear boasting of it among her she-companions, how great a kindness the god Anubis had for her. She also acquainted her husband with it too; and that the assignation was already pass'd for them to eat, and lie together: Which the good man was well enough pleas'd withal, considering the proof he had of his wife's insuperable and inviolable virtue. Paulina, in pursuance of this fancy, went into the temple; where, after supper, about sleeping time, she was lock'd up by one of the priests, and in the dark encounter'd, it seems, Mundus instead of Anubis, in whose arms she lay all that night; making no doubt all the while, but she had spent her time in the embraces of a god. Mundus left her the next morning before the priests got up that were privy to the plot, and Paulina went back in the morning to her husband, big with the story of this divine encounter; and the women after that, had the second part of it in most magnificent terms. The case was so extraordinary that they could hardly believe it; and yet Paulina's modesty on the other hand, was so untainted that they knew not how to doubt it neither. Upon the third day after this fact was committed, it was Mundus's hap to meet his mistress. O Paulina! says he, how much am I beholden to you for saving me the two hundred thousand drachma's that I would have given you, and yet I enjoy my will of you nevertheless. What do I care whether you love Mundus, or no, so long as you will do the same thing for me in the name of Anubis! With these words he went his way. When the woman came to reflect upon it, how she was trepann'd, she tore her garments; carry'd the whole history to her husband, and begg'd him, as ever he had any love for her, not to suffer so impious an indignity to pass unpunish'd. The husband represented the matter to Tiberius; who, upon a full inquiry and information, caus'd those holy impostors the priests, to be crucified, together with Ide, the authoress and inventress of the plot, and the main instrument in the infamy of this virtuous woman. He commanded the temple of Isis to be pull'd down, and her statue to be thrown into the Tyber; but contented himself with the banishment of Mundus, as a young man that was overborn by the force of an invincible passion. Let this suffice for the story of Isis: And I shall come now to what I promis'd, of the miserable calamities of the Jews that liv'd at Rome in that revolution.

Ide concert the matter with a priest of Isis.

The Priest carries Paulina an invitation from the god Anubis.

The priest carries her to Mundus instead of Anubis.

Mundus twits Paulina afterward with the mistake.

The husband petitions Tiberius for justice.

The priests and Ide are crucify'd and their temple pull'd down.

† Two hundred thousand drachma's amounted to about five thousand eight hundred pounds of our money.

* Fifty thousand drachma's amounted to about one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds of English money.

CHAP. V.

Profligate Jews set up for doctors. The women follow them. They gather money for the temple, and then keep it to themselves. Saturninus complains of it to Tiberius. The Jews are all banish'd upon it. A Samaritan impostor. Tirathaba besieged. Pilate cuts them to pieces. The Samaritans excuse themselves to Vitellius. Marcellus made governor of Judea, and Pilate summoned before Cesar.

Four profligate Jews set up for doctors of the law.

The women follow them, and one Fulvia a good woman among the rest.

They gather her money for the temple, and keep it to themselves. Saturninus complains of this to Tiberius.

The Jews are all banish'd upon't.

A Samaritan impostor.

They besiege Tirathaba.

Pilate cuts them to pieces.

The Samaritans excuse themselves to Vitellius, and turn it upon Pilate.

THERE was a certain Jew, one of the wickedest wretches upon the face of the earth, that was forc'd to fly his country to avoid the stroke of publick justice. This man pass'd at Rome in those days for a kind of Rabbi, in concert with three more of the same stamp and cabal: and these four held forth for readers and expositors upon the laws of Moses. By this pretence, they gain'd several disciples, and among others, one Fulvia, a woman of quality and conscience, and one woman having deliver'd herself up to their authority and discipline, was by them prevail'd upon to send oblations of gold and purple to the holy temple at Jerusalem, which from time to time they converted to their own use, as they ever intended it. When this abuse came to be made known to Tiberius, by his friend Saturninus, in a complaint against them, by the * instigation of his wife Fulvia, he commanded all the Jews forthwith to depart the city. There were four thousand soldiers enter'd upon the Consul's roll, and sent away for Sardinia; beside a vast number of those that made a conscience of bearing arms, because of their religion; and these were put to grievous torments: so that for the sake of four flagitious hypocrites, the Jews were all banish'd to a man.

AND the Samaritans were not without their troubles too; for there was at that time a certain impostor who made no scruple to invent lyes and fantastical stories to draw the rabble together; and this fellow gave it out, that if the people would but meet at mount Garizin, a sacred place in the esteem of the country thereabouts, he would undertake to shew them the holy vessels which Moses had caused to be bury'd there so long since. These credulous fools betook themselves to their arms, and besieged Tirathaba, waiting for others to come in and join them, and so to march up the mountain together with a considerable army. But Pilate prevented them, and with a strong body of horse and foot prepossess'd the mountain, whence they made a charge among the Samaritans that were gotten together about the village, routed and killed great numbers of them; took, and carry'd away a multitude of prisoners; and for those among them that were of interest or quality, Pilate struck off their heads. The principal men of the Samaritans, apply'd themselves upon this defeat to Vitellius, a person of consular dignity, and at that time governor of Syria, with a complaint against Pilate; and charging him with murder. For they

insisted upon it, that their meeting at Tirathaba was no defection from the Romans; but the seeking for a refuge for themselves against the violence of Pilate. Vitellius, upon this, sent his friend Marcellus to take charge of the government of Judea, and order'd Pilate to Rome, to answer before Cesar the accusations that were exhibited against him. He had now been ten years in his government; and upon this order which he cou'd not disobey, put himself upon a journey to Rome; but Tiberius dy'd before he got thither.

Marcellus made governor of Judea, and Pilate to appear before Cesar.

CHAP. VI.

The Jews very civil to Vitellius; who eases them of several duties, and puts the priests in possession of the pontifical robes as before. Hyrcanus builds a castle, and lays them up there, &c. Caiaphas removed, and Jonathan put in his place. Vitellius makes a league with Artabanus. Vitellius tampers the Iberians and Alani against him, &c. Armenia totally lost. Artabanus betray'd, but reinforced, and recovers his kingdom. A treaty betwixt Tiberius and Artabanus, upon the Euphrates. Darius sent in hostage, &c. Vitellius returns to Antioch. Herod and Tiberius anticipate Vitellius, &c.

VITELLIUS went into Judea, and so to Jerusalem, (this being at the feast of the passover, as we call it) where he was received with great honour; and very graciously remitted to the inhabitants the whole duty upon fruits. He restor'd to the priests also the keeping of the pontifical robes and habits in the temple again, as they had them of old, being as then deposited in the castle of Antonia upon this occasion.

The Jews treat Vitellius at Rome with great respect.

He remits several duties to them; puts the priests in possession of the pontifical robes as formerly.

Hyrcanus builds a castle, and lays them up there.

HYRCANUS the high-priest, and the first of that name, having built himself a tower near the temple, spent the greatest part of his time there; keeping in his own custody, the pontifical stole and ornaments, that no body was to use but himself: and upon changing of his habit, he still laid up his sacred vestments in that castle, as his successors for a long time after did the like. But Herod, upon his coming to the crown, was so well pleas'd with the situation of this fort, both for strength and beauty, that he put himself to a mighty expense for the farther improvement of it, and call'd it by the name of Antonia, in honour of Anthony his particular friend. In this castle he found the holy stole, and there he kept it, upon an opinion, that the having that in his possession, should thereby the more easily keep the Jews in awe. Archelaus, his son and successor, did the same thing too, and upon the same consideration; and so did the Romans also, after the reduction of the kingdom into a province; and these pontifical vests † were laid up in a cabinet that was made on purpose for that wardrobe, under the seal of the priests, and the keepers of the holy treasury; the governor of the castle being obliged to have a lamp still burning before the place. Upon the seventh day, preceding the three solemn festivals, he still deliver'd out the stole to the

Herod gives this castle the name of Antonia.

He found the holy stole there, and keep it there.

* See Cotelerius's notes to the second Volume of his Monumenta Eccles. Gr. p. 645.

† See Bonferrius's commentaries upon Leviticus, p. 648.

high-priest; who having gotten it well purg'd and cleans'd, did the holy office in it afterward in course, and the next day return'd it to the place where it was before; and this was done upon three festivals every year, and upon the solemn fast.

BUT Vitellius was now pleas'd, in favour of the Jews, to give up all the pontifical habits into the possession of the priests again, and to discharge the governor from being any farther answerable what became of them. After this, he took away the high-priesthood from Joseph call'd Caiaphas, and gave it to Jonathan the son of the high-priest Ananus, and so returned to Antioch.

Caiaphas removed, and Jonathan put in his place. Vitellius order'd to make a league with Artabanus.

Vitellius tampers with the Iberians and Alanians against him. The Alanians break in upon Artabanus. Armenia totally lost.

Artabanus finds himself betray'd.

Artabanus reforc'd by the Dahi, and Saci, recovers his kingdom. A treaty of alliance betwixt Tiberius and Artabanus. The treaty concluded upon a bridge. Darius the son of Artabanus sent in hostage with rich presents. Eleazar a Jew seven cubits high.

Herod sends Tiberius the whole story to anticipate Vitellius.

AT the same time he receiv'd letters of direction from Tiberius, to make a league with Artabanus; for he was afraid, if he should make himself master of Armenia, that it might be dangerous to the empire: but this to be done only upon condition of one of the king's sons for an hostage. This put Vitellius upon tampering with the kings of Iberia and Alania, by great sums of money to engage them immediately in a war with Artabanus. The Iberians could not be prevail'd upon any farther, than to leave the Alanians a free passage through their city, and so by the Caspian mountains to open them an inroad into the kingdom of Artabanus. Upon this irruption, the Parthians presently lost Armenia; and that blow was follow'd with so desperate a ravage upon their own country, that the nobility was almost entirely cut off; together with the king's son, and so many thousands of the common people, that they were in a manner unpeopled by this invasion. Artabanus found by this time, that he was betray'd under his own roof, and that his very friends and relations were brib'd into a plot with Vitellius to destroy him: so that not knowing whom to trust, for fear of treachery under the mask of friendship, and being convinc'd that men of the first rate and quality were in the practice, he made his escape out of hand into the upper provinces, where he was not only protected, but reforc'd with so considerable an army of the Dahi and Saci, that he not only overthrew his enemies, but recover'd his kingdom.

UPON this turn of affairs, Tiberius propos'd an alliance with Artabanus, and the king and Vitellius, each with his guards, met by consent to treat about it, upon the middle of a bridge over the river Euphrates. At the conclusion of the treaty, Herod the tetrarch gave them both a very splendid and magnificent treat, in a tent that he had erected at a great expense upon the same river; and Artabanus sent his son Darius not long after, as an hostage to Tiberius, with variety of presents; and one among the rest was a man of seven * cubits in height, and by profession a Jew, whom, for the prodigiousness of his stature, they call'd Eleazar the giant. Vitellius, after this, return'd to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon.

HEROD had a great mind to be the first author of the good news of this agreement about the hostages, and so dispatch'd away a

messenger with all possible speed, with every particular of the treaty, to Tiberius; which was so circumstantially exact, that there was nothing left for Vitellius, a consular governor, to say farther; so that Cesar, upon the receipt of a later intelligence from Vitellius, return'd only this short answer, that he had sent him no news; for Herod had given him a full account of the proceedings before. Vitellius took this officious anticipation very ill, but smother'd his resentment of it till Caius came to the government.

Vitellius coming too late, Cesar tells him he sends him no news.

PHILIP, the brother of Herod, dy'd also at the same time in the † twentieth year of Tiberius, and when he himself had been thirty seven years in the tetrarchy of Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, and Batanea: a man of great moderation, and a lover of his ease and quiet; for he spent his whole life within the compass of his own jurisdiction. He hardly ever went abroad but in company with some few of his select friends, with a chair after him; which upon several occasions he made use of as a seat of justice. And if he happen'd to meet any body upon the way that had need of his assistance, he betook himself still, without delay, to the examination of his cause, and either condemn'd or acquitted him, as he found him guilty or innocent. He dy'd at Julias, and was bury'd with great pomp and expense in a monument of his own preparing for himself: but dying without issue, Tiberius annexed his estate to Syria, upon condition that the tributes to be rais'd in that tetrarchy should not go out of the country.

Philip, Herod's brother, dies at Julias. Philip's character and way of living.

CHAP. VII.

A war betwixt Herod and Aretas. Herod marries the daughter of Aretas; and falls in love with Herodias, &c. Aretas resents it. Herod routed by Aretas. A judgment upon Herod and his army. St. John the Baptist put to death. Vitellius marches towards Petra, &c. Vitellius, Herod, &c. go to Jerusalem to worship. The high-priesthood transfer'd from Jonathan to Theophilus. News of Tiberius's death. Vitellius swears the people to Caius, &c. Vitellius goes back to Antioch. The family of Herod the Great.

THERE happen'd a war, at this time, betwixt Herod and Aretas the king of Petra, upon this ground: Herod the tetrarch marry'd the daughter of Aretas, and they had now liv'd a long time together; but being call'd afterward to Rome, he took Herod his brother-in-law in his way; (the son of the daughter of Simon the high-priest) where he fell so passionately in love with ‡ Herodias, his brother's wife, and the daughter of Aristobulus, their brother, who was also the sister of Agrippa, afterwards king; that he had the confidence to make a proposal of marriage to her upon his return from Rome, and of parting with his wife, the daughter of Aretas; which was agreed to on both sides, as the condition of their marriage. After this, he prosecuted his voyage for Rome; and so soon

A war betwixt Herod and Aretas. Herod marries the daughter of Aretas; and falls in love with Herodias.

He proposes to marry Herodias, and part with the other.

* The Jewish cubit, according to Calmet, as we have before observ'd, being near twenty two inches, seven cubits must be upwards of twelve English feet: this man therefore must be above three yards high.

† Scaliger in his book de Emendat. Temp. shews that it should be read in the twenty second year. But Casaubon in his Exercitationes defends the vulgar reading.

‡ See Casaubon's Exercitationes against Baronius. ann. xxi. num. xlvii.

His wife finds it out, and gets leave to go to Macherus.

Her guards ready laid to carry her to her father.

Aretas resents the indignity done to his daughter.

Herod routed by Aretas.

Tiberius orders Vitellius to make war upon Aretas.

A judgment upon Herod and his army.

St. John the Baptist put to death at Macherus by Herod's order.

Vitellius marches towards Petra by the way of Judea.

The Jews are scandaliz'd at the images in the Roman colours. Vitellius marches about by the way of the great plain.

as he had dispatch'd the business he went about, he return'd home again. His wife having by this time got intelligence of his intrigue with Herodias, dissembling her intentions, slyly ask'd him to give her leave to go for some time to Macherus, a castle upon the borders of Aretas's dominions. Herod, not in the least suspecting the matter, gave way to her going. Now Macherus being a place belonging to her father, every thing was there in readiness for her journey; so that the governor of the place furnish'd her immediately upon her arrival with Arabian guards that conducted her with all imaginable speed, safe to her father's palace: Where she gave him at large the history of Herod's new amour. This begot a heart-burning, and there being a controversy a-foot at that time about the bounds and abuttals of some lands in Gamala, and two armies ready in the field to dispute the question, they laid hold of this pretence, and by their deputies brought it to a battle, where Herod was utterly routed by the treachery of a certain band of refugees, that came over from Philip, and were at that time in Herod's pay. This prince had no sooner given Tiberius intelligence of the disaster, but he presently in a rage order'd Vitellius to make war upon Aretas for this insolence; and either to bring him alive to Rome, or to send his head.

Now the generality of the Jews were of opinion that this was only a just judgment of God upon Herod and his army, for the business of John, surnamed the Baptist, which excellent man this tetrarch murder'd: And what was his crime, but only his exhorting the Jews to the love and practice of virtue; and in the first place, of piety and justice, and to a regeneration by baptism and a new life, not by abstaining from this or that particular sin, but by an habitual purity of mind, as well as of body! Now so great was the credit and the authority of this holy man, as appear'd by the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine; (for he had them intirely at his devotion) that Herod did not know how far the reputation of a man of his spirit might influence the people toward a revolt. So that for fear of the worst, he chose rather to take him out of the way in time before any hurt was done, than to put it to the hazard of an unprofitable repentance when it should be too late. Wherefore he sent him away bound to Macherus, (the place before-mentioned) with order to have him put to death, which was accordingly executed; and that impious fact was follow'd with a divine vengeance upon Herod, for the blood of that just man, as the Jews reasonably enough persuaded themselves,

VITELLIUS was now preparing for the Arabian war; and upon his march toward Petra with two legions and all the auxiliaries, horse and foot, of the Roman allies. When he was advanced as far as Ptolemais, and thinking to take his passage a-crofs Judea, the great men of the country met him upon the way with earnest supplications that he would steer some other course; for the images the Romans carry commonly in their colours, were a great scandal and offence to the Jewish laws and religion. The general was prevail'd upon, and so sent his army about by the compass of a great plain; while he himself, with

Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to worship upon a publick festival that was then at hand. His entertainment was with as much honour and respect as possible, and he made three days stay there; in which time he transfer'd the high-priesthood from Jonathan to his brother Theophilus. Upon the fourth day came letters to him of the death of Tiberius; upon which intelligence he made the people swear allegiance to Caius Caligula, the successor, call'd back his troops, and order'd them into winter quarters; putting a stop to the war upon this change in the government.

THERE goes a report, that upon the news of this expedition of Vitellius, Aretas consulted the soothsayers and diviners about the event of this undertaking; who gave him this resolution; "That the army now upon their march should never come up to Petra; for either one of the princes should die; or he that commanded the army; or he that executed that command, or the person against whom it was carry'd on. And so Vitellius went back to Antioch."

AGRIPPA the son of Aristobulus, had been now a year at Rome, attending Cesar about some important affair. But it will be more to my present purpose to say somewhat in the first place of Herod and his family, who was certainly a remarkable instance of the power and wisdom of divine providence. For what signify the blessings of a plentiful issue, royal dignity and power, or a splendid fortune, without piety and justice? as we find it in Herod's case here, who in a hundred years time had hardly any remains left of so numerous family. This may serve for a check to the arrogant pretensions of vain flesh and blood, and to the raising of a sober man's consideration upon the wonderful advance of Agrippa out of a private fortune, and beyond all men's expectation, to so glorious a degree of power.

WE have touch'd upon this formerly in general, but we shall now be a little more particular. Herod the Great had by Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, two daughters; Salampso the one, who marry'd Phasaël, the son of Phasaël, the king's elder brother, with the father's consent. The other's name was Cypros, who marry'd Antipater, the nephew of Herod by his sister Salome.

PHASAEL had by Salampso, five children; Antipater, Herod, Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; who marry'd Agrippa the son of Aristobulus; but Alexandra was marry'd to one Timius, a nobleman of the isle of Cyprus, who dy'd without children. Agrippa had by Cypros, two sons and three daughters. The daughters were Berenice, Mariamne and Drusilla: The sons were Agrippa and Drusus; the latter dying in his minority. Agrippa the father was brought up under his grandfather Herod the Great; together with his brothers, Herod and Aristobulus; and so was Berenice also, the daughter of Salome and Costobarus. The children of Aristobulus were at that time infants, when their father and his brother Alexander (as we have said before) were put to death by Herod. But after they grew up, this Herod the brother of Agrippa marry'd Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was king Herod's daughter) and of Joseph, Herod's brother, by whom he had Aristobulus. Now Aristobulus, the

Vitellius, Herod, &c. go up to Jerusalem to worship.

The pontificate transfer'd from Jonathan to Theophilus. On the fourth day comes news of Tiberius's death. Vitellius swears the people to Caius Caligula, and calls back the army. The soothsayers foretell the event of this undertaking. Vitellius goes back to Antioch.

The family of Herod the Great.

the third brother of Agrippa marry'd Jotape the daughter of * Sampligeram, king of the Emefenes, by whom he had a daughter that bore her mother's name and was born deaf. These were the children of the three brothers; but Herodias their sister, marry'd Herod, the son of Herod the great, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, and from thence came Salome; after whose birth, Herodias made no scruple, in defiance of all law and conscience, to take Herod the tetrarch of Galilee for her second husband, though her husband's brother by the father's side; having also abandon'd a former husband that was yet living. Salome the daughter marry'd Philip the son of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who dy'd without children, and then she marry'd Aristobulus the son of Herod and the brother of Agrippa, by whom she had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. Let this suffice as to the family of Phasaël and Salampso.

CYPROS had, by Antipater, a daughter of the mother's name, who was marry'd to Alexas Selcius, the son of Alexas, and by her he had one daughter, Cypros. But Herod and Alexander, who (as I told you) were the brothers of Antipater, dy'd without issue. Now Alexander the son of king Herod, that was put to death by his father, had by Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Alexander and Tigranes.

THIS Tigranes was that king of Armenia that had an accusation brought against him by the Romans, and dy'd without children. Alexander had a son Tigranes also, after the name of his uncle, whom Nero advanc'd to be king of Armenia, and had a son Alexander, who marry'd Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Comagena, and was made king of † Lefis in Cilicia by Vespasian. The race of Alexander quickly declin'd from the Jewish laws and discipline to the religion of the Greeks; and the other daughters of Herod the great left no children behind them.

HAVING thus run through the posterity of this prince, as far as to the reign of Agrippa, I shall now trace the history of Agrippa himself, and the wonderful variety of accidents in his fortune, that brought him in the end to so glorious a degree of dignity and power.

CHAP. VIII.

The rise of Agrippa, &c. Agrippa goes to Flaccus, &c. Flaccus casts off Agrippa, who is hard put to it for his debts, &c. Agrippa goes to Tiberius at Capree, &c. He is made governor of Tiberius Nero, &c. The dilatory humour of Tiberius, &c. Agrippa put in chains, and the guards drag him to prison in his robes, &c. Antonia makes Agrippa's condition easy to him. Tiberius falls desperately sick, &c. Caius generally belov'd. Tiberius consults the oracle about his successor, &c. He gives Caius the government, and bids him be kind to his

brother, &c. Tiberius dies, and Caius succeeds him. The character of Tiberius, &c. Cesar's declaration. Caius orders Agrippa to be discharged. Caius takes the body of Tiberius to Rome with him. A magnificent funeral. Agrippa crown'd, &c. Marcellus made governor of Judea.

A LITTLE before the death of Herod the great, Agrippa, being then at Rome, and frequently in the emperor's family, was got much in favour with his son Drusus, and so likewise in the good graces of Antonia, the wife of Drusus the elder, by the means of his mother Berenice, for whom, Antonia had a singular value. He was naturally of a liberal and generous disposition; but while his mother liv'd, kept within compass, for fear of incurring her displeasure. Till coming at last, by her death, to be left to his own conduct, what with expensive treats, and extravagant bounties and profusions; especially among the emperor's freedmen and domesticks, (where he made his chief interest) he had run himself so desperately in debt, that he durst not shew his head any longer in Rome. Tiberius, at the same time also losing his son, would not endure any of Drusus's favourites so much as in his sight, to mind him of his loss.

WHEN he had thus by ill conduct squander'd away his money and his reputation, his creditors also pressing hard upon him, and no means of satisfaction; he returned into Judea; and partly out of despair of retrieving his fortune, partly out of shame for so inconsiderate a folly, he retired to Malatha, a castle in Idumea, with a resolution, some way or other, there, to put an end to his miserable life. Cypros finding her husband desperately out of humour, and that his melancholy grew still more and more dangerous, she try'd all ways in the world to prevent mischief; and in particular wrote to her sister Herodias about it, with a very punctual account of his necessitous condition; adjuring her by all the ties of honour and affinity of blood, to give him some assistance. "She did what she could herself" (she said) and desired her sister to follow "her example." This wrought so far upon Herodias, that both she and her husband sent away presently to fetch Agrippa to them; gave him a pension in money, and the command of Tiberias for his present subsistence: But Herod did not long hold in this mind; and Agrippa, on the other hand, was not thoroughly satisfy'd neither: Insomuch that being in their cups once at Tyre, Herod contemptuously reflected upon Agrippa for his poverty, and cast it in his teeth, that it was his purse that maintain'd him.

AGRIPPA could not digest this indignity, and so he betook himself to Flaccus, an ancient friend and acquaintance of his at Rome, and at that time governor of Syria. He gave him a frank reception and entertainment, having Aristobulus with him in the house before, who, though Agrippa's brother, was yet his enemy; but this animosity betwixt the brothers did

The rise and humour of Agrippa.

His vast profusions.

He retires to Malatha.

Cypros writes to Herodias on his behalf.

Herodias gets him a pension, and the command of Tiberias. Herod in his cups twits Agrippa with his poverty.

Agrippa goes to Flaccus upon it. His brother Aristobulus in the house with him. The two brothers enemies; but Flaccus a common friend to both.

* The old interpreter has Sigerammus.

† So the Latin interpreters have it. In the Greek *ἡσιόδοτος*, *ἡσιόδοτος* *πρὸς τὴν κελικήν*, &c. from whence Mr. Harduin, in his *Nummi Antiqui illustrati* p. 588, conjectures that it should be read, *ἡσιόδοτος* *πρὸς τὴν κελικήν*, insula five peninsula in Cilicia, viz. Sebaste.

Aristobulus undermines Agrippa. A dispute betwixt Damascus and Sidon

not hinder Flaccus from dividing his favours and civilities indifferently betwixt them. Aristobulus however kept up the grudge, and would never be quiet till he had wrought Flaccus into an ill opinion of Agrippa; which was thus brought about. There was a dispute betwixt the people of Damascus, and those of Sidon about the limits of their territory. The cause was to be try'd before Flaccus; and the people of Damascus being told that Agrippa and he were all one, they could not do better, they thought, than to engage Agrippa for a sum of money in their interest. They struck the bargain, and promises pass'd on both sides: So that Agrippa was to do all that lay in his power for Damascus against Sidon. Aristobulus, finding his brother had agreed for a sum of money with the people of Damascus, to use his interest in their favour, went and complained of him to the governor; who upon examination and proof of the matter cast off Agrippa, and left him in his extreme necessity to shift for himself in the wide world again: So that he return'd to Ptolemais, with a resolution for pure want of bread, to go back again into Italy. In this extremity he engaged Marfyas, a freeman of his, to take up a sum of money of the usurers upon any terms, to supply his present occasions. So he went to Protus, a freeman of Berenice the mother of Agrippa, and his late patroness, who in her last will and testament, had recommended him to the service of Antonia; and so propounded the matter to him for the lending of a sum of money to Agrippa, upon his bond. The other told him that he was indebted to him already: But yet for all this, he squeezed out of Protus twenty * thousand Attic drachma's upon bond: That is to say, just seventeen thousand five hundred pieces; discounting the other two thousand † five hundred to himself, for procuration money; which Agrippa was not in condition to dispute. Upon the receipt of the money, Agrippa went to Anthedon, where he met with a ship for his purpose, and prepar'd himself to put to sea. But this coming to the ear of Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, he sent soldiers to him to demand payment of a debt of 300000 pieces of silver, that he borrow'd out of the emperor's exchequer when he was at Rome. This unexpected rub did, for some time, retard his journey; but Agrippa however promis'd them fair, and so soon as it was dark, cut his cable, and put to sea, standing his course for Alexandria. When he came thither, he desir'd Alexander the head officer about the revenue, to furnish him with 200000 pieces upon his security. "As for your own part (says the officer) I will not trust you with such a sum; but your wife seems to be an excellent person, and a very good woman; and if she will stand bound for the money, she shall have it." So it was, in fine, that up-

Flaccus casts off Agrippa at the instance of Aristobulus.

He is hard put to it for his debts.

He goes aboard at Anthedon for Alexandria, and gives his creditors the slip.

He takes up money upon his wife's credit.

on the security of Cyprus, Alexander supply'd Agrippa with five ‡ talents at Alexandria, and letters of credit for the rest at Puteoli; for knowing his profuseness, he was not willing to venture the whole sum in his hands together for fear of his mispending it. Cyprus found by this time, that there was no hindering her husband's journey; so that she and her children went back again to Judea by land.

Agrippa goes forward for Rome, and Cyprus back to Judea.

AGRIPPA, upon his coming to Puteoli, gave Tiberius Cesar to understand by a letter, being then at Capree, that he was come so far to pay his respects and duty to him, desiring leave to wait upon him. Tiberius without any delay sent him back the kindest answer in the world, congratulating his safe return to Capree: And upon his arrival, Cesar took him with great tenderness into his arms, introduced him into his palace, and seconded the frankness of his invitation with the generosity of his reception and entertainment; but on the day following, Cesar receiv'd letters of complaint from Herennius against Agrippa; setting forth, that being "three hundred thousand pieces in the emperor's debt, and the money long since due, he had only demand'd satisfaction on the bond, and Agrippa gave him the slip upon it: So that Cesar was now in danger to lose his money." Tiberius took this so heinously, that he order'd the officers of his bed-chamber not to open a door

Agrippa receiv'd graciously by Tiberius at Capree:

Charg'd with defrauding the emperor,

and forbid the court till he pays the debt.

He tells Antonia his case, and she lends him the money.

Agrippa pays the arrear, and sets himself right with the emperor.

Agrippa made governor to Cesar's grand child Tiberius Nero.

He makes his court in the first place to Caius Antonia's grand-child.

A Samaritan furnishes Agrippa with a sum of money.

* Supposing the Attic drachma to be worth seven pence three farthings of our money, which is the highest value put upon it by any author of note; twenty thousand must amount to six hundred forty five pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence:

† And two thousand five hundred to eighty pounds fourteen shillings and seven pence of our money.

‡ Admitting the talents here meant to be the common Egyptian ones, one of them, according to Calmet, weighed seventy six pounds ten pennyweights; five therefore must weigh three hundred and eighty pounds two ounces ten pennyweights; the value of which in silver, amounted to one thousand one hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings and six pence; but if the Alexandrian (which is more probable) is understood, one of them weighing ninety one pounds fifteen pennyweights, five must weigh four hundred and fifty five pounds three ounces fifteen pennyweights; and their value in silver, reckoning silver at five shillings per ounce, amounts to one thousand three hundred and sixty five pounds eighteen shillings and nine pence.

Agrippa
Caius's fa-
vourite.

in his attendances upon Caius, who had now taken him into the greatest confidence and friendship imaginable.

Eutychus
overhears
dangerous
words be-
twixt Agrip-
pa and Caius.

As they two were one day together alone in a chariot, there happen'd to be some occasion of mentioning Tiberius: "Ay, (says Agrippa) I could wish with all my heart it would please the heavens that Caius were in his place." These words were over-heard by Eutychus, Agrippa's freeman, and at that time charioteer; but for the present he made no words of it. Not long after, this man was charg'd with robbing his patron, and running away with some of his clothes; which in effect was true, and the man taken up upon it, and carry'd to Piso, the governor of the place, to be examin'd about it. Piso, upon the examination, ask'd him what made him run away. He made answer that Cesar's life was in danger, and that he was going to make a discovery of the plot. Eutychus, upon this, was sent bound to Capree, and there kept in chains by Tiberius, who was in all such cases the most unsettled dilatory man that ever was born, either prince or usurper. He would not so much as admit embassadors, without delay, nor supply vacancies in governments of provinces, till the former deputies or governors were certainly dead. He had a way of letting prisoners lie a long time unheard too; and he gave his friends these reasons for it. "If I

He informs
Piso, and is
sent bound
to Tiberius.
The dilatory
humour of
Tiberius:

and his rea-
sons for't.

"should give embassadors (says he) too quick, and too easy admittance, the sooner they are receiv'd the sooner they are dismiss'd; and the sooner new ones would be sent in their places; so that I should have nothing else to do at this rate, but to give audiences, and spend my whole time in admitting and discharging embassadors. As for officers, when places are once fill'd, it is easier to the subject to keep them so than to change them; for all magistrates are naturally covetous; and especially where they are upon their behaviour for the keeping of their employments; for the less assurance they have to continue in an office, the more haste they make to grow rich upon it; and to this purpose he made application of an old fable. As a poor man (says he) lay wounded upon the way, hardly in condition to help himself, and swarms of flies upon his sores, sucking and tearing him, a compassionate good-natur'd creature happening to pass by, offer'd him his service to drive them away, and ease him of his tormentors. No, no, (says he) pray let them alone; for these flies now their bellies are full are not near so sharp upon me as new comers will be that are starv'd and empty. This is the case, (says he) betwixt subjects and fresh magistrates; who are but new tormentors." That this is the true character of Tiberius, needs no other proof than that in two and twenty years time of his reign, he sent only two governors into Judea; that is to say, Gratus, and his successor Pilate; and that he proceeded after the same dilatory manner in all other parts of the empire. The reason he gave also for the delay of bringing prisoners to their trial, was to keep them the longer in pain, and to punish them for their past crimes, by a lingering torment worse than death itself.

THIS was the true cause of Eutychus being kept so long in chains before Cesar would vouchsafe to hear him; but Tiberius, after some time coming from Capree to Tusculanum, about an hundred * furlongs from Rome, Agrippa desired Antonia to move for Eutychus, that he might have a hearing, to the end it might be known once, what he had to object against his patron. Now Tiberius had a very great honour for Antonia, partly for nearness of blood, as being his sister-in-law, and the widow of Drusus, and partly for the reputation of her modesty and virtue in the refusal of a second marriage, tho' she was earnestly put upon it by Augustus himself; and this in the prime of her years too: Her whole conversation, in short, being exemplary, without the least blemish or scandal. Now Tiberius, over and above all other respects, had personal obligations also to Antonia never to be forgotten. For if it had not been for her sagacity, faith, and industry, that desperate plot of his minion Sejanus, had certainly cost him his life; for he was a man of power and credit; the captain of his guards, and had engag'd several considerable men of the senators; divers of Cesar's freemen, court-favourites, and military officers in the conspiracy. In short, he escap'd narrowly at last, and it was Antonia's vigilance and resolution that defeated the treason, and brought him off; for so soon as ever she heard of such a practice a-foot, she took minutes of every particular of the contrivance, and sent them away from time to time to Capree, to Tiberius by the means of Pallas, a try'd servant and confidant of Tiberius. By virtue of this discovery, both the confederacy itself, and the actors in it were laid open, and justice done upon Sejanus and his complices. If Antonia had a great hand with Tiberius before this mighty piece of service, her power must be certainly much greater after it. So that upon the importunity of Agrippa, she press'd Tiberius over and over to give Eutychus a hearing. "Well! says Tiberius, if this fellow has bely'd Agrippa, in any thing, let him content himself with the punishment he has suffer'd already; but let him have a care how he carries the prosecution too far, for fear the mischief he designs to Eutychus, should upon a full examination of the matter, come at last home to himself." Antonia gave Agrippa this caution; and the more she inclin'd to moderation, the more eager was he to bring it to a scrutiny: insomuch that Antonia, when she saw he would not be said nay, took her opportunity as Tiberius was passing by in a chair after dinner, Caius and Agrippa marching before him, to advance directly up to Tiberius; with a request, that Eutychus might be call'd and hear'd: to which Tiberius gave her this answer: "I do here call the Gods to witness, (says he) that what I am now about to do, I do unwillingly, and only to gratify your desire." With these words, he commanded Macro the successor to Sejanus in his commission for the guards, to cause Eutychus to be brought thither. And immediately upon his coming, Cesar put this question to him. "What have you to say, (says he) against your patron Agrippa, who gave you

Agrippa puts
Antonia up-
on pressing
Tiberius to
bring it to a
hearing.

Cesar at last
yields to it,
tho' unwill-
ingly.
Macro
brings Euty-
chus to Ce-
sar.
Eutychus de-
livers his in-
formation.

* An hundred furlongs amounted to almost thirteen English miles.

Cesar commands Macro to put Agrippa in chains.

The guards drag him to prison in his robes.

An owl perches over Agrippa's head.

"your freedom?" "Sir, (says Eutychus) as I was driving Caius and Agrippa one day in their chariot, and sitting at their feet to do my office, I overheard several discourses that pass'd betwixt them, and among other passages, Agrippa, I remember, spoke these words to Caius. Ah, (says he) that we could but once see the old man's exit, and you left master of the world; for when he's gone, his grandchild Tiberius might be easily taken off; and over and above the universal comfort it would bring mankind, I myself might hope to come in for a part of the blessing." Tiberius was apt enough to believe this information, for it stuck terribly in his stomach, that when he had so expressly recommended Tiberius, his grandchild by Drusus, to the particular care and kindness of Agrippa, he should never so much as look after him; but dedicate himself wholly to the service of Caius. Tiberius, upon this, turning to Macro, "Put him in chains," says he; but Macro not understanding of whom he spoke (for he could not imagine any such thing of Agrippa) made a little pause to be better informed in his meaning. Cesar, in the meantime, after a turn or two in the Circus, seeing Agrippa still at liberty, call'd to Macro again: "Did not I order, says he, that man to be put in chains?" Which man, says Macro: "That man, Agrippa, said Tiberius." Agrippa then betook himself to prayers and supplications, adjuring Tiberius by the tenderness he had for the memory of his son, with whom he had the honour to be so well acquainted, and for the sake of the services he had been so happy as to render to his grandson Tiberius, to vouchsafe him his pardon: but all to no purpose, for the guards dragg'd him away to prison in his robes of honour, as they found him. The weather being extremely hot, and Agrippa ready to perish with a burning raging drought, for want of drink, he spy'd one Thaumastus, a servant of Caius, with a pitcher of water in his hand, and call'd to him for a draught of it to quench his parching thirst. He gave it him readily, and when he had taken it off: "Well! Thaumastus (says he) since you have been so kind as to do me this service in my bonds, with the same frankness you formerly serv'd me in my better fortunes, depend upon it that you shall never repent this good office; for so soon as ever I get over this difficulty, I will be answerable to you that Caius shall give you your liberty;" and he was afterward as good as his word; for so soon as ever he came to the crown, he begg'd Thaumastus of Caius, and made him free; entrusting him also with the management of his estate, and at his death recommended him to his son Agrippa, and to Berenice his daughter, to continue him in that charge, wherein he acquitted himself with great honour and esteem all the remainder of his life.

As Agrippa was standing in his chains before the palace, with other of his fellow-prisoners in the same condition, and leaning in a melancholick posture upon a tree, there came an owl, and perch'd upon it. A German that was there in bonds taking notice of it, enquir'd of one of the soldiers who that man there in the purple was; and being given to understand that he was a Jew of the first quality, from

an honourable extraction, he desir'd the soldier to let him come a little nearer him; for he had a great mind to learn something from him of his country. This being granted, and an interpreter allow'd him, the German spoke to him after this manner. "Young man, (says he) this sudden and surprizing change of your fortune makes you sad I perceive, and you will not easily believe how near you are to your deliverance under the favour and protection of a divine providence that watches over you. I call all the Gods to witness, both yours, and ours, by whose permission it is that we are here in bonds, that I do not speak this to amuse and flatter you with vain hopes; for I know very well that prognosticks of this kind, if the event does not answer the prediction, do a great deal more hurt than good. But I reckon it my duty, at what hazard soever, to tell you, that you shall see such a turn of times and things, as shall advance you out of this calamitous condition, to the most glorious height of honour and power, and render you the envy of those that either despis'd or pity'd you before. The remainder of your days shall be happy, and you shall leave children behind you to succeed to your good fortunes. But now remember what I tell you further, whenever you come to see this bird again, the fifth day after it will be your last. This is the short sum of what heaven gives you to understand by this good omen. My revelation is certain, and I deliver you the truth of the matter, to support you in your present trouble, with the hope of better things to come. And I am now to beseech you further, that when you find all this come to pass, you will not forget your fellow sufferers; but consult the deliverance of those you leave behind you." This German's prophecy appear'd as ridiculous to Agrippa upon the telling of it, as it was afterwards wonderful in the accomplishment. Antonia all this while laid the hard usage of her friend extremely to heart; but taking for granted that Tiberius was not to be wrought upon, and consequently that all applications and intercessions would be but so much time cast away, she had no more to do, than by the means of Macro, to try if she could make his prison easier to him, by getting civil and good-natur'd soldiers about him, and leave to eat at the table with the officer that had him in custody, allowing him the use of the bath every day, and the access of his friends and freemen to visit him: all which was granted accordingly, insomuch that Silas, his friend, and Marlyas and Strychus, two of his freemen, brought him the diet still that he loved best, and blankets (under a pretence of exposing them to sale) to lay under him in the night, the soldiers giving way to it, according to the hints they had from Macro.

When Agrippa had been a prisoner in this sort for a matter of six months, Tiberius returning from Capree, was taken at his first coming back with a faint indisposition, which by degrees grew worse and worse, till he was quite given over. And now perceiving his case desperate, he sent Evodus his favourite-freemen to fetch his children to him early the next morning, to take the last leave of their dying father. I speak of his adopted children; for

A German's prediction upon it.

Tiberius inexcusable. Antonia prevails with Macro to make Agrippa's condition easy to him.

Tiberius falls desperately sick, and orders Evodus to bring his children to him early the next morning.

Caius generally beloved.

for he had none of his own: Drusus, his only son being dead and gone. But Drusus's son Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus, was yet alive; and so was Caius the son of his brother Germanicus, who was now at man's estate; a young man of letters, and excellently qualified for all honourable purposes: beside, that he was the darling of the people, upon the account of the very reverence they had for the memory of his father's virtues; a prince of a wonderful modesty in his manners, and gentleness in his conversation, without arrogating any thing to himself above others. By the reputation of this illustrious character, he did not only gain the favour of the senate and people, but of the provinces in general, whom he obliged with all manner of good offices and respects. His death, in fine, was not celebrated so much with pomp and shew, as with tears of tenderness and affection, and an inward sorrow of heart: for the whole body of the people lamented the death of their prince, as if every particular man had lost his own father. The reputation of Germanicus was of great advantage every way to his son Caius; but especially among the soldiers, that were all ready to lay down their lives at his feet to serve him.

Tiberius consults the oracle, which to make his successor. The oracle bids him chuse him that comes to him first next morning.

Caius was the man.

Tiberius mightily addicted to wizards and fortune-tellers. A strange instance in Galba. Tiberius took this encounter as a foreboding.

TIBERIUS, after this, order'd Evodus to have his sons come to him early the next morning, and put up a prayer to the Gods of his country to direct him by some particular token, which of the two he should chuse for his successor, wishing with all his heart that the lot might fall upon Tiberius; but he durst not venture, however, to prejudge and determine so high a point, without consulting his oracle. And so he propos'd to govern himself by this token, that he of the two that came first to him in the morning, should be his successor. This resolution being taken, he gave it in charge to his grandchild's tutor, to be sure to bring his pupil to him by break of day, taking for granted, that heaven would declare itself in favour of Tiberius: but it fell out otherwise; for upon the emperor's sending out Evodus by break of day next morning to look for his sons at the door, and to bring him in first that he saw first, he found only Caius there, and told him that he must come to his father, and so took him in along with him. Young Tiberius, it seems, not imagining his Grandfather's business, slept his time by staying to take his breakfast. The emperor was not a little startled at the sight of Caius, to consider how providence had defeated him in his design of disposing of the government, by settling it contrary to his inclination: and the crossing of his will was not the worst of the case neither; for he was more concerned for the personal safety of his grandson, than for the loss of the empire. For where dominion is the question, the longer sword carries it; ambition knows no kindred; and among rivals for power, the one can never think himself safe, but in the ruin of the other. Tiberius was most superstitiously addicted to fortune-tellers, judicial astrologers, and that sort of people; and govern'd his life in a great measure by their advice and direction. As he happen'd to cast his eye upon Galba once, turning to some particular friends about him: "That man," (says he) "will be emperor of Rome." Upon the whole matter, none of

the emperors ever put so much confidence in soothsayers and diviners as Tiberius, some of whose predictions were not altogether idle, as he sometimes found by experience. But nothing struck him deeper than this foreboding encounter of the two competitors; which wrought so sensibly upon him, that he gave his grandchild already for a dead man; and no body to blame neither, but himself, for giving heed to omens, when he might have liv'd free and easy, without pressing into the secrets of God's hidden councils, and blasting the peace of his life with unwarrantable hankerings after the knowledge of things to come; and this itch of prescience was the plague he labour'd under. This unexpected disappointment of the succession, put his head quite out of tune for speeches, but yet somewhat or other was to be said, tho' never so much against his stomach, upon this occasion; so that he deliver'd himself to this effect: "I shall not need to tell you, my son Caius, (says he) that Tiberius is the nearer to me in blood of you two; but yet upon consulting the good pleasure of the immortal Gods, and my own reason, I do here transfer the rule of the Roman empire into your hands: but I do likewise adjure you, that in the exercise of this power, you do never forget the obligation you have to him from whom you receiv'd it; and that you shew your gratitude to your patron, by all demonstrations of love and friendship to your brother Tiberius. I ask nothing more, in return for the dignity I have now confer'd upon you; (for next to the Gods, you owe it all to me) than that you be not wanting in any thing to him, whom nature itself hath made almost inseparable from me. And I am to mind you farther also, that it is as much your interest as your duty to do what I advise you to: for the security and splendor of your own fortune depends in a great measure upon the life and well-being of your brother; and the day of his death will be the eve to that of your misery. Sovereignty is a giddy and a slippery height, and it is a dangerous place for a man to stand alone upon; beside that sins against the ties and instincts of consanguinity and nature, never fail of being follow'd by a divine vengeance." These were the last words of Tiberius to Caius, who promis'd to pay a punctual obedience to all his orders, but never intended it. For so soon as ever he was possess'd of his command, he put his brother to death, according to the presage of Tiberius, and he himself a few years afterwards was taken off by a conspiracy.

TIBERIUS dy'd within a few days; declaring Caius his successor, after a reign of two and twenty years, five months and thirteen days. Caius succeeded him, and the fourth in the roll of the emperors. The rumour of the death of Tiberius was joyful news to the Romans; but they durst not build too much upon the truth of it; not that they did not wish it true with all their hearts, and would have given all the world long before to have had it so, but they were afraid of being over-credulous, and of discovering the satisfaction they conceiv'd upon it before they were sure of the thing itself; for there were so many spies and informers up and down, that

He gives Caius the government, with a charge to be kind to his brother.

Caius promises fair, but takes away his brother's life upon the death of Tiberius.

Tiberius dies, and Caius succeeds him.

Caius goes to Rome, and takes the body of Tiberius with him.

The character of Tiberius.

Marfyas carries the news of his death to Agrippa.

Agrippa tells it in confidence to his keeper.

Caius informs the senate of Cesar's declaration. Caius orders Agrippa to be discharged.

Caius goes to Rome, and takes the body of Tiberius with him. A magnificent funeral.

that such a mistake would have been certain death. He was fierce and implacable, to the highest degree; never any man was so tyrannically rigorous to the nobility. He had his inexorable aversions upon no other ground than mere humour and caprice; and so brutally cruel in his very inclination, that as he order'd it, death was a mercy from him. Wherefore it concern'd the people to be cautious how they seem'd pleas'd with the news, considering the mortal danger of it, if it should be found a mistake. The tidings of this emperor's death were no sooner come to Marfyas, Agrippa's freeman, but he posted away immediately to carry the blessed news to his patron, whom he found going into a bath, and whisper'd him in Hebrew, these words; "The lion, (says he) is dead." Agrippa easily apprehended his meaning, and in a kind of extasy of joy: "Well! (says he) how shall I ever be able to requite thee for this, and several other good offices that thou hast render'd me, if it be as thou say'st?" The captain that had him in custody, observing what haste Marfyas made to deliver his errand, and how well pleas'd Agrippa was with what he had told him, made no doubt but there was something more than ordinary in the matter, and so desir'd Agrippa to tell him the business; who made some difficulty at first, but upon pressing him farther, Agrippa, in a kind of confidence, told him the whole story. The officer joy'd him of the good news, and treated him with a splendid supper: but as they were in the middle of their jollity and cups, comes a messenger with intelligence that Tiberius was past danger, and would quickly come to town. These words went to the very heart of the captain, who being conscious to himself that he had forfeited his head for making merry with a prisoner, upon the news of Cesar's death, push'd Agrippa in a rage from his seat, and in a menacing tone said: "Do you think to come off thus with your lies, and your tricks? and could you find no body but me to impose your fictions upon, of the death of Cesar? no no, (says he) this sawciness of your tongue shall cost you dear:" and so he call'd to have him put in chains again, and kept stricter than before. When Agrippa had pass'd the whole night in this condition, the report of Cesar's death was reviv'd the next day: every body talking of it publicly, and people offering up sacrifices for joy. Soon after this, there came two letters from Caius; one to the senate, to inform them that Tiberius had declar'd him his successor; and the other to Piso, the governor of the city, to the same purpose; appointing also that Agrippa should be discharged of the prison, and allow'd the liberty of the house wherein he liv'd before; so that he was now out of all danger and apprehension; for tho' he was still in custody, he was in all other respects in a state of freedom. Upon the return of Caius to Rome, and the body of Tiberius along with him, the funerals were celebrated with all magnificence and solemnity. The emperor would have discharged Agrippa the same day; but Antonia was against it, not for want of good-will to the man, but it would be an indecency she thought, to do it so hastily; and a kind of disrespect to Tiberius, to release a prisoner of

his committing all in a hurry. But it was not many days after this, however, that he took him home; had him shav'd, new rob'd, and a crown put upon his head, as successor to the Tetrarchy that Philip had; created him king, with an addition to him of the Tetrarchy of Lyfania; and bestowing upon him a golden chain of the same weight with the iron one he had before; sending also Marallus governor into Judea.

In the second year of the reign of Caius, Agrippa obtain'd leave of Cesar to go for a while, and settle affairs at home; with a promise to be back again by such a time. It was a wonderful surprize to them, to see Agrippa with a crown upon his head; a remarkable instance of the instability of fortune, and the uncertainty of human affairs, in this change of his condition from one excess to another: some look'd upon him to be a wise and a happy man, and standing so firm against all discouragements; but others were so amaz'd at the circumstances of this revolution, that they could hardly believe what they saw.

C H A P. IX.

The envy of Herodias. She presses her husband to beg something for himself. Herod and his wife sets out for Rome. Agrippa sets Fortunatus for a spy upon them. Herod and Fortunatus come to Puteoli together. Articles exhibited against Herod: The conspiracy of Sejanus, &c. Herod is remov'd from his government, and condemn'd to perpetual exile. Cesar's respect to Herodias; and her generous refusal of it. She is banished and confined with her husband Caius assumes to himself divine honours.

IT was so intolerable a mortification to Herodias, (the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of Herod the Tetrarch of Gallilee and Perea, the country beyond Jordan,) to see her brother, who was forc'd but the other day to run away from his creditors, now upon his return so much advanced above her husband in splendor, dignity, and power, that the haughtiness of her spirit was not able to brook it; especially to see him in the pomp of his royal state and robes, shewing himself to the people, and the multitude crowding about him. The envy that this thought and spectacle gave her, was so insupportable, that in the violence of her passion, nothing would serve her, but her husband must immediately go to Rome, and never leave Cesar till he had got the like honour and preferment for himself. "It would be the breaking of her heart (she said) to see her husband that was the son of a king, and so fair both in the affections of the people, and in his own reasonable pretensions to succeed him, stand tamely looking on like a private contented wretch; and at the same time Agrippa the bankrupt son of Aristobulus, a criminal that had suffer'd under the hands of justice, advanced to a throne: but my dear husband (said she) if you have had the patience hitherto, to live below the birth and quality of your father's son, it is certainly high time now, however, to bethink yourself of doing some sort of right, both to your credit, and to your family, without truckling to a person that

Agrippa crown'd, and other marks of honour confer'd upon him. Caius gives him a golden chain, of the weight of his iron one. Marcellus made governor of Judea.

Herodias envies her brother's being above her husband.

She presses him away to Rome to beg something for himself.

"that owes his very bread to your charity. Never let it be said that Agrippa, under the pressure of the most pinching and scandalous necessities, rais'd his fortunes above Herod's, who had all the advantages of reputation and plenty on his side. It will not stand with your dignity, ever to own that man for your superior, that you yourself have kept from starving. Wherefore, without any more ado, let us spare for neither money nor pains, but hasten to Rome together; for gold and silver is not valuable barely for itself, but for the power and satisfaction it brings us upon the well-disposing of it."

Herod opposes it, but yields at last. Agrippa sets Fortunatus a spy upon them. Herod and Fortunatus comes to Puteoli both at one time. Herod addresses to Caius, and Fortunatus immediately presents him his letters. Articles against Herod. The conspiracy of Sejanus; siding with Artabanus against Caius.

HEROD was a great lover of his ease, beside that he had no great opinion of the court of Rome; so that he try'd all manner of ways to divert his wife from such a resolution, persuading her to rest satisfy'd with their present fortunes and enjoyments; but the more earnest he was one way, the more eager was Herodias the other; having taken up an uncontrollable resolution to pursue her point at any rate. She followed him so close, in fine, that he was wrought upon at last, even in his own defence, to comply with her importunities, and so they set out for Rome together, with an equipage suitable enough to the occasion. Agrippa being aware all this while of every thing that pass'd, bethought himself of this way of countermine. He kept his freeman Fortunatus in readiness with letters and presents for the emperor, who, so soon as ever Herod should set sail from Rome, was to put to sea after him, with particular instructions how to behave himself when he came there. Fortunatus had a quick passage, and arriv'd at Puteoli just with Herod; but Caius happened to be at that time at the Baie, a little Town in Campagne, about five * furlongs from Puteoli; a place famous for royal palaces; the emperors that frequented the hot baths there, some for their pleasure, others for their health, striving to outdo one another in the state and curiosity of their buildings. Upon coming to this place, Herod made his reverence to the emperor, and Fortunatus within one minute after presented him his letters. Caius upon the perusal found them to contain a direct accusation of Herod: First, for being a party to the conspiracy of Sejanus against Tiberius; and now again for siding with Artabanus the Parthian against Caius, offering this for a proof against him, that he had at that instant a magazine of arms for seventy thousand men. Cesar, presently in a passion, demanded of Herod whether he had such a provision of arms or not? The thing was so plain and evident, that he could not deny it; so that the emperor never look'd further for any proof of the treason; but took away his government and gave it to Agrippa, with his money also, as a reward for his discovery. As for Herod, he sentenced him to a perpetual banishment and confinement in Lyons, a famous city in France; but for Herodias, whom he knew to be Agrippa's sister, he gave her the command of whatever belong'd to her, and without making her a par-

taker of her husband's calamity, he promis'd to treat her favourably for her brother's sake; whereupon she told him: "Sir, (says she) you speak like a great emperor, and pray give me leave to behave my self like an indulgent wife. I am not in a condition to enjoy the benefit of this bounty; for I do not think it reasonable or honest, after the share I have had in my husband's better fortunes, now to abandon him in his adversity." This greatness of mind in a woman gave such an offence to Caius, that upon the sense of this indignity he banish'd, confiscated, and confined Herodias, together with her husband. And this was the vengeance that God brought upon Herodias for the malignity of her envy to the success of her brother; and likewise the punishment that God inflicted upon Herod for being so easily overrul'd by a giddy, spiteful, and impetuous woman.

Her generous refusal of it

She is banish'd and confin'd with her husband.

THE reign of Caius, for the first and second year of his government, was temperate and prudent, and gain'd exceedingly upon the people, both at Rome itself, and in the Provinces: but such was the pride and vanity of his heart, in the contemplation of his greatness and power, that after a while he assum'd to himself to be more than flesh and blood, blasphemed the Gods; and in contempt of any other Deity, usurp'd divine honours to himself.

The moderation of Caius for the first two years. His arrogance and vanity in assuming divine honours.

CHAP. X.

A controversy betwixt the Jews and Greeks at Alexandria. They send six ambassadors to Caius about it; three of a side. Apion and Philo the chief. Apion accuses the Jews for refusing to pay divine honours to Caius. A brave and a bold speech of Philo's.

THERE happened at Alexandria, betwixt the Jews and the Greeks, an unhappy difference, and six ambassadors, three of each side, were sent to Caius about it; of which, Apion and Philo were the chief. Among other things that Apion objected against the Jews, this was the main; That "whereas temples and altars were erected all over the world to Caius elsewhere; and the same adoration paid to the emperor, as to the rest of the Gods; only the Jews stood out, and absolutely refus'd either to dedicate Images to Cesar, or to swear by his holy Name." Apion began with this invective, and did all he could in the world to inflame Cesar against the Jews. Philo the brother of Alexander, overseer of the customs, a person every way extraordinary, and a man of letters, being now about the reply on the behalf of the Jews, as their first commissioner upon the embassy, Cesar, in a rage, little short of violence bad him be gone. Philo upon this cholerick repulse, turning to the Jews about him, bad them have a good heart; for, (says he) "Now Caius is against us, God will be for us."

A controversy betwixt the Jews and Greeks at Alexandria. They send six ambassadors to Caius about it. Apion and Philo the chief. Apion's charge against the Jews.

Philo not permitted to speak in their defence. A brave and a bold speech of Philo.

70000 Arms. Herod confesses the arms. His money given to Agrippa. Condemned to perpetual exile. Cesar's respect to Herodias.

* There being eight furlongs in a mile, five must be near half a mile and half a quarter.

C H A P. XI.

Caius thinks himself affronted. Petronius order'd to set up his statue. The Jews beg of Petronius not to press them in it, &c. Aristobulus, and other eminent Jews side with them. Petronius lays the case before Cesar, &c. Petronius's letter to Cesar. Agrippa at Rome, when Cesar receiv'd it. He presents Cesar with a splendid treat, &c. Agrippa begs the recalling of his order to Petronius. Caius grants his request, and writes to Petronius. A commotion among the Jews. Caius writes a menacing letter to Petronius: But the news of Caius's death came to his hand before the letter. Petronius deliver'd by Providence.

Caius takes himself to be affronted. He sends Petronius to Judea, to set up his statue in the temple there. Petronius follows his orders.

CAIUS took it for such an affront, to find that the Jews were the only people in the world who contemn'd his commands, that he presently sent away Petronius into Syria, in the place of Vitellius, with orders to enter Judea with a strong army, and set up his statue in the temple there. If they submitted to it, well and good! But in case of refusal, his orders were to force it upon them by dint of arms. Petronius took upon himself the administration, and made what haste he could towards the putting of Cesar's commands in execution: That is to say, he got a body of auxiliaries together, and two Roman legions, which he put into winter quarters in Ptolemais, to be ready to march early the next spring. Caius had an account of his proceedings from time to time, and gave him thanks for his industry; bidding him go on boldly, for he was resolv'd he said to bring down the contumacy of that stubborn people.

The Jews beg of Petronius at Ptolemais not to press them in it. They expostulate with Petronius.

THERE came at this time vast multitudes of Jews to Petronius at Ptolemais, begging of him for Heaven's sake not to press them upon any thing against their consciences, and the rules of their profession. Or if it was of indispensable necessity that a statue must be set up in their temple, they desired he would take away their lives first, and then he might do afterwards what he pleased. But so long as they had breath in their bodies, they could never suffer the violation of those laws and precepts that had been handed down to them thro' so many generations from their famous progenitors. Petronius reply'd quick upon them, "This that you say might have some influence upon me, (says he) if I were at my own liberty; but being under Cesar's command, I must obey Cesar's order, and I dare do no other." To this the Jews reply'd, "That if he could not depart from his master's orders, neither could they from theirs; and that by the grace of God they were resolv'd to tread in the steps of their forefathers, as they had ever hitherto done. We are not so mean (said they) as for the saving of a miserable temporary life to hazard the forfeiture of a blessed eternity, by prevaricating with the laws of God. No, no, Sir, let but our laws and our religion be safe, and what becomes of our carcasses, and our fortunes, we matter not. Our trust is in God, and in the assurance of his providence and protection, we are resolv'd to abide all hazards,

"whether we shall rather chuse to incur a perpetual infamy by our cowardice, on the one hand, or the wrath of God by our disobedience on the other; and in short, whether we shall obey the voice of heaven, or the voice of Caius, and which of the two, be you the judge."

PETRONIUS gathering from his discourse the inflexible stiffness of these people, and that it was impossible for him to set up Cesar's statue, but by the last extremity of blood and slaughter, he took some of his friends and domesticks about him, with whom he went to Tiberias to be within distance of being more particularly inform'd in the manners, customs, and affairs of the people he had to deal with. This approach of the Romans put the Jews in a great dread of a war; but in a greater, for fear of an invasion upon their customs and religion. So that upon this alarm, several thousands of them in a body went directly to Petronius, desiring him with most passionate instances not to drive the multitude upon desperate necessities, by offering to prophane their holy city with forbidden images. "What," says Patronius, and will you then rashly engage in a war with Cesar, without so much as considering either his strength, or your own weakness?" They told Petronius, No; they did not propose to fight, but rather die themselves than to sacrifice their laws; casting themselves down upon the ground at the same time, and baring their necks, as who should say, "strike when you will, we are ready for you." They continued at this pass for a matter of forty days without either ploughing or sowing, or attending any office of husbandry, tho' the season of the year requir'd it: For they were all unanimously agreed upon it, rather to die than to admit the statue.

WHILE matters were in this state, Aristobulus, the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias surnamed the Great, with several noblemen of the family, and others of the first quality among the Jews, apply'd themselves to Petronius; "desiring him to consider, that they were an obstinate sort of People he had to do withal, and how dangerous it might be to hurry them into despair: But their advice was for him to inform Caius of the difficulties of the case; the stubbornness of the party, how resolutely bent they were against the setting up of the statue, and how they neglected the tillage of their land at the proper season of the year, not with any thought of a rebellion, but in a determination rather to die than to blast the integrity of their religion; that this neglect of their husbandry must of necessity expose the country to robbers and rapines, and disable them from paying their taxes. They suggested that possibly this might make Cesar relent, and consequently remove all colour for a rebellion: or if nothing could divert him from carrying on the war, that might be done at last as well as before." Thus far went Aristobulus.

PETRONIUS was no stranger to the intemperate and revengeful humour of Caius; especially where any stop or delay was put to the execution of his commands; but yet such was the awe and reverence he had for God, and his own conscience, and such the horror he had

Petronius informs himself in the Jewish customs. The Jews draw into a body, and desire Petronius to desist. They reason the case with Petronius.

and in the mean time neglect their tillage. Aristobulus and several eminent Jews side with them.

They desire Petronius to lay the case before Cesar.

A strange Providence favour of Petronius.

Petronius deliberates upon the matter.

He summons the Jews to Tiberius.

had to think of sacrificing so many lives to the fury of a madman, that was with these considerations, together with the credit of the intercessor, the importance of the affair, and the danger of transporting an obstinate sort of people into desperation, he came to a resolution of writing plainly to Caius all the difficulties of the case, at what hazard soever; for he thought thus with himself: "What if all this should do no good now! what if instead of reasoning him into a better mind, these trifling expostulations should rather provoke and enflame him, and bring the storm upon my own head, that I am now labouring to avert from others! I shall have this comfort yet at the worst, either that I dye in the post of an honest man, or at least that I did not decline the exposing of my life, even to an appearing certainty of ruin, in the discharge of a publick duty, and for the common safety of an innocent people."

PETRONIUS, upon this deliberation, summoned a meeting of the Jews at Tiberius, where they attended in prodigious numbers; and that which he had to say to them was this: "It is not of my own head, (says he) that I have undertaken this expedition; but upon the command of Cesar. I shall not need to tell you the danger of deferring the execution of my orders, for sovereign powers will not be trifled with: to say nothing of the equity and reason of the thing, in my submitting to the authority of a prince that has been the raising and the making of me. But yet after all this now, as the case stands, I do not so much consider my own personal security, or my credit with my master, as I do the welfare and preservation of a conscious people in the warrantable defence of their worship and laws. Neither do I approve of the prophaning of God's holy house at the pleasure of lawless princes. Wherefore I am now sending an express to Caius, to let him know your final resolution about the statue. And it shall be none of my fault neither, if the emperor does not comply with you in every thing else that you can honestly desire. May the divine providence that over-rules all human powers and purposes, preserve your religion sacred and inviolate, and grant that the emperor's excessive affectation of glory in this particular, may never be charged to his account. As for my on part, if it shall be my lot to fall under his displeasure for this liberty; tho' to the loss of life and fortune, I am prepared for it: provided only that I may never live to see so many good men destroyed only for well doing. Wherefore let every man betake himself to his own home and business. Go to your lands and tillage again, and leave me to manage with the emperor. I am just now sending away to him; and you may depend upon it, that nothing shall be wanting to your satisfaction, that I myself and my friends are able to do for you." With these words he dismissed the assembly; bad them hope the best, and take care of their husbandry. Petronius had no sooner made an end of speaking these comfortable things to the Jews, but the goodness of God appeared in so extraordinary a providence, that every body look'd upon it as a manifest declaration from heaven, in

A strange Providence in favour of Petronius.

favour of what Petronius was now a doing; for so soon as ever he had deliver'd himself, there fell a shower to the admiration of all people, in as clear a day as ever shin'd, and without one cloud to be seen. This happened after so long a drought, that they were almost out of hope of having any more rain; and tho' now and then they saw perhaps a flying cloud, it blew over yet without any effect. This wonderful relief beyond all thought and expectation, was look'd upon by the Jews as a blessing upon Petronius's prayers, and as an earnest of more to come: Neither was any body more sensible of it than Petronius himself, either of the prodigy, or of the interpretation of it: for it was so convincing an evidence from heaven in favour of the Jews, that it would not bear the least doubt or contradiction. Petronius was very particular in his report to the emperor in this whole affair, and laid all the necessary points before him: As what might be the consequence of pursuing such a multitude of stubborn people to such extremities, and making so many thousand men desperate; for nothing but absolute violence could ever force them into a compliance: Beside that in the violent prosecution of them, Caius would but sink his own revenue, and punish himself, which would turn afterwards to his eternal reproach: Subjoining likewise to all the rest, that the Jews were a people acceptable to God, who had given many wonderful instances of his peculiar care over them.

Petronius's Letter to Cesar.

WHEN Petronius's letters came to Cesar, king Agrippa happen'd to be at Rome, and every day more and more in the good graces of the emperor; a kindness that he cultivated by all the study and application imaginable. As in particular, he made Caius one treat, that for expense, variety, curiosity, delicacy, order, and contrivance, out-did all that ever was heard of before him; not excepting the most splendid entertainments even of Cesar himself. Caius was so taken with the generous magnificence of this collation, and with the hearty good will of it too; for to come up to it, Agrippa had expended even more than he could well afford, that he resolved to enter into a kind of competition, and vie good offices with him. When the wine had a little warm'd him, the humour took him in the head, to make Agrippa merry also, and so he accosted him thus: "Agrippa (says he) this is not the first proof I have had of your friendship and affection. In the days of Tiberius I had many evidences of it to your hazard; and you have now oblig'd me to your cost; and in so excessive a manner too, that you have consulted my honour and pleasure, more than your own convenience. It would be a base thing for me now to suffer myself to be overcome by benefits, and therefore I am resolved at present to make you some amends for any thing that I ever fell short in before; and the addition that I intend to my former bounty, shall be such as will very much advance the condition of your life and fortune for the future." Caius expected, upon this frank and unlimited promise, that Agrippa should presently have begg'd lands, commissions, nay whole provinces, and ample revenues. But Agrippa, on the other side, though prepar'd beforehand what to ask,

Agrippa at Rome when Cesar receiv'd it. Agrippa presents Cesar with a splendid treat; who promises a large requital.

Agrippa contents himself with the blessing of Cesar's favour

Caius presses Agrippa to ask him something or other.

Agrippa begs the recalling of his order to Petronius.

Caius grants his request. The sum of Caius's letter to Petronius.

A commotion among the Jews.

Caius writes a second denouncing letter to Petronius.

suspended the declaring of it a while, till it might fall in afterward with the better grace, as by the by. "Sir, (says he) as I had no private ends of my own, in the little services I did you in the time of Tiberius; so I propose nothing more to myself at present, than the comfort of your favour. You have done more for me already than I could reasonably either hope, or so much as wish for; and though I very well understand that you have greater things yet in your power; give me leave however to make this profession with acknowledgments for what I have receiv'd, that I neither deserve nor seek for any thing farther." Caius was so amazed at the modesty and moderation of the man, that he the more earnestly importun'd Agrippa to ask him some boon or other, and let it be what it would, it should never be deny'd him. "Well sir, (says Agrippa) since you are so generous as to lay this kind command upon me, I shall presume to offer you one request; and it shall be neither wealth nor honour; for by your favour, (says he) I have enough of both already: But the granting of that which I have to desire will establish you in the favour both of God and man; and it will be to my own immortal glory too, if I may but obtain this concession, after so many others, to crown all the rest. My desire is only this, that you will recal your order to Petronius for setting up your statue in the temple of the Jews." Agrippa knew well enough that this proposal was like the chance of a die, for life or death, as that was the hazard of crossing any of Caius's decrees; but yet however, betwixt the obliging influence of the treat, and the shame of refusing a request that he himself had so publicly extorted, together with a just deference to the virtue of a man that set a higher value upon the comfort of a good conscience, and the peace of his country, than upon the splendid vanities of wealth and power; the emperor granted him what he ask'd, and so wrote to Petronius; approving all he had done in drawing his troops together, and observing his orders. "As for the statue, (says he) if it be set up already, let it stand; and if it be not, trouble yourself no farther about it; but discharge your army, and go back again to Syria. I am content to remit this disobedience for Agrippa's sake, for whom I have so great an honour and respect that I can deny him nothing." This was the substance of the emperor's letter to Petronius, which was written before there was any suspicion of an insurrection intended among the Jews: But Caius, being a man without either honesty or shame; and so abandon'd to the extravagant liberties of a furious choler, that he accounted it a mark of dignity and greatness to be swaggering and outrageous; this man, I say, upon the rumour of a commotion among the Jews that follow'd soon after, broke out into such a passion to see his authority so affronted by that rebellious people, that he immediately chang'd his stile, and wrote a second letter to Petronius to this effect. "Since you have thought fit to do more for the Jews money than for my commands, as appears by your neglecting the one to gratify the other, be you yourself the judge what you are to

expect now from my indignation and justice. "I am resolv'd to make an example of you, both to the present age and to posterity, to give the world to understand that sovereign power is not to be dally'd with." This letter was sent to the president while Cesar was yet alive, but not delivered till afterwards; the bearer of it having a slow passage: So that the death of Caius came first to Petronius, to whom God was infinitely merciful and gracious, in consideration of the zeal he shew'd, and the dangers he underwent, for his honour, and for the religion of his people the Jews: But Caius, being cut off in the career of his blasphemous vanity, for usurping to himself divine honours, Petronius had the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the provincials, for his eminent services to the publick upon that occasion; and more especially the acknowledgments of the prime men of the senate, whom Caius took a pride as well as a delight to torment and trample upon, in a more particular way of insolence and scorn. He was cut off soon after that denouncing letter to Petronius: But as to the ground of the conspiracy, and manner of executing it, we shall set it forth in another place. The news of the emperor's death to Petronius was follow'd with the letter that brought him the menace of his own: And as he could not under those circumstances but rejoice at the former; so neither could he but magnify and admire the goodness and providence of God, that in the same instant rewarded the veneration he had paid to the honour of his holy temple, and likewise deliver'd the Jews out of their distress. By this wonderful providence was the life of Petronius preserv'd.

Petronius receives the news of Caius's death before the letter.

CHAP. XII.

The Jews of Mesopotamia, and Babylon, a miserable people, &c. Asineus and Anileus, two brothers, run away from their masters, and gather'd a strong party, &c. Asineus gives the Parthians a great overthrow. Artabanus courts the two brothers to an alliance, &c. They go to the king together. Aldagasus asks leave to cut Asineus's throat. The king opposes it, &c. Anileus falls in love with a Parthian lady; kill's her husband, and takes her to his bed, &c. Asineus chides his brother, and the woman poisons Asineus. Anileus breaks in upon Mithridates, and takes away a vast booty, &c. He takes Mithridates prisoner, and routs his army. Mithridates set at liberty, and his wife teizes him into a war. Mithridates gives Anileus a total defeat. Anileus recruits, and falls into Babylon, &c. He is surprized and put to the sword, &c. The Jews are forced into Seleucia. Perpetual bickerings betwixt the Greeks and the Syrians, &c. Upward of fifty thousand Jews slain. The remainder withdraw to Ctesiphon, and thence to Nearda, and Nisibis.

THE Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon were at this time in so miserable a state of calamity and confusion, that we read of nothing like it in any their former histories: But this story cannot be written exactly (which I propound to do) without tracing it down in a line from the original. There is in the province

The Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon, miserable people.

Nearda a strong city of Babylon.

Nisibis a strong hold upon the same river. In these two places the Jews deposited their holy treasure.

Asineus and Anileus two brothers: by trade, fail-weavers.

They run away from their masters upon correction.

They gather a strong party;

Build an impregnable fort, and lay the country under contribution.

The king of Parthia takes the Alarm.

The prince of Babylon marches to surprize them upon the sabbath day.

Asineus hears the neighing of horses.

vince of Babylon, a city they call * Nearda, a place wonderfully populous, and the soil fruitful enough to maintain the inhabitants. The town is well wall'd and fortify'd, with the river Euphrates about it; and not far from it, another strong city call'd Nisibis, upon the same river. There was no fear or danger of any enemy breaking in upon this quarter: So that the Jews laid up in these two places the common stock of their holy treasure, as it was dedicated and brought in from time to time according to custom. From hence it was transmitted to Jerusalem in the proper season, under strong convoys, for fear of the Parthians upon the road, who were then masters of Babylon. There were among the Jews of Nearda, two brothers; Asineus, and Anileus: Their father was dead, and their mother had put them out to the weaving trade, of learning to make fail-cloth, which is accounted no disparagement among those people where the men are us'd to card and spin. These brothers coming one day late to work, their master gave them correction for it, which they took so heinously, that they presently arm'd themselves with what came next in the house, and fled away to a place upon the parting of the river, where was great plenty of corn, grasse, fruit, and all manner of provisions for a winter store. While they lay in this retreat, there gather'd about them a necessitous crew of bold lusty young fellows, that armed and list'd themselves under their command; no body daring to controul them. With the assistance of this party they erected an impregnable fort, and then they appointed officers and collectors whom they sent up and down the neighbourhood to raise contributions; with ample assurances of friendship and protection to those that comply'd, against all opposers whatsoever, and threatening destruction both to man and beast in case of refusal: So that the people were under a kind of necessity of doing whatever they would have them; being by this time grown so numerous and powerful, that they were not able to resist them: Insomuch that the king of Parthia was startled at this commotion.

THE prince of Babylon, upon this intelligence, finding himself concern'd to nip the sedition in the bud, drew his troops together both out of Parthia, and Babylon, and march'd away presently with the gros of his army to get up with the mutineers time enough to surprize them. When he was advanced by defiles and by-ways, to the skirts of a moorish piece of ground, he made an halt; and depending upon it, that the next day, being the sabbath, they would not venture a battle, he moved gently forward; propounding to fall upon them at unawares, and make sure of a victory. While Asineus was at this time repos'd upon a bank with his companions about him, and his arms lying by: "Hark ye fellows foldiers (says he) methinks I hear the neighing of horses: Not such a neighing, as if they were scattered and at pasture, but the neighing of horses pressing to a battle. Nay I fancy I hear the champing of their bits too; and had best have a care we be not circumvented: Wherefore for certainty sake, let some body go out this instant for

discovery: And I wish I may find myself mistaken." Scouts were sent out accordingly, and in a very little time came back again upon the spur, with news that Asineus was in the right, for the enemy was at hand; and upon the very point of executing their revenge. They have horses enough, says the scout, to over-run and trample us all under foot: Beside, (says he) that we are but so many naked men, and forbidden by the very laws of our religion to prophane the sabbath with any sort of resistance. But Asineus was quite of another opinion, and told them it was an unreasonable thing for them to stand still, and have their throats cut only to gratify a barbarous enemy. "No, my friends, (says he) consult your courage, and the sovereign law of all laws, your present necessity. Wherefore follow my example, that at the worst we may not fall unreveng'd, and so let us commit the rest to providence." Upon this exhortation and encouragement, he betook himself to his arms, and led his companions to the combat, where finding the enemy careless and secure, and in a posture, rather to take possession of a victory, than to dispute it, they took them unprovided; made a great slaughter upon the place, and put the rest to flight.

THE bravery of the two brothers gave the king of Parthia, upon the news of this defeat, such a curiosity and impatience to have an interview, and to exchange some discourse with them, that he sent them one of his guards that he most confided in, with this message. "I have a commission from Artabanus the king of Parthia to tell you, (says he) that tho' you have been very injurious to him in making this inroad into his dominions, he is yet ready to bury all past controversies in the esteem he has for the character he hath heard of your persons. And I am farther to acquaint you in my master's name, that without any fraud, or indirect meaning, he desires to join in a league of friendship with you. And I am likewise to offer you upon his faith and honour, all assurances that you yourselves can desire for your safe passage and security, in your journey back and forward. You will find the king a munificent and a generous prince, and ready upon all occasions to give you farther proofs of his gracious inclination and bounty." Asineus was not over fond of the journey, notwithstanding the frankness of the invitation; but he sent his brother Anileus however upon the compliment, with such presents, as he was able to furnish. Upon his coming to the king, he found his access open and easy; but Artabanus taking notice that he came alone, ask'd him why he did not bring his brother along with him: so Anileus gave the king to understand, that he was safe in the bog where he was, and not willing to trust himself any where else at mercy. The king understanding diffidence to be the cause, swore by his Gods, that not a hair of either of their heads should be touch'd: And for a ratification of his oath, he gave Anileus his right hand upon it; which, with the Barbarians, is the most sacred tie of good faith that can be given: for after that ceremony past, they are so far from any apprehen-

The scouts give notice of an enemy at hand.

The law of necessity is a dispensation to that of the sabbath.

Asineus falls on, and gives the enemy a great overthrow.

Artabanus courts the two brothers to an alliance.

Asineus sends his brother on the errand.

Anileus tells Artabanus the reason of his coming alone.

* Naarda according to Stephanus Byzant.

Anileus on the king's oath, fetches his brother.

sion of being deceiv'd, that there's no room after it, even for jealousy itself, or the very suspicion of false dealing. Artabanus, upon this assurance, sent Anileus back again to bring his brother; in contemplation of the services they two might do him by keeping those provinces in awe, that were wavering toward a revolt in the king's absence, by the assistance of the party they brought along with them. And he did not know neither, but that when he himself was employ'd in the suppressing of a rebellion on the one hand, Asineus might be fortifying himself with men and strong forts, and doing mischief about Babylon on the other. This was the reason of the king's sending for Asineus.

The two brothers go to the king together.

Abdagafus the general, asks Artabanus leave to cut Asineus's throat.

The king opposes it.

Artabanus advises Asineus to be gone, and gives him the command of Babylon.

Asineus departs, and betakes himself to the business of his commission.

The brothers gain a general esteem.

Now Asineus understanding by the report of his brother, how great a tenderness Artabanus had express'd for them both, and with what earnestness of oaths and protestations he confirmed the sincerity of all his professions, was easily prevail'd upon to wait upon the king with Anileus, and so they went together. Artabanus received them with great easiness and good will; but upon comparing the dignity of Asineus's mind with the simple appearance, and in truth the disagreeable figure of his person, he was not a little surpriz'd at the disproportion; and said to some of his friends, that the soul of that man was never made for his body. He took occasion one day as he was at the table to speak of him to Abdagafus, his general, of his martial performances, and feats of arms, very much, in fine, to his advantage. Abdagafus made no other reply, but only to beg his majesty's leave to cut his throat in revenge for the affront he had put upon the Parthians. "No, (says the king) I shall never suffer such a thing as that, certainly, to a man that has committed himself to my honour, and whom I am bound both by oath and contract to protect. But, (says he) if you have such a mind to exercise your courage, you may find a way of vindicating the Parthians without making me forsworn. You have no more to do, than to attack him in his return without making me privy to your purpose." The next morning early the king call'd for Asineus again. "It is time young man, (says he) for you to go home again, before the animosity of my officers run too high, for you may have mischief done you, and not in my power perhaps to prevent it. Pray let me commend Babylon to your care, and do what you can to maintain peace there, and preserve the province from robberies. Once for all, you have committed your life into my hands, and your safety shall be to me as that of my own heart." And so with those words, and a competency of honourable presents, the king dispatch'd him away to take charge of his command, where he apply'd himself instantly to the business of his commission, in building of forts; repairing and fortifying as he saw occasion; acquitting himself, in fine, to so universal a satisfaction, that never any man before him arrived at such a degree of reputation and power in so short a time, and from so slender a beginning: and this, not only among the great men of Babylon, but the Parthian governors and commanders had likewise the same esteem for him; his authority all this while increasing with the strength of his arms

and party: infomuch that Mesopotamia was as good as entirely under his direction.

THINGS went on in this prosperous way with the two brothers, for a matter of fifteen years, highly to the satisfaction of the world, and their own glory. But when they came once to decline in their piety and manners, and abandoning the study of virtue, and the discipline and precepts of their forefathers, to give themselves up to sensual pleasures and foreign innovations, they sunk then in their credit too. As for example: There happen'd to come into these provinces a certain Parthian governor, and his wife along with him: a miracle of a woman, as well for her admirable qualities, as for the charms of her person and beauty. This woman (whether upon fame, or upon sight, is uncertain) Anileus fell desperately in love with; and in the impotency of his passion, having no other way to compass his end, he made war upon her husband; kill'd him upon the first encounter; got possession of the woman, and so took her to his bed. This adventure was the source of all the terrible calamities that befel them afterward. This woman, whether she was at home or abroad, had constantly about her certain images of Barbarian Gods. She was now a widow and a prisoner, and having privately conceal'd some of these idols, she took her opportunity of worshipping them for a while, only by stealth. But upon Anileus's taking her to himself, and owning her publicly for his wife, she did as publicly own the exercise of her religion too, without carrying the business any longer as a secret. The best friends that the two brothers had, were most horribly disgusted at the licence of this abominable practice in the marrying of a barbarous woman, and an idolatress, in so audacious a defiance of the rites, laws and customs of the Jews. Let this serve for a caution to princes in time to come, how they depart from their duty to God, to gratify their carnal pleasures. But there was no room left here for the good offices of reason and wholesome counsel; for one of the most eminent advisers was stabb'd to death upon the place, only for the honest liberty of discharging his conscience; breathing out his last with this propheticall imprecation in his mouth against the brothers and their complices: "May a vengeance fall upon them, (says he) for the indignities they have committed both against religion and against friendship; may their enemies repay them with the same measure they have meted to others: the brethren, as the capital authors of this violence; the rest, for assisting toward the barbarous murder of the patron of their laws and liberties, whom they ought to have defended." Not but that they were all extremely afflicted for the death of this good man, but the past kindnesses of the brothers, and the sense they had of an obligation to them for the advantage of their present condition, made them stifle their resentment. They kept however for a while within some tolerable bounds, till at last the barefac'd and impudent profession of idolatry put the affront past all sufferance; infomuch that the people, upon that scandal, came in crowds and tumults to Asineus, with heavy complaints against his brother; telling him plainly, that tho' it had been better let alone at first, yet since the thing

But upon falling off from their religion and manners, they lose it again.

Anileus falls in love with a Parthian lady. He kills the husband and takes the woman to his bed.

He marries a Barbarian, and an idolatress.

A bitter curse.

The defect on come at last to a downright profession of idolatry. The people clamour at it to Asineus.

was

This defecti-
on comes at
last to a
downright
profession of
idolatry.

The people
clamour at it
to Asineus.
Asineus
chides his
brother, and
bids him send
his wife back
again.

The woman
poisons Asi-
neus,

Anileus
makes an in-
road upon
Mithridates,
and carries
off a vast
booty.
Mithridates
draws out to
give Anileus
battle:
Anileus gets
intelligence
how Mithri-
date's army
lay;
surprizes
him, takes
him prisoner,
and routs his
army.

was done, he should do well to take some severe course in time to prevent further mischief: for it would certainly put all in a flame else. The marriage, they said, was so manifest an usurpation upon their religion, that no person could approve it; and then for the idolatrous practice of this lewd woman, it was as gross an encroachment upon the worship of the true God. Asineus could not but own himself to be fully convinc'd of the dangerous consequences both to himself and to his people, of this his brother's wickedness; yet what with the tenderness of so near a relation in the case, and what with an allowance for human frailty, in so invincible an affection, he palliated the matter, without proceeding to any exemplary severity upon it. But finding himself day after day more and more persecuted and clamour'd at, he was so plain with his brother, as to check him for what was past, and to caution him for the future; charging him without any more ado, to send the woman home to her friends again: But this wrought nothing upon him; for the woman finding the mutinous humour of the people to increase, and consequently fearing that some mischief might befall Anileus for her sake, she poison'd Asineus, making no doubt of coming off well enough herself when a doting husband should be her Judge.

ANILEUS having now gotten the whole power into his hands, made an incursion with his army into the country of Mithridates; a person of prime quality among the Parthians, and the son-in-law of Artabanus. He found money, slaves, and cattle there in abundance, beside other rich booty that he carried away, to a prodigious value. Mithridates was not far off at that time, and hearing of this inroad and ravage, and how it was managed, not only without any sort of provocation, but in a contemptuous freak of insolence and scorn, he drew together a body of his choicest troops, and so march'd away with his army to give Anileus battle. The next day being the Jews sabbath, which they most religiously celebrated for a day of rest, he stopt short at a village that night, with an intent to fall upon them by surprize on the day following. A Syrian that liv'd there in the neighbourhood, gave Anileus instance of the design, and particularly where Mithridates was to be that night, at a solemn entertainment. Anileus, upon this advice, order'd his people to go to supper, marching afterwards that night up to the enemy, to take them at unawares. Wherein he succeeded to his wish; for about the fourth watch, he fell into their quarters, and some he took asleep; others in a consternation were put to shift for themselves in the dark. Mithridates also was taken alive, made prisoner, and mounted naked upon an ass; which the Parthenians look'd upon as the highest degree of ignominy. When they had carried him thus into a certain wood, several of Anileus's friends were for killing him out of hand; but he himself was against it, and gave his reasons for his opinion. "This person, (says he) is one of the greatest men of the whole country, and match'd, you see, into the royal family. Give him his Life now you have him at mercy, and you may depend upon

it, that he will forgive all past affronts, and never forget the obligation: Beside the preserving of an interest, that in case of the worst, will be able to procure an accommodation. And on the other hand, if you put Mithridates to extremities, you may be sure the king will never rest till he has avenged his blood upon all the Jews in Babylon: And those are a people whom we ought to be tender of, both for sangui- nity sake, and in point of common prudence: For the chance of war is uncertain, and it is good, even in case of any disaster, to make sure of a retreat." The whole multitude, in fine, were of the same mind, unanimously with Anileus: So that Mithridates, by consent, was set at liberty and discharg'd. But his wife perceiving at his coming back, upon what terms he was return'd, welcomed him home with a thousand reproaches. "You (says she) the son-in-law of a king! after so many notorious battles, and disgraces put upon you by the Jews, and now at last their prisoner, to have so mean a soul as but to own a life upon the title of their charity! Either re- deem your honour, (says she) or by those powers I swear that guard the thrones of kings, I'll have no more to do with you." Now so it was, that betwixt the bitterness of these daily taunts, and the apprehension that this high-spirited woman would proceed to divorce, he put himself, how unwilling soever, at the head of an army; but with this conviction upon him, that the Parthian did not in truth deserve to live that would truckle to a Jew. So soon as Anileus heard that Mithridates was marching towards him, he made a point of honour of it, not to take advantage of the fastnesses he was possess'd of, but rather to put it to the issue of a battle in the plain field: so that Anileus marched forward to meet the enemy at the head of a body of men that scarce knew what it was to be worsted; for over and above their veteran troops, they were joined also by several reinforcements that fell in with them for the sake of booty: And upon the whole matter, they reckon'd the day as good as their own, before ever they came to dispute it. In this confidence they travell'd about ninety* furlongs into a dry sandy country; and when they were now so spent with the drought of the place, the fatigue of the march, and the heat of the day, that they were hardly able to stand upon their legs, Mithridates fell upon them with fresh men; put them to a total rout, and cut off several thousands of them upon the chase. Anileus, with a band of the choicest men he had got off, making to a forest there near hand, in the greatest confusion imaginable, and leaving Mithridates in the happy possession of an absolute victory. There came in to Anileus, after this defeat, such multitudes of loose desperadoes, that his army was not long a recruiting up to its former number; but they were raw, undisciplined men, and not comparable for valour to those that fell. With these men however he march'd into the quarters of the Babylonians, and laid waste all before him. Hereupon the Babylonians sent to the Jews at Neerda, to deliver up Anileus to ju-

Mithridates
set at liberty.

His wife
teases him
into a war.

Mithridates
gives Anileus
a total defeat.

* Ninety furlongs amounted to eleven miles and a quarter and 132 paces of English measure.

Anileus recruits, and falls into Babylon.

The Jews and Babylonians treat about an Alliance. Anileus, and his people surpriz'd and put to the sword. The Babylonians and the Jews can never agree.

The Jews are forced into Seleucia.

Perpetual bickerings betwixt the Greeks and the Syrians.

stice; but this could not be obtain'd; for in truth, the man was not in their power. The next proposal was to invite him to a peace, or at least to a treaty; to try if they could accommodate matters upon terms. This they agreed to, and sent commissioners on both sides, Jews as well as Babylonians, to manage the debate. The Babylonians taking strict notice of the place where Anileus and his companions were together, broke in upon them in the dead of the night by surprize; and finding them drunk and drowsy, they kill'd all in their way without any opposition, and Anileus himself among the rest.

THE Babylonians and the Jews were perpetually at variance one with another upon the subject of differing rites, customs, and ways of living, and some times one would get the better of it, sometimes the other: So that the controversy ended commonly in a kind of drawn battle. But the Babylonians that were kept in some sort of awe while Anileus was yet living, and his complices about him, took heart now upon this riddance and execution, to affront the Jews at every turn, and made them weary of their lives: Inasmuch that they forced them by their intolerable insolences to quit their habitations, and to withdraw themselves to Seleucia, the capital city of that province; and so called from Seleucus Nicanor the founder of it, being a place of liberty, where Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians, liv'd promiscuously together in abundance. The Jews were quiet and easy enough here for the first five years; but the plague breaking out at Babylon in the sixth, those that had remain'd were forced to withdraw in great numbers to Seleucia; which prov'd the occasion of the greatest misery they had felt yet, as shall be made appear in few words. The Greeks and the Syrians in this

city could never agree; but in all their bickerings the Greeks had still the advantage, till upon the coming in of the Jews, being a bold and warlike people, the Syrians with their assistance got the upper hand. The Greeks finding themselves over-power'd, and their condition wholly desperate, unless they could break this amity betwixt the Syrians and the Jews; they dealt clandestinely with some particular friends and acquaintances they had among the Syrians to think of some way of accommodation, and how they they might bring matters to a better understanding betwixt them. This proposition was well enough receiv'd, and the consideration of it refer'd to some leading men on both sides to advise upon the expedient; who without much difficulty put an end to the controversy, upon this condition, that the Greeks and Syrians should join in a league offensive and defensive against the Jews. In pursuance of this agreement, they fell upon the Jews by surprize, and kill'd upwards of fifty thousand of them, not a soul escaping; but those that were sav'd and protected by some neighbour or friend. The miserable remainder withdrew to Ctesiphon, a Greek city near Seleucia, where the king of Parthia commonly keeps his residence in the winter, and the greater part of his rich furniture. In this place they took up their abode, not doubting of their security within the verge of the king's court and palace; but the Jews were under such a terror from both Babylonians and Seleucians, over and above the conspiracy of the Syrians against them, that the greater part of them betook themselves to Neerda and Nisibis, depending upon the strength of the places, and the bravery of the men that were to defend them. This was the state of the affairs of the Jews at that time in Babylon.

The Greeks and Syrians in a league against the Jews.

Upwards of 50000 Jews kill'd by surprize. The remainder withdraws to Ctesiphon;

and thence to Feerda and Nisibis.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

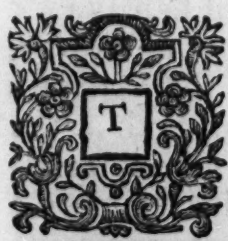
BOOK XIX.

From the Tear of the World 4003 to 4009.

CHAP. I.

The outrages of Caius upon the Jews, &c. Claudius accused by his bond-man. Three conspiracies against the life of Caius. Caius reproaches Chereas with cowardice; who meditates a revenge, and tells Popedius of it, &c. A generous discourse of Chereas, &c. Sabinus promises to stand by him, &c. [LIBERTY] the word, &c. Chereas goes to Cesar for the word. Caius sacrifices, and then goes to the theatre, &c. The conspirators posted in their stations. The manner of the execution, &c. The conspirators slip away, &c. The German soldiers beset the theatre all in a confusion. The death of Cesar published by proclamation, &c. The senate meets, and inclines to set up for itself.

The barbarous outrages of Caius upon the Jews.



HE barbarous and inhuman outrages of the emperor Caius upon the Jews, were not confin'd to Jerusalem alone, and the neighbouring provinces, but most industriously propagated over sea and land, from one end of the Roman empire to the other; and with such deliberate cruelties as were never heard of in story before. Neither did any place suffer more under his savage brutalities than Rome itself; the senators and patricians, especially; and the rest of the nobility: Those also that they call'd the equites or knights, a degree of men for wealth and dignity next under the senators; the senators themselves being likewise chosen out of that order. What delight did he take to torment those people with all manner of indignities, contumelies, banishments, murders, confiscations! making it death to have any thing to lose. He took upon himself the majesty and appellation of a God; and nothing less would serve him from his subjects than divine adoration. He had the confidence, in the capitol itself, which is the most celebrated of all the temples in Rome, in respect of the dedication

His extravagant pride and vanity challenging adoration and the majesty of a God.

of it, to salute Jupiter by the name of brother, and he was as vain and mad to a thousand other purposes. He had a design once to pass from Puteoli, a city of Campania to Misenum, a sea town on the other side of the water, and looking upon it as a derogation to his dignity to cross it in a galley, he laid a bridge over from one Promontory to the other, and so pass'd and repass'd in his chariot, triumphing that he had subjected the sea as well as the land, in a way becoming the greatness of his divinity.

He calls himself Jupiter's brother.

He lays a bridge from Puteoli to Misenum.

THERE was not so much as one temple in Greece, that he did not rifle of all the curious paintings, sculptures and other precious donatives and dedications; with orders for the transporting of the spoil to his palaces, gardens, and houses of pleasure: "For where should the choicest rarities in the world be deposited, but in the most glorious city or cabinet in the universe." Nay he had the confidence to send to Memmius Regulus for the statue of the Olympian Jupiter, to have it brought to Rome: That admirable piece of Phidias, the famous Athenian statuary, and so called from the place in Greece, where it is

He rifles all temples for ornaments to his palace.

He orders Memmius Regulus to send the Olympian Jupiter's statue to Rome.

so much adored. But this was not yet done; for the great masters told Memmius Regulus, to whom the care of doing it was committed, that it was impossible to move the image out of the place without spoiling it, and there goes a tradition too, that while Memmius had it under consideration, he was frightened from the doing of it by an incredible prodigy or vision; and this made him delay it, as he gave Caius to understand in a letter by way of excuse: But that excuse would have cost him his head, if the death of the emperor himself had not prevented it.

His girl is set upon Jupiter's knee in the capitol.

He was puff'd up, in fine, to that degree of a besotted madness, that upon the birth of a daughter, he had the child carry'd into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, as if Jupiter and Caius had been partners in the girl; and exposing himself to the company to judge, which was the more honourable father of the two.

His uncle Claudius accused by his bondman, and Caius upon the bench to encourage it.

THESE insolent and extravagant vanities were so rank and gross, that all people saw through them, and yet how tamely they submitted to them! He did not only give slaves leave, but encouragement, to accuse their masters of what crimes they thought fit; and which is worse, they had both his authority and his thanks for so doing. As Claudius was charged with a capital crime by his bondman Pollux, and Caius upon the bench to countenance the accusation, against the life of his own uncle: Nay, and with a resolution to have taken it away too, if he could have carry'd it.

By this licence that he gave to calumniators, sycophants and informers, in the advancing of slaves above their patrons, he did but provoke the same practices against himself which he countenanc'd against others. For people fell to plotting against him on all hands; some to be reveng'd for injuries receiv'd, others by way of precaution to prevent mischiefs to come. Nothing being more certain than that publick justice would be banish'd out of the world, unless he was taken off. Corruption and power carry'd all before it; and it was come to that critical point, in fine, that either Caius must sink or the commonwealth: the Jews especially; who, by the seasonable death of this man, were most miraculously rescu'd from the very jaws of utter ruin. It will be matter of use now and edification as well as of curiosity, to be very particular in this part of my story; for over and above the concurrence of so many wonderful providences in the disposition of things, it will serve for an instructive consolation to good men, never to despair in what extremity soever, of God's infinite power and mercy: And so likewise for a lesson of caution to the great ones of this world, not to build their hopes upon false foundations, or set their hearts upon transitory enjoyments, that lead only to misery, and disappointment in the end; but on the contrary, to contain themselves within the bounds of modesty and virtue.

Three conspiracies against the life of Caius.

THERE were three famous conspiracies contriv'd against the life of this beastly man, and every one of them had a person of eminent note at the head of it. Emilius Regulus, a Spaniard of Corduba, commanded one party

and he had a troop of resolute fellows about him to assist in the enterprize. Cassius Chereas, the tribune had another detachment; and so * Annius Minucianus had another party; and they were all resolutely bent upon the destruction of this tyrant; for they all look'd upon Caius, as a most abominable monster. Regulus hated him, purely out of a natural aversion to all manner of iniquity; being a person of a generous disposition, and one that had the soul of a man of honour. Minucianus was his enemy, partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus his singular friend, and a citizen of a most unsported reputation, whom Caius most barbarously put to death: and he was partly instigated to this practice, for fear Caius should begin with him first; for he knew this tyrant's hatred to be mortal, wherever it fell. Chereas cou'd not digest the affront of being twitted by Caius for his effeminacy, and unmanliness, upon several occasions: beside the perpetual danger his life was in, by the relation he had to the service of a violent, furious master so near his person: so that laying things together, he was in a manner forc'd to do what he did in his own defense. But after all these particular grudges, they agreed all three in this one common end of delivering their country and the world, from the outrages of so bloody a tyrant; for they reckon'd upon it, that the success of this design would be the saving of the publick: and that it was but the duty of a loyal patriot to lay down his life for his country.

BUT none so hot upon the exploit as Chereas, partly out of an ambition of acquiring to himself a great name, and partly out of an advantage he had above others (being tribune) of executing his purpose by a freedom of access to the emperor's person. They were now in the solemnity of their Circus games and exercises; an entertainment that the people of Rome are wonderfully delighted with. Now it having been formerly the custom, for the multitude to come thronging into the place, and to petition their emperors, at liberty, for what they thought fit, and hardly ever receiving a denial, they came now in crowds, earnestly praying to be eas'd of their tributes and taxes. Caius was so enraged, both at the request and at the clamour, that he commanded his guards immediately to seize the people that made the outcry, and put them to death; and this order cost many a man his life. The people patiently suffer'd all this, and made no more noise; taking it for a warning not to venture their lives to save their money, seeing how many had suffer'd for it already. These horrible barbarities animated Chereas more and more, to hasten the attempt, and so put an end to the bloody rage of this brute of a man. Chereas had it many times in his thought to dispatch him at the table; but still put it off from time to time, not upon any change of mind, but only to wait for an opportunity of more surely executing his purpose, without any danger of a miscarriage. He had been captain of the guards a long time already, and being now in commission for the collecting and receiving of monies about the revenue, he fell under Cesar's displeasure for not being so quick upon those that were in

Emilius Regulus, Cassius Chereas, and Annius Minucianus.

* Some read Marcus.

Caius reproaches Chereas with cowardice;

arrear, (how poor and insolent soever) as Caius would have had him; who cast it in his teeth, that he was a slothful indolent fellow, and had not the courage to enforce the payment of it. And this was not all neither, for when he came at any time to him for the word, he would still be giving him some word or other that reflected effeminacy upon him. Tho' Caius at the same time made no difficulty himself to dress, curl, powder, and in one word, to play a woman's part in all the formalities of a disguise.

who meditates a revenge, and tells Popedius of it.

THIS enraged Chereas the more, to see himself made ridiculous to the rest of the officers; for he never brought them the word from Cesar, but it set them a laughing; and they expected some such thing they said before-hand. This was so unpardonable a provocation, and so just an incitement to a revenge, that Chereas could not any longer forbear the taking of some friends and confidants into the secret; and Popedius for one, a member of the bench of senators; one that had gradually gone through all his degrees of honour: and as to the rest, a disciple of Epicurus, and a lover of his ease. This Popedius had been accused of scandalous and dangerous words against Caius: his accuser was his profess'd enemy, Timidius; and the accusation founded upon the pretended testimony of Quintilia, a very beautiful person of a woman, and an actress. This Quintilia being generally belov'd, had the fortune to be highly in the good graces also of Popedius, among the rest. The charge being a contrivance, and Quintilia refusing to take away the life of her lover by a false evidence, Timidius, call'd out to have her put to the torture, and Caius at next word commanded Chereas to see it done immediately; making choice of him the rather for those inhuman services, in hope that it might instigate him to a more unmerciful cruelty, to shew that he was not so dastardly a wretch as he was taken to be. As they were carrying out Quintilia to the torment, she set her foot upon the toe of one of the conspirators in her passage, giving him to understand by that hint, that he was safe, and that she would confess nothing. It was much against the inclination of Chereas to execute that office, but lying under such a necessity, he was forc'd to torment her with great severity. And finding that she stood it out, he conducted her to the presence of Cesar, miserably torn and disfigur'd: even to such a degree, that the emperor himself had a compassion for her, and discharg'd Popedius upon it; presenting the woman also with a considerable sum of money to comfort her in some measure for the calamity she had so resolutely and so happily undergone.

She stands it out, and Popedius is acquitted.

THIS tenderness of Caius was yet a farther aggravation to the affliction of Chereas, to think of the scandal it had brought upon him, in being the instrument of so merciless a cruelty as the emperor himself relented at. When things were come to this point, Chereas could hold no longer, but broke his mind to Clemens and Papinius; the latter of them a tribune, as well as himself, and the other a captain of the city troops. "Clemens (says he) it is well known that you and I were never wanting in our duty to the emperor; and that it has been our care and business to dis-

Chereas breaks his mind to Clemens and Papinius.

cover and to defeat several conspirators against him. Some we have put to death; others to tortures, till he himself had pity'd them: but are these commissions for soldiers and men of honour, or for butchers?" Clemens reply'd not one word, but betray'd in his countenance the confusion of his soul, for ministring in so infamous a drudgery, yet durst not so much as utter one word of reflection on Cesar's merciless and extravagant behaviour. Chereas however took heart, and express'd his sentiments more fully, continuing his discourse in the following manner: "I shall not need, (says he) to run through the history of the miseries, either of the city, or of the empire. They are too notorious to be concealed, and common fame makes Caius to be the author of them; but if a body may speak the truth of the matter, I myself am effectually the cause of all this mischief; and Papinius here, and you, Clement, more than us both. We are the men that have brought this ruin upon Rome, and upon mankind, in the execution of other people's orders. And now when we might put an end to these outrages, both upon the citizens and upon the rest of the subjects, if we had but a hearty mind to it, we prostitute ourselves to the meanest of servile offices, fitter for hang-men than soldiers. And we do not stand up either for the Roman empire or liberty; but in the defense of those that bring us both bodies and souls into slavery. And what's our business, but to do the journey-work of a tyrant, in committing bloody murders, and inflicting execrable torments upon others, till some body else shall take the office out of our hands, and do as much for us! for this abject resignation of ourselves, is look'd upon as an act, not of kindness, but of fear and force; and consequently renders us rather suspected than beloved. He is so wonted to human blood, that he never consults the reason of things, but acts according to the extravagance of his present humour, and the crime is the least part of the question. We are all to be destroy'd one after another, and our own turn will probably be next, if we do not provide in time for the securing both of our lives, and the common liberty."

A generous and a bold discourse of Chereas.

CLEMENS, tho' he could not but approve of the opinion and resolution of Chereas, caution'd him to secrecy; knowing that the least word of the plot, if divulg'd before it came to execution, would be the death of every man concern'd in it. "But, says he, time and patience bring forth opportunities. As for my own part, my fighting days are over, and the safest counsels are best; but honest I am sure you can never take." Clemens with these words went his way home, turning every thing over in his own thoughts that he had both heard and said.

THIS coldness of Clemens made Chereas begin to suspect that he was not in safe hands, and so he posted away presently to Cornelius Sabinus, his brother-tribune, whom he knew to be a man of value; an asserter of his country's liberty, and as much unsatisfy'd as any man with the present state of things. He made no doubt, either of his integrity, or of his judgment in the case, and so resolv'd to consult

Chereas suspects Clemens, and posts away to Sabinus.

Sabinus promises to stand by him.

Chereas and Sabinus confer with Minucianus.

The word Liberty.

A resolution taken.

sult him upon the whole affair. He had some jealousy, as I told you, of Clemens, and therefore press'd the business to a dispatch, without any farther delay. When he found that Sabinus and himself were both of a mind, as to the main, saving only that he kept the secret to himself, there was no need, he said, of deliberating what to do with a man that was come to a resolution upon the matter before-hand: infomuch that Sabinus promis'd him, not only good faith and privacy, but his helping hand too, which more and more confirmed Chereas in his purpose.

THEY were both of opinion for pushing it immediately to an issue, and so went to Minucianus together, a man of their own genius and temper, both for greatness of mind, and a severe love and reverence for virtue. Caius had also a jealousy of him upon the account of the death of Lepidus, his most intimate friend: beside the hatred he bore him, as a person of honour and quality, which was a quarrel he had in common to all men of that character. They did effectually know one another's minds beforehand, by several words they let fall that reflected upon the government, tho' they did not think fit then to make proclamation of their disgust of Caius: but so it was, in fine, that they understood, and lov'd one another, by a kind of instinct, for the sake of the same inclination and cause. Now such was the respect that Chereas and Sabinus had for the eminent dignity, virtue and merit of Minucianus, that as they formerly paid him all deference upon other occasions, so they desir'd him upon this meeting also, to direct them how to set about their enterprize. "Well then, (says Minucianus to Chereas) what was the word the emperor gave you to day? (for it was in every body's mouth, how Caius us'd to insult and ridicule Chereas upon that occasion.) Chereas laid hold of the hint: and speaking with all liberty, having the honour of Minucianus for his security: whatever the emperor's word was, (says he) let yours be LIBERTY; and I give you a thousand thanks for putting it into my head to attempt to do the thing I had so great a mind to do. It is encouragement sufficient to me, to find that you and I agree in the same thought, and that we did so even before we met. This single sword of mine, (says he) will serve us both; wherefore let us about our business, and be you pleas'd only with your prudence and courage to lead the way; with this assurance, that whatever you command me shall be most heartily and readily obey'd. A brave soul never wants arms, but itself rather supplies them; for 'tis not the weapon, but the hand, and the will, that does the execution. All time is lost methinks till we are in action; and for the event, whether I stand or fall in the attempt, the care is taken. For I have somewhat else to think of, and to do, than to stand calculating and computing upon my particular safety or fortune, when the laws of my country, and the lives and liberties of so many worthy men are in danger to be swallow'd up by this merciless tyrant. And I hope you will not envy Chereas the honour of a part at least, if not that of striking the blow itself, in an exploit that

"has the warrant of your approbation." Upon this frank and generous declaration, Minucianus took him into his arms; bidding him go on and prosper, and so with an interchange of mutual assurances, they embrac'd and parted.

WE have a story of a wonderful passage in confirmation of the conspirators in their design. There was a voice heard among the people, they say, as Chereas was entering into the palace, calling out to him to go on in God's name with what he had undertaken. It gave Chereas a jealousy at first, that he was betray'd; but he found it afterward to be either an animating hint from some of the complices, or else a providential declaration from heaven in favour of his purpose.

THERE was at this time gather'd together some of all sorts that were well-wishers to the design; as senators, knights, soldiers, and in truth who not; for all mortals were agreed in this, that either Caius must perish, or the commonwealth: so that every man wrought for himself in a kind of competition who should do most, either by word or by deed, toward the saving of his country; or, which was all one, toward the destruction of Caius: nay Callistus himself, Caius's freeman and favourite, made one of the party. This man had a mighty power with the emperor, which he abused to such a degree, that all people equally hated and dreaded him; for he behaved himself more like a partner of the government, than a subject. He was grown vastly rich, upon corruption and bribes; but with all this, he could not think himself safe under that prince, for he knew him to be fickle and implacable; and when he had any mischief in his head, never to be mov'd. He was in danger upon many accounts, but most of all for his wealth, which in those days was a temptation hardly to be resisted. This Callistus finding Caius so slippery and uncertain, thought he could not do better than make a friend in time of the next successor, and in that prospect to ingratiate himself with Claudius: so that over he went privately into that interest; telling him in confidence, how Caius had been several times putting him upon it to poison him; but that he still found out some device or other to shift it off. Now for my own part, I should rather take this for an invention of Callistus's to curry favour with his new patron, than any real matter of truth and fact: for if Caius had had a mind to murder his uncle, Callistus's excuse would never have brought him off, and Callistus himself should never have escap'd neither for being so remiss and dilatory in the discharge of his duty; but Claudius look'd upon him however as the instrument of providence for his deliverance, and very thankful to him he was for just nothing at all.

THE confederates, all this while were so slow and tardy, that the main execution was still put off from day to day, tho' much against the will of Chereas; for he was of opinion that no opportunity was to be lost for the doing of a thing so necessary to be done. "He would not have wish'd a better time or place, (he said) than the capitol itself, when he was sacrificing for his daughter: or to have pitch'd him headlong from the battlements of his palace at any time, when he was scattering his donatives among the people:

They agree; embrace, and part.

A voice heard bidding them go on in God's name.

The execution put off from day to day.

Chereas impatient of the delay;

and offers to take it singly upon himself.

The day for the execution off and on. Chereas animates his companions.

“ple: or he might as well have been taken off he thought, upon any solemnity, at his own private ceremonies. For Caius was secure and careless to admiration, when at the same time his domesticks and the people about him were almost all traitors in their hearts.” Chereas was so impatient of these delays for fear of slipping his time, and miscarrying at last, that he upbraided the confederates by way of reproach; telling them that if they made any difficulty of going through with the work, upon a superstitious opinion that there was any thing sacred in the person of Caius, he would take the dispatch of it upon himself in his own single person, and be answerable for the doing of it even without a weapon. His associates could not but highly approve of his zeal for the common cause, but they were yet for putting it off a little longer, till the celebration of the games that were instituted in honour of Augustus, he that first took the sovereign power from the people into his own hands. There was a theatre erected before the palace, for the Roman nobility, with their wives and children, in the presence of the emperor himself. Upon this occasion, there would be so many thousands of people crouded into so narrow a compass, that the thing might be done, they thought, with all the ease in the world, and the guards not get in time enough to the rescue, tho’ they had never so much a mind to’t; whereas upon an attempt at a venture, there would be the risque of a miscarriage; the city in an uproar about it, and betwixt searchers and soldiers, the whole party seiz’d and cut off, and the contrivance finally disappointed. Chereas agreed to the matter; so that a resolution was taken to do the deed on the first day of the publick shews: but fortune over-ruled in the case, and put it off to the third, which was the last day of the spectacles. And they would have had much ado to get over it then too, if Chereas had not call’d his companions together, and put new mettle into them, with an inflaming speech to this purpose. “We are here met together (says he) in a righteous cause, and upon a very honest and honourable occasion; but betwixt cowardice and laziness, to our shame be it spoken, without advancing one step in our business. Here’s a great deal of time lost, and that’s not all neither, but our country, our lives, liberties and fortunes are all in danger to be betray’d and ruin’d, beyond all recovery by this delay, and all to set up Caius more triumphant than ever: and what’s the fruit now of this faint-heartedness, but loss of liberty, and increase of tyranny? whereas we should attain our own security in the first place, the welfare of the publick in the next, and an immortal glory to ourselves in the conclusion.” After this discourse, he gave them some time to consider upon it; but there did they stand as if they were mop’d, without one word speaking, either of contradiction or reply. So that to rowze them up once again, “Hark ye gentlemen, (says he) what do you mean by these continual hesitations and demurs, one after another thus? do you know that this meeting is upon the very point of breaking up, and that Caius is going for Alexandria to take the tour of Egypt, so soon as it is

over? would it not be to our eternal dishonour, do you think, to part with the scandal of mankind out of our hands, as if we had sent him all over the world to make publication what slaves the Romans are, and to have some free-spirited Egyptian do that right to mankind upon this bloody oppressor, that we were afraid to do ourselves? Come, come, my friends, ’tis past deliberation time of day, and I’ll expect no longer, but do the part of a man, and put it to an immediate issue; for I will not allow any flesh living to dispute with me the glory of subduing this monster.”

THESE words set them all on fire to have the deed done immediately, and Chereas himself in the same heat, put on his sword and went to court, as the tribunes usually do in the like cases; it being his turn that day in course, as captain of the guard, to go to the emperor for the word. The people were now pressing in mighty multitudes toward the palace, crouding, thrusting, and jostling one another to get places; and Caius himself not a little pleas’d with the sight of this scuffle and confusion; for here were no seats nor benches kept apart for senators, knights, or other degrees of people, according to their qualities; but men and women, masters and slaves sat all promiscuously together, and first come first served. This solemnity being dedicated to the honour of Augustus, Caius went now, and offer’d up a sacrifice to the imperial patron: and it so happen’d, that upon the fall of the victim, some of the blood springing out, dropt upon the robe of Asprenas, one of the senators. Caius made himself merry with the omen, but others were troubled at it; and it was his lot, pursuant to that foreboding, to be slain in the following tumult. It was much taken notice of, and wonder’d at, that Caius was in better humour this day than ordinary. So soon as the sacrifice was over, he took his friends about him, and went to the theatre, which was only a frame of wood-work to be taken to pieces and put together again, as it was every year upon this occasion. It had two gates to it; one toward the open court, and the other over against the passage, for the actors to go in and out by, without troubling the spectators: and near at hand there was a kind of box or partition, for the players and the musick. When the multitude had now taken their places, and Chereas with the rest of the tribunes, not far from Cesar, who sat upon the right wing of the theatre, Bathabius, a senator and a military man, asked Cluvitus softly in his ear, a man of consular dignity who sat next him, if he had heard any news or not; he told him, none at all. Why then, says the other, I am to tell you that the tragedy of the tyrant is to be plaid to day. Cluvitus bad him in a verse out of Homer, have a care that none of the Grecians overheard him. They came then to the frolick of throwing apples, birds, and other vulgar curiosities down to the people for them to scratch and scramble; which Cesar was much delighted with. And after this there follow’d two circumstances that had the countenance of an unlucky presage; the one was the representation of a Jew, and a corrupt judge brought to publick justice; and the other was the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein she herself and her daughter

A final resolution.

Chereas goes to Cesar for the word.

Caius sacrifices and then goes to the theatre.

A description of the theatre.

ter * Myrrha were both kill'd, and a great deal of blood spilt for the decorum of the action, both about the gibbet and about Cinyra: and this, they say, was upon the anniversary to the day whereupon Philip the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, was kill'd by his friend Pausanias upon entering the theatre.

Now this being the last day of the spectacle, Caius was in some doubt with himself whether he should stay it out while he was there, or go off for a while to wash and eat, and so come back again. Minucianus taking his place near Caius, and seeing Chereas go forth, rose from his seat to encourage him in his resolution for fear of losing the present opportunity; but Caius taking him gently by the skirt, asked him in a friendly way, whether is this good man a going? so Minucianus sat him down again, but a while after rose once more under the former apprehension, and Caius let him go, not knowing what necessary business it might be that call'd him aside. Apprenas, upon this, being all along privy and assisting to the plot, propos'd it to Cesar to go out, and wash, and eat, and refresh himself, as he was used to do, and afterward to return.

The conspirators posted.

CHEREAS, having by this time posted the conspirators in their proper stations, and given them their necessary instructions, was so impatient of any longer delay, being already past three in the afternoon, that he was for going back to the theatre again, and assaulting Cesar as he sat, tho' he knew very well that it must of necessity cost the lives of a great many knights and senators to go through with it: but he reckon'd upon the deliverance of the publick to be a benefit infinitely more valuable than the loss of so many particular men's lives. As Chereas was marching

toward the theatre, the word was given in the croud that Cesar was up, and returning to his palace. The conspirators call'd out to make the emperor way, as if it had been by order and direction; but in truth to get themselves more elbow-room for the execution of the enterprise. Claudius, the uncle went first, and then Marcus Minucianus, the husband of his sister, and Valerius Asiaticus; Persons, whose quality gave them a privilege of precedence without any interruption: Caius himself with Paulus Aruntius following them. When he came at last to enter the palace, he left the ordinary way, which Claudius and the rest had taken before him, and where his officers and servants attended to receive him; and so turn'd off into a by-way leading to the baths to see some boys there that were sent him out of Asia for their skill in the singing and composing of holy hymns, and in the Pyrrhick † way of dancing. In this narrow passage, Chereas came up to Caius for the word; which (according to custom) was so foul and ignominious, that the tribune return'd the indignity with language in his own way; and upon that, gave him a terrible cut with his sword, but the wound yet not mortal: some will have it to be done on purpose to make his death the more miserable and tormenting, by the repetition of the blows; but this seems to me very unlikely, for this was not an action to be drawn out at length: or if Chereas had any such thing in his thought, or intention, he must have been the greatest fool certainly in nature, to prefer the gratifying of a wild and an intemperate passion, by so dangerous a delay, when he might have secur'd both himself, and his complices, by the dispatch; for so long as Caius had life in him, so long had his guards and his friends time to consider of succouring him: so that he endanger'd himself

The manner of the execution.

* See Sam. Petiti Leges Atticas, p. 248.

† The Pyrrhick was a military dance; according to Aristotle and Pliny, first invented by Pyrrhus the son of Achilles; according to others, by one Pyrrhus of Crete, or by Pyrrhicus a Lacedemonian. Some have fix'd its original much higher, and refer'd it to Minerva, who led up a dance in her armour after the conquest of the Titans: others to the Curetes or Corybantes, Jupiter's guard in his cradle, who leap'd up and down clashing their weapons to keep old Saturn from hearing the cries of his infant son. Tho' the reader may perhaps look upon these last accounts as fabulous, yet they prove, however, its antiquity to be of very early date, which is farther confirm'd to us by plain evidence from Homer, who, as he hints at it in several descriptions, so particularly makes the exact form and manner of it to be engraven on the shield of Achilles given him by Vulcan. It was generally practis'd by youths (who begun to learn it at five years old) in order to instruct and render them expert in the use and exercise of arms; certain numbers of them being rang'd in two bodies like two armies drawn up in battle array, who, sometimes at the sound of musick, and sometimes at a certain signal given them by the master, begun a mock fight, and seem'd to attack one another as if in a real engagement. The manner of the performance seems to have been both offensive and defensive. The offensive part consist'd chiefly in the artful throwing of javelins and darts, and the dextrous use of the sword: The defensive, in the nimble turning of the body, and shifting every part, as it were done to avoid the stroke of an enemy. We meet with a very full, elegant and lively description of this dance in Claudian's sixth consulship of Honorius.

Armatus hiac sæpè choros, certaue vagandi
Textas lege fugas, inconfususque recursus,
Et pulchras errorum artes, jucundaue martis
Cernimus: insonuit cum verbere signa magister,
Mutatosque edunt pariter tot pectora motus
In latus allisis clypeis, aut rursus in altum
Vibratis: grave parma sonat mucronis acuti
Verbere, & umbonum pulsu modulante resultans
Ferreus alterno concentus clauditur Ense.

In English thus:

Here too the warlike dancers blest our sight,
Their artful wandring, and their laws of flight,
And unconfus'd return, and inoffensive fight.
Soon as the master's clack proclaims the prize,
Their moving breasts in tuneful changes rise;
The shields salute their sides, or straight are shown
In air high waving; deep the targets groan
Struck with alternate swords, which thence rebound,
And end the concert and the sacred sound.

The Romans, who were a warlike people, were great admirers of this diversion; for which reason it was frequently exhibited by their emperors, amongst other shows, in the Circus at Rome. Whoever has a mind to have any farther information about it may consult Erasmus's Chiliad's, pag. 1133. the folio Edit. upon the words, Pyrrhice oculis præ se ferens, and the authors there by him cited.

Some, not without probability, have been inclin'd to think the Scotch Hayes (a dance perform'd with sword and target) to be either the remains, or at least an imitation of the Pyrrhick dance.

Julius Scaliger (Poet. lib. I. cap. XVIII.) tells us of himself, that while a youth, he had often danc'd the Pyrrhick before the emperor Maximilian, to the amazement of all Germany: and that the emperor was once so surpris'd at his warlike activity, as to cry out, "This boy either was born in a coat of mail instead of a skin, or else has been rock'd in one instead of a cradle."

and his companions more than Caius, by neglecting the means of withdrawing both himself and them out of the reach of revenge. So that the loss of time would in all probability be the loss of himself. But this is the case wherein all people are at liberty to think at their pleasure. The wound, in short, was betwixt the neck and the shoulder, where it chopt upon a bone that stopt it from going further. He made no outcry upon the receiving of it, nor call'd to any of his friends for help; either out of pride of stomach, or that he knew not whom to trust. He gave a groan however, and made an attempt to get away, but Cornelius Sabinus prevented it by a blow that brought him to his knees: and that being follow'd by an unanimous outcry of "Down with him, dispatch him," they cut him to pieces. It was Aquila, they say, that gave him his death's wound; but all people ascrib'd the glory of the action to Chereas. He had his associates, 'tis true; but the proposal of it was originally his; and so was the contrivance, and the manner of bringing it about. He was the first that had the heart to advise and communicate upon it, and that by his great wisdom and resolution, when he found how it took, formed and united the confederacy; animated and supported the courage of his friends; and when it came at last to the pinch, he was the first that struck the blow; and by his own bravery, laid the pride of this tyrant in the dust. So that whatsoever was done by others to the promoting of this exploit, must be attributed to the prudence, industry, and virtue of Chereas. This was the end of Caius, who dy'd by many hands, and by many wounds.

The glory of the action ascrib'd to Chereas.

BUT the great difficulty was yet behind; that is to say, how Chereas and his companions should get off again, after the finishing of this mighty work; beside the astonishment they were in upon such an achievement. They had the outrage of a wild and a seditious multitude to encounter, for the death of a popular prince; the fury and revenge of the soldiery: the way was narrow where the fact was committed, and cover'd with officers and guards that were there upon duty. So that finding there was no getting back again by the way they came; they struck off to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had newly butcher'd. This quarter borders upon the palace-royal, and the whole pile is so far all of a piece, as the beautifying of it with additional buildings by several emperors from time to time, could make it; and all those pieces bear the names of their respective founders to this very day. Being now clear of the rabble, they were safe enough at present, so long as the death of Cesar could be conceal'd.

The conspirators slip away to the quarters of Germanicus.

The German guards raging mad upon it.

THE German guards of the body, known by the name of the Celtick legion, were the first that got intelligence of it; men naturally fierce and cholerick, and like other Barbarians, that for the most part understand little of what they do. They are strong-body'd men, that will stand any shock; bold, and forward to attack; and taking number for number, hardly to be beaten. These blustering fellows were raging mad upon the news of the emperor's death, not for the loss of so much of the man, as of their profit; for they had a boun-

tiful master of him, and he kept himself in credit with them by the force of frequent donatives and rewards. These people, under the command of Sabinus, originally a gladiator, and preferr'd to be a tribune purely for a brutal sturdiness of body, without the least pretence of title to it, by the virtue, either of himself or of his ancestors: These people, I say, under this commander, ran up and down with drawn swords from house to house, hunting after the murderers of Cesar. The first man they met with was Asprenas, that had his robe stain'd with the blood of the sacrifice, as I told you before; a most unlucky token, and him they tore to pieces. The next they seized was Norbanus, of the first quality of the city, and one that had the blood of several eminent generals in his veins. But finding that the dignity of his extraction wrought nothing upon the barbarous fury of those brutal ruffians, he disarm'd the first man that assaulted him; and being a person of wonderful strength and courage, would never have dy'd unreveng'd, if he had not been oppress'd by numbers. The third that had the same hard fortune with the former, to fall into the hands of the Germans, was Anteius, with some few others; who was drawn out with a curiosity to see the dead body of Caius, a person whom he mortally hated; for Caius had not only banish'd his father, who was of the same name with himself, but had afterwards caus'd him to be put to death also by his order. This Anteius came out upon this occasion, to entertain himself with this grateful spectacle; and hearing a great noise and tumult, he endeavour'd to save his life by hiding himself, but could not however escape the diligent search of the German guards, who without any distinction of guilty or innocent, cut all to pieces that they encounter'd in their way. And this was the unhappy end of these miserable men.

Asprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius cut to pieces.

WHEN the news of Cesar's death was brought to the theatre, the wonder and astonishment it met with was more than the credit; for though people would be well enough content to hear of what they had so long and so often wish'd for, many were afraid yet of believing it, for fear it should prove false, and others as loth to believe it, because they were afraid of finding it true. But some again stumbled at it as a thing equally ridiculous to attempt, and impossible to compass. Now these for the most part were women and children, slaves, and a certain sort of soldiers too, that making a double advantage of their services, both by pay, and what they got by oppression, as the ministers of pride and tyranny, assisted in the persecution of good men, and became sharers in the booty. As for the women, the children, and the common people, they were easi'd with fine fights, spectacles, prizes, doles, and largesses, and other amusements of that kind, under a pretext of making the people easy; but in truth, to gratify the blood-thirsty vanity of the oppressor. The bond-men, they were indulged in the license allow'd them of controuling and affronting their patrons, and Caius their friend to stand by them in all these controversies. Neither was there any difficulty at all of making good any accusation whatsoever, where the servant had no more to do toward the gaining of his liberty, and the making of his fortune, but to discover where his master's

money was, the law itself entitling the informer to an eighth part of the value of the confiscation.

As for those persons of condition, to whom the report might appear credible, either as privy to the plot perhaps, or as well-wishers to it, or as having some reason more than ordinary perchance to guess at it, they were so far from rejoicing at the rumour, that they made as if they knew nothing at all of the matter. For they were afraid of betraying their good-will by their very looks, if they should but enter upon the discourse. The deeper, in fine, that they were in the conspiracy, the more ignorant they appear'd to be; for it was death without mercy to be so much as suspected.

The story of Caius reported several ways.

THE story in the mean time was diversely related. Some had it that Caius was wounded indeed, and under the care of the surgeons, but not kill'd. Now it was not proper for people under these circumstances to declare themselves one way or other; for either the reporters were of Caius's faction, and consequently under a suspicion of partiality on that hand; or if they were enemies, it was not safe on the other side to be too forward in the believing and publishing of ill news to be true, as if they wish'd it so: But there was started at the same time another invention that damp'd the hearts of the nobility more than all the rest: Which was that Cesar, upon the receiving of his wounds, ran presently into the market-place; and without staying to be dress'd, all bloody as he was, made his appeal there in a declamatory way to the people. This variety and uncertainty of reports put all men to their wits end what to think, do, or say. But still they durst not, for fear of calumny and misconstruction; for the question was not so much what they intended, as how the judges and informers would understand it.

The German soldiers beset the theatre.

IN this distraction, the Germans with sword in hand beset the theatre; every man there giving himself for lost upon the first sight of them, and expecting to have his throat cut immediately upon the place. While they stood trembling in this anxiety of mind, and in suspense, whether to go or stay, (for there was danger both ways) the soldiers breaking in upon them, put the whole theatre into a frightful ejulation, with a thousand supplications, submissions, deprecations, protestations, and excuses, accompany'd with tears, groans and invocations upon all the Gods to attest their innocence. A conspiracy or no conspiracy, they could say nothing to it, they said, neither did they omit any thing in their present extremity, that the sense of their danger might put into their mouths to save their lives. This dismal spectacle drew compassion from the hard hearts, even of the Germans themselves, and put a stop to the farther progress of their fury, having done already what they were in some measure asham'd of, as inhuman as they were, in their butchery upon Asprenas and his companions, and then carrying their heads up and down in ostentation, for a shew, till in the end they were deposited upon the altar. What could be more afflicting to their friends, considering the dignity of the men, and the insolent barbarity of the triumph, than this horrid action? and they were not a little solicitous for themselves too, for their own danger was not yet over. Nay, the greatest

All in a fright and confusion.

enemies that Caius left behind him, could not rejoice heartily at his death, for the danger they themselves were in, not long to survive him.

BUT while things were in this confusion, there was one Aruncius, a publick crier; a man who had by his business amass'd a great estate, and obtain'd so great power and credit with the people, that he did what he would with them. This Aruncius came into the theatre in a deep mourning-dress, like anoble-man of Rome, and with all the formalities of sorrow and lamentation that are customary upon the loss of our nearest relations; where he made proclamation with a loud voice, that the emperor was dead; upon this the Germans relented, and the officers commanded the soldiers to put up their swords; whereupon the whole uproar was quieted. This was most certainly the saving of the people's lives that were coop'd up in the theatre, and of all others whatsoever that might have fallen into the power of the Germans; for so long as they could have flatter'd themselves with any hope of the emperor's being alive, they would never have stuck at any manner of mischief. They had so great an affection for Caius, that they would have redeemed his life, even with the loss of their own, and without any regard to the miserable state of the commonwealth. But now upon the certainty of the thing, that impetuous desire of revenge fell of itself; when there could be no longer any occasion for the conferring of obligations on the one side, or for returning acknowledgments on the other: beside the apprehension they had of the power of the senate upon continuing their violence, in case the government should fall into their hands. Thus was the rage of the Celtick legion appeased.

The death of Cesar publish'd by proclamation.

CHEREAS all this while, being exceedingly in pain for fear Minucianus should fall into the hands of the Germans, took as many of the soldiers one by one as he could trust, to try if they could tell any news of him; and with earnest entreaties recommending him to their care, if it might fall in their way to serve him. By this means Chereas and Clemens were brought to him; and Minucianus applying himself to Chereas, told him that he could not but infinitely honour him for so generous a resolution and undertaking; and that he would take upon himself to give him thanks, in the name of the commonwealth, for so publick a service, and as well for his conduct in the management of his undertaking, as for his courage in the execution of it. "This, (says he) may serve to shew us the condition of the fate of tyranny, that never fails, after the short pleasure of a lawless domination, to terminate in an unhappy and a shameful conclusion, that renders the oppressor hateful to all good men." As this was Cesar's case, who made way for this conspiracy by a violation of the laws, and an outrageous course of intolerable insolence and injustice, upon his best friends: who upon these provocations became his enemies, and so the instruments of his destruction; but he himself all this while, was the author, and the first moving cause of his own ruin. The guards being now withdrawn, the people in the theatre were all rising in a hurry to shift for themselves. The occasion of it was this: Arcyon a physician was call'd away to look after some wounded

Minucianus, Clemens, and Chereas brought together.

wounded men, and sent away several about him, under a pretence of going to provide remedies; but, in truth, to put them out of harm's way.

THE senate, in the mean time, met in the palace, where the multitude press'd in upon them in throngs, to demand justice upon the murderers of the emperor. The people were in earnest, but the senate only held fair with them for a countenance. While the rabble was in this fit of storming and hunting up and down after the Assassins, Valerius Asiaticus, a consular man, being often ask'd by them in the heat of their outcries and clamours, what was become of the murderers of Caius, and who was the villain that kill'd him? "Would I had been the man myself," says Valerius, and so he went his way.

The senate meets, and orders the soldiers and people to depart.

THE senate proceeded then to a decree, in condemnation of Caius, and pass'd an order for both people and soldiers to depart quietly to their own homes and quarters, with promises of certain exemptions and privileges to the one, and of rewards and gratuities to the other, if they demean'd themselves peaceably as they ought to do. By this means there was a seasonable stop put to the uproar, which otherwise might have broken out into fresh tumults, sacrilegious violences, rapine, and all manner of confusion. The whole bench of senators being now met, and those especially that were of the plot, they began to have some thoughts of taking the power into their own hands, and setting up for themselves again.

The senate inclining to set up for itself.

CHAP. II.

The senators and soldiers divided about the form of government, &c. Chereas goes to the Consuls for the word; and it was given him. [LIBERTY.] The first act of the senate, since the Cæsars took away their power. Chereas delivers the word, &c. The character of Claudius, &c. Gratus puts him into possession of the government. The soldiers unanimous for Claudius. They carry him to the camp, and so finish the work. The soldiers and people divided betwixt a monarchy and a commonwealth. The senate sends a menacing message to Claudius, but comes to a peaceable conclusion.

The senators and soldiers divided about the form of government.

WHILE the senators were debating on the one hand, the soldiers were at work in a council of war on the other, upon the question, whether a popular, or an imperial government; and came to this resolution, that the former was neither good for the whole body, nor for themselves; for the people they said, could never answer so many pressing necessities of the state: Neither was it for their own interest, either to be put quite out of play by a wrong choice, or to have so many masters, having been rather the companions than the servants of the former administrator: So that they were of opinion in this unsettled state of affairs, to chuse Claudius emperor, being the uncle of the deceased, and much superior, both for his birth, princely qualities, and education, to any of the senators then assembled; not making any doubt but he would remember those that rais'd him, and oblige all people according to their deserts. This was the sense of the whole council: So that Clau-

The soldiers for an imperial government, and Claudius the man.

dius was immediately fetch'd away from his house by the soldiers, and declar'd emperor. This was carry'd presently to the senate-house to Cneus Sentius Saturninus, who finding matters upon such a pinch that now or never the business was to be done, he stood up and made a speech; partly being put upon it, and partly by inclination, and deliver'd his thoughts upon this occasion, in terms worthy of so generous a patriot, and speaker, and of so publick-spirited an auditory. The tenor of it was to this effect:

They set him up, and declare him emperor.

The news carry'd to Saturninus in the senate-house.

"Who would have thought, (says he) my noble countrymen and fellow-citizens, after so long an interruption of our natural freedom, that we should ever have liv'd to draw one breath of liberty after it! and yet thro' the goodness of the divine Providence, in whose power it is to give or take, we are at this very day and hour, freemen in some degree yet once again. How long it will last we know not! but let the event be what it will, and the comfort of it never so short, a short comfort is yet a comfort still. Shall we account it as nothing now, for a freeman to live free, in a free country, and to have yet some relish of the sweets of our ancient liberties in the flourishing condition of our once free commonwealth; even tho' we were to enjoy the satisfaction of it but for one single hour. I can say little, 'tis true, to the liberty of former times, that was extinct long before ever I came into the world; but I have a great kindness, I must confess, for the preserving and improving of that liberty, such as it is, which we enjoy at present: and I cannot but esteem those men to have been exceedingly happy, whose lot it was to fall into an age that assert'd the common liberty of mankind, and the study of virtue. But the persons of all others that in my opinion deserve the most to be honour'd, next to the immortal Gods themselves, are those heroical spirits that have had the courage to give us yet some taste of it, how late soever, even in this abandon'd state of the world: a blessing, which I wish with all my soul, may be perpetuated to our posterity. For as to what concerns ourselves, one day's experience is abundantly sufficient for our comfort and instruction, both young and old. Those that are in years will leave the world with less regret, when they shall better understand the advantages that attend liberty; and for those that are growing up, the very example will inflame them with a virtuous emulation of treading in the steps of their famous ancestors. Virtue, in short, is the main business of human life; and so it ought to be, for in truth, virtue is liberty itself: that is to say, the liberty of the mind, whatever becomes of the body. Now I do not take upon me all this while to speak of things before my time, any further than upon the grounds of hearsay and tradition. But when I come to the subject of tyranny, and the calamitous consequences that attend it, I shall say no more upon that topick than what I can make good in what I have seen and felt, and upon the infallible certainty of woeful and miserable experience. It confounds the order of government, and of all civil communities.

Saturninus in favour with the popular state.

Great

Great minds, generous dispositions and glorious actions, are discountenanc'd and suppress'd. It makes mens souls as servile as their carcasses; quenches all honourable emulations, and accommodates all rules of law and equity, by fear and flattery, to the arbitrary caprice of ambitious and phantastical princes. If we look back to the usurpation of Julius Cesar, upon the power of the people, and the * trampling of their laws, liberties and government under foot, in the erecting of a tyrannical monarchy upon the ruins of that commonwealth; and all this only to gratify the heat of his ambitious lusts; what a train of miseries has that impotent and insatiable affectation of dominion drawn after it, both upon the government, and the nation! what has the succession been but a kind of a violent competition betwixt the predecessor and the next comer, who should do most mischief, either in the subverting of the laws, or in the depopulating of the city at least, by the suppressing of all men of honour and virtue in it, and by all sorts of persecution, even to the degree of death itself? for they could not be safe but in the hands of wicked instruments, that had abandon'd themselves to all sorts of iniquity, without either shame or conscience. And not one single creature in the number of these imperious masters, that had not done the part of a most barbarous oppressor. But the tyrant Caius, who hath this day received his fate, he perhaps has outdone all the rest in the licentious rage of a brutal and an ungovernable fury; sparing neither citizens, friends, nor relations, in a defiance at the same time, both of humanity and justice, and of all the laws both of God and man. For it is not enough for tyrants to give themselves up to their vanity, and their pleasures, rapines, adulteries and extravagant appetites, for these are only human frailties; but their satisfaction lies in the diabolical practices of rooting out whole families, entitling children and infants to their father's quarrel, and not one jot quieter after their revenge than they were before: For being conscious to themselves of the indignities they multiply upon their subjects, and that let them bear them never so patiently, the spite of a shrewd turn is not so soon forgotten, they find no security at last but in the death of those they have wrong'd, and in the seasonable removal of them out of the way. But since so it is, that we have now shak'd off the yoke, and recover'd the possession of our primitive freedom: all that we have to do for the preserving of unity among ourselves, and providing for our future safety, is to join in repairing the ruins of our ancient glory, and restoring the commonwealth unto its original state of union and integrity. We are now at liberty to propose and to debate, and to like or dislike at pleasure, without any superior power over our heads to controul, and call us to an account. For what was it that gave birth and growth to the unbounded progress of the late tyranny, but the dull drowsy patience of a besotted peo-

ple, that had not the hearts to make head against it? men, slaves to their pleasures; and men that otherwise acted and liv'd like slaves: these were the people that chusing rather to lead a mean inglorious life, than venture an honourable death, cast the city into those insupportable miseries, of which we ourselves have been both eye and ear-witnesses. But let me recommend it to you in the first place now, to do right to the assassins of the tyrant, especially to Chereas, in conferring upon him the honours he deserves for ridding the world, and the commonwealth of this abominable monster. For it was his counsel and his hand, by the impulse of a divine assistance, that wrought our liberty; and it is but reason that he that procur'd us our freedom with the hazard of his life, should receive acknowledgments and rewards from the persons he redeem'd, answerable to the quality of the obligation. It is the part and the duty of an honest man to be thankful to his benefactor; especially to such a benefactor as this, who has involv'd us all in one common debt. The action of Brutus and Cassius upon Julius Cesar, was great and glorious; but Chereas over and above the emulation of their bravery, hath in this respect gone much beyond it. Their exploit was follow'd with a civil war, that ran through and ravaged the whole Roman empire, but Chereas cut off the tyranny itself, together with the tyrant, and deliver'd the whole world at one blow."

THIS discourse of Saturninus was mightily to the satisfaction of the whole body of the senate; but he was so intent upon Caius one way, that he forgot him another; for he had at that time a stone in a ring upon his finger, with a Caius's head in it, which he never thought of: but Trebellius Maximus observing it, started up and got it off from his finger, and it was order'd to be broken.

It was now toward night, and Chereas went to the Consuls for the watch-word, who gave him for the word, LIBERTY. The face of things was so strangely alter'd now on a sudden, that people could hardly believe what they saw: this being the first act of authority that the senate had ever appeared in, since the time they were deposed: for the soldiers had their orders from the Consuls still, in former times, till the Cesars took that power out of their hands. Chereas, upon the receiving of the word, deliver'd it again in course to the troops that sided with the senate. That is to say, to four companies of them that stood well affected to the lawful government, and declared themselves against the usurpation. These men went away presently with their officers, and soon after them, went the people overjoy'd with the thought of the present change, and in hopes that the ancient glory of the commonwealth was now going to be restored again; and all agreeing in the same note, that Chereas was their deliverer. Now Chereas thinking it might be dangerous after the death of Caius, to leave his wife and daughter to survive him, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, with a command to kill them both, singling out him the rather for

A Caius head in a ring upon his finger all this while.

Chereas goes to the Consuls for the word, and they give him LIBERTY.

The first act of the senate, since Cesar took away their power.

Chereas delivers the word.

The wife and daughter of Caius put to death.

* See Cotelerius's notes to the 2d vol. of his Monumenta Eccles. p. 622.

that commission, both as Clemens's kinsman, and as a reasonable thing for a man that was so deep in the conspiracy, to have his part in the execution.

BUT there were several yet of the confederates that look'd upon it as an unmanly cruelty, to commit so barbarous an outrage upon the person of a woman; for she had no hand, they said, in Caius's enslaving the city, or in the execrable barbarities he committed on the flower of the nobility; but it was all intirely his own act and deed, and nothing else but the pure malice of his own ill nature. Others again charg'd all his extravagancies to the woman's account, for a love potion she gave him, which turn'd his brain, and made him stark mad: and so interpreted this poisonous potion as the act of this lewd woman, to be the ruin of the commonwealth. The latter opinion carry'd it, and so Julius Lupus posted away immediately about his business, out of a zeal to the publick in the dispatch of his duty. Upon his coming into the palace, he found Cefonia laid at her length upon the ground with her daughter, by the body of her husband, all besmear'd with the blood of his wounds, and in want of all those necessary decencies that naturally belong to the dead; and in this affliction, nothing to be gotten from her but exclamations against Caius for not hearkening to the advice of so affectionate a wife, that had told him over and over beforehand, what this would come to in the end. These words lay so open to a double meaning, that from that day to this, people have been divided how to understand them. They that took them in the more favourable sense, would have it that she spake of the counsels she had given him from time to time, not to behave himself so like a mad-man; but to contain himself within the bounds of sobriety and moderation; for if he went on in that provoking way of cruelty and oppression, he would incur the hatred of his people, and draw the blood of his subjects upon his own head. But those that made another construction of it, would have it to be as who should say, "If this man would have been rul'd by me, and consult-
"ed his own security in time, as I would have had him, this should never have been. How often did I press him to rid his hands of all suspected persons, every man of them, the first thing he did? proof, or no proof, it matter'd not; for where the life of a prince was at stake, a just ground of suspicion would have been sufficient to proceed upon." In this latitude, the interpretation lay fair enough both ways. Lupus being now come within sight of Cefonia, as she was tormenting herself in the bitterness of her anguish and distress; the princess begg'd of him with tears and passionate lamentations, only to draw near, and take a view of that miserable spectacle of her mangled husband. But quickly gathering from his countenance what his fatal business was, and from his words afterward, over and above, she was no farther concern'd at what he said, than after a short ejaculation upon the misery of her condition, immediately to present her bare throat to the execution; pressing him to dispatch what he had undertaken, and to finish the tragedy that

his companions had begun. She encounter'd the stroke with a wonderful constancy of mind, and her daughter, an infant, dy'd by the same hand with her; the tidings of it Lupus carry'd away to Chereas so soon as the work was done.

Cefonia dies with great constancy.

THIS was the end of Caius, in the fourth year of his reign; a man brutal and malicious to the highest degree, even in his private condition; sensual in his appetites; a patron of calumniators and informers; a coward in all cases of danger, and consequently bloody. He valu'd dominion for nothing more than that it put it into his power to oppress the innocent, and to make way to confiscations, and forfeitures by murders and rapines. He valu'd himself upon the slavish flatteries and adorations of the common people; and nothing less than temples and altars to his honour, would satisfy his frantick and extravagant ambition. He hated all restraints of law as well as of virtue, and would not spare the best friend he had in the world upon the least provocation. He was an enemy to all good men, and impatient of contradiction in whatsoever he had a mind to; even to the degree of debauching his own sister, which made the people abhor him. For incest was a brutality so abominable in those days, that it was almost incredible; and a scandal that had not been so much as heard of among them for many ages. I do not know where he ever did, or so much as attempted any thing truly magnificent and royal, and for the honour of the empire, or the common good of mankind; saving only the harbours, and the store-houses, that he built about Rhegium, and near Sicily, for the convenience of the corn-ships out of Egypt. And that, without all dispute, was a noble work, and of publick use and advantage. Tho' he did not go through with it neither at last, but left it unfinish'd, partly by the laziness and neglect of his agents and overseers, and partly by the unsteadiness of his own humour; for his head ran altogether upon unprofitable whimsies, and he thought his money better employ'd upon his own private pleasures, than either upon the ornament, or the improvement of the publick.

The death and character of Caius.

BUT all this while Caius was an excellent orator, and a great master both of Latin and Greek. He had a wonderful presence of mind, and an admirable faculty in speaking extempore upon any subject; beside that he had a talent peculiar to himself of gaining upon the judgments, as well as the affections of men, in affairs even of the greatest moment; a felicity which accrued to him partly by nature, and partly by practice. For being train'd up in the emulation, both of his father Germanicus, and of his uncle Tiberius, his predecessor, two persons so illustrious for this sort of excellency, he made it some point of honour not to degenerate from the dignity, either of his birth or of his institution. But what signifies an ingenuous and a virtuous education, to those that so soon as they get at liberty, pervert the advantages of it to their ruin? so hard a thing it is for men that may do what they please without danger, to do what they ought to do, for the pure sake of honesty and virtue. At his first entrance upon the government, he made an excellent choice

of men of honour and understanding for his friends and ministers; by which he gain'd himself a mighty reputation with the people. But as he came by little and little to take another bias, he turn'd them off with insolence and scorn, and by insupportable provocations, forced his subjects upon those outrageous extremities of despair and revenge, that afterwards cost him his life.

Claudius
hides himself.

BUT Claudius, as we said before, hearing of the death of Caius, and the uproar the whole court was in upon that disaster, crept into a private hole to save himself, tho' in no danger at all, unless perhaps for the sake of his blood and quality. For his fancy lay ever to a retir'd life; his behaviour temperate and modest: a lover of letters, Greek especially, and a man utterly averse to the noise and hurry of business.

The character of Claudius.

THE multitude being now at their wits end, the palace throng'd with soldiers, running up and down like mad, in a furious consternation, and the common people hurrying from place to place, without any regard to the order or authority of government; the guards, in this tumultuary confusion, being men of the best credit among the soldiers, found it high time now to bethink themselves what was to be done: and their trouble was not so much for the death of the prince, who, they thought, deserved his fate, as how to provide for the settling of their own affairs.

The heads of Asprenas and his companions shew'd for a spectacle.

And then the rage of the Germans against the murderers had more in it of a private interest, than of any respect or good-will for the publick. These things, all together, did but farther increase the apprehension of Claudius, especially upon the sight of the heads of Asprenas and his companions, that were carry'd up and down in triumph. Claudius was gotten into a place where there was no coming to him but by certain blind steps; and there he stood to conceal himself in the dark. Gratus, one of the emperor's guards, got the glimpse of a man there in a corner, that had a mind to lie close; but not being able to discern what he was, he went up to him, tho' the other desir'd him to forbear; and upon drawing him out, found that he knew him, calling aloud to the people that follow'd him, this is Germanicus, than whom no man is fitter to fill the vacancy of the empire. Upon these words, the soldiers were ready to lay hold of him; and Claudius, for fear they should put him to death for Caius's sake, earnestly besought them to spare him, making protestation of his innocence upon the whole matter. Gratus, upon this, took him by the right hand with a countenance well-pleas'd, and desir'd him not to trouble himself with any sort of apprehension for his safety, but rather to dispose his thoughts towards the receiving of the empire; which the Gods, says he, have taken from Caius, and do now offer to Claudius by the hands of Gratus, for the relief and preservation of mankind, that have been groaning thus long under the burden of so many oppressions: wherefore in heaven's name, "Get up Sir, (says he) and take possession of the throne of your ancestors." So they mounted Claudius upon their shoulders; who in truth, betwixt the surprizes of joy and fear, was not able to stand upon his legs. While this was a doing, the guards gather'd together about Gratus in

Claudius discover'd by Gratus in a corner.

Gratus puts him into possession of the empire.

greater numbers, and fell to muttering among themselves what pity it was for the poor innocent Claudius, a person who had liv'd so private and so quiet, and had ran so many hazards for Caius himself, to be hurry'd away thus out of his life? for they took all this bustle to be for the carrying of Claudius to his execution, while others were for appealing to the Consuls. But as the soldiers crouded in more and more, the people that had no arms, shifted several ways for themselves. This put a stop to Claudius's progress; for he was too weak to march on foot, and his bearers had shifted for themselves, for fear of running the same fate with their master, whose safety they despair'd of. So that the military men being now possess'd of the palace, (that part of the city which they say was first inhabited) their numbers increasing, and having a clear stage to themselves, they took it into consideration upon this juncture, how they might settle the commonwealth. The soldiers were glad at heart to see Claudius there; and one and all for the advancing of him to the empire; partly in honour to his brother Germanicus, for whose memory all the world had an infinite veneration, and partly to keep off other ambitious and troublesome pretenders among the senators; who having formerly embroil'd the state, would, in all likelihood, do as much mischief again if it lay in their power. They look'd upon the republican form of government to be gone past recovery; and therefore since an emperor was of necessity to be chosen, it would concern them to take care, they thought, that no person whatever should be advanced to that dignity without being beholden to them for his preferment. Upon which consideration, they could not do better than to pitch upon Claudius for the man, and by that means to engross the merit of the obligation entirely to themselves. The whole body of the soldiery was so absolutely satisfy'd with this way of reasoning and discourse, that upon conferring one with another, they all immediately join'd in the same resolution; and taking up Claudius upon their shoulders, carry'd him away to the camp, there to finish what they had begun, and the whole army, along with him for his guard.

The soldiers unanimously for Claudius.

WHILE this was a foot there happen'd a misunderstanding betwixt the senate and the common people. The former were for the re-establishing the commonwealth in its ancient glory, and for the vindicating of their authority from tyrannical usurpations: the other, out of an envy to the power the senate aim'd at, desiring nothing more than an imperial check upon the proud and covetous senators, and a secure appeal for themselves to a higher court from republican oppressions: so that the people were overjoy'd at the elevation of Claudius, in hope, that under his protection they might be preserv'd from civil wars, and from such dismal confusions as they had suffered in the war betwixt Pompey and Cesar.

They carry him to the camp, and so finish the work.

The senate and the common people divided about a monarchy and a commonwealth.

THE senate were no sooner inform'd of the soldiers transporting Claudius to the army, but they dispatch'd away a certain number of choice men of their own order, with instructions to admonish Claudius, "Not to attempt the assuming of the government to himself by violence, but rather to content himself in the station of one of the senators, and to leave

Claudius sticks to the pretence

The senate
fends Vera-
nius and
Brouchus,
with a me-
nacing mes-
sage to Clau-
dius.

“leave the care of the publick to that body,
“who were qualify’d by the laws to manage
“by themselves, and by their direction, all
“the offices of administration. They were
“also to mind him how tyrannically the peo-
“ple had been treated by former masters, and
“even by Caius himself, and of the part like-
“wise that he himself had in the common
“danger from that tyrant: and how ill it
“would become any man that condemn’d ty-
“ranny in another, to set up the practice of
“it himself. But if he would submit to the
“senate, and return to his former course of
“life and principles, he should be crown’d
“with honours by a free and powerful peo-
“ple, and gain the reputation of a wise, and
“a good man, by contenting himself to take
“his lot in the course of things in this world,
“whether it be higher or lower, as the law
“and providence shall appoint: but if he
“should go on in his purpose after this judi-
“cial example upon Caius, they must certain-
“ly oppose him in his design; for they want-
“ed neither soldiers, nor arms, (they said)
“nor numbers, nor any other necessities, for
“such an undertaking: but after all, that
“their main dependance was upon the power
“and justice of the Gods in favour of so ho-
“nest and righteous a cause, as the defense
“of the liberty of their country.”

WHEN Veranius and Brouchus had acquit-
ted themselves of their commission to Clau-
dius in words to this effect, “They cast them-
“selves at his feet with most earnest supplica-
“tions, not to do any thing that might ha-
“zard the embroiling of the people in a ci-
“vil war.” But finding Claudius so beset
with military men; and that the power of
the Consuls was nothing in comparison to that
of the soldiers, these envoys made him only
this short request, that “If he were resolv’d
“upon the sovereignty, he should rather ac-
“cept it from the senate, and take it upon
“him without violence; which would be
“much fairer and more auspicious, to receive
“it with the good-will of the people, than
“to ravish it from them by force.”

CHAP. III.

Claudius sticks to his pretensions, &c. Agrippa keeps up his heart; takes his place in the senate, and delivers his opinion of the present state of things, &c. The senate meets before day. The soldiers cry out to the senate for an emperor; with their gladiators at hand, in case of need, &c. Chereas, a profess’d enemy to Claudius. The soldiers march away to fetch him. Sabinus protests against him. All the court made to Claudius, &c. Chereas, Lupus, &c. put to death. The father dies bravely; the other meanly. Claudius pardons Sabinus, and Sabinus kills himself.

Claudius
sticks to his
pretensions.

CLAUDIUS was no stranger to the
haughtiness of the senate, and so gave
their deputies as fair an answer for the present
as he could discreetly do, without laying him-
self at mercy. But what with the temptation it-
self, the advice and importunity of the soldiers,
the instigation of Agrippa, and their promises
to stand by him in the asserting of his preten-
sions, Claudius was over-rul’d into a resolu-

tion not to quit his hold in the right he had
to the sovereignty, which they had voluntarily
confer’d upon him. When Agrippa had de-
cently dispos’d of the dead body of his friend
Caius that set the crown upon his head, and
put every thing in as good order as the case
would then bear, he went presently to his
guards, and gave it out that Caius, in truth,
was not dead, but miserably ill of his wounds;
and that he was going to get some physicians
to him. But being told soon after, that Clau-
dius was taken up, and carry’d away by the
soldiers, Agrippa press’d after him immedi-
ately thro’ the croud, and with much ado
found him out at last; but in so frightful a con-
fusion of thoughts, that he was just upon the
point of delivering up all to the senate: only
in the very critical minute, Agrippa gave him
a word of comfort that fix’d him in a resolu-
tion to keep what he had got, and so he went
his way. Soon after this Agrippa was invited
to take his place in the senate, whether he
went, (pretending ignorance to all purposes)
with his head perfum’d with ointments, and
as gayly dress’d as if he was but just come from
an entertainment. Being now in the court,
he put the question to the senators, what was
become of Claudius: so they told him the ve-
ry truth of the story, and then ask’d his opi-
nion and sentiments of the present state of
things. Agrippa made answer, “That there
“was nothing so dear to him in this world,
“that he was not ready to sacrifice to the ho-
“nour of the senate; and yet I could wish,
“(said he) that people would rather attend
“the substantial good and service of the com-
“monwealth, than the speaking of pleasing
“things to tickle the itching ears of the vul-
“gar: for most certain it is, that without a
“competent provision of arms, men, and mo-
“nies, for a foundation to proceed upon,
“there is no good to be done in competitions
“for dominion and power.” Their answer
was, that for those necessary preliminaries,
they had of them abundantly, and to spare:
and for the matter of numbers, they had
slaves enough to do their work, that would be
glad of their freedom for their wages. “This
“is very well, (says Agrippa) and with sub-
“mission to your grave wisdoms, I wish eve-
“ry thing may succeed to your liking. But
“with your leave for one word more: You
“know very well that the soldiers Claudius
“has about him, are all veterans, and men of
“discipline, and experience: whereas on the
“other hand, we have only a raw and an un-
“tractable rabble of servile wretches, that
“hardly ever saw a naked sword in their
“lives; to encounter so many expert men of
“war withal; and therefore with respect to
“your prudence, I should rather propose the
“sending of some body to Claudius to try if
“he might not be wrought upon to let fall
“his claim; and rather than fail, I would
“make one myself to go upon the errand.”
The senate found the proposal reasonable, and
dispatch’d away Agrippa, with some others,
upon the commission. But Agrippa so order’d
it, that upon a private meeting with Claudius
beforehand, he told him what fearful appre-
hensions the senate was under, and then put
words in his mouth for an answer to the de-
puties, every way becoming the majesty of an
imperial prince. “I do not wonder, (says
“Claudius) answer.

Agrippa
gives it out
that Caius
is not dead.

Claudius
about to
give up all.
Agrippa
keeps up his
heart.
Agrippa
takes his
place in the
senate.

Agrippa’s
opinion on
the present
state of
things.

Agrippa
sent to Clau-
dius to lay
down his
claim.
Agrippa
gives him
private in-
structions
what to do.

Claudius’s
answer.

"Claudius) to find the senate so averse to the government of a single person, considering what they themselves have suffer'd under the tyranny of some late princes; but for my own part, (says he) I propose nothing more to myself than to make the subjects easy and happy in their persons, liberties and fortunes; and in the impartial administration of justice; for my business is only under the name of a prince, to rule with the common advice and consent of the people. And for the good faith of my intentions, I shall refer myself to the proof I have given the senate of my moderation and integrity, even in the worst of times." He said no more upon this occasion, but discharging the deputies with this speech, he entertained his military men with another harangue; gave them an oath of fidelity, and five hundred * drachma's a man for gratuity; and after the same proportion, to his officers; with promises of the like to the soldiers that were absent.

He gives the soldiers an oath of fidelity.

The senate meets before day in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

UPON this, the senators summon'd a court, who met the next morning before day, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Some that discern'd what mischief was a brewing, and had no mind to be there, kept out of the way in the city, while others slipt out of town to their country seats, chusing rather to be slaves in a whole skin, than to run the risque of all they had left, by an unseasonable contest for the recovery of what they had already lost. There were not above a hundred of them at most that assembled.

The soldiers cry out to the senate for an emperor.

WHILE they were in the middle of a debate, upon the matter in hand, there was an outcry of soldiers at the door all on a sudden, to the senators to appoint them some one man to govern them, for many heads they saw did but breed confusion; and for the fitness of the person, they left that to the senate. This overture was such a snare, that they knew not which way to turn themselves; for instead of the liberty they promis'd themselves from Claudius, they found him now to be the person they had the most reason to fear. Not that they wanted men among themselves, who for the honour of their extraction, and their relation to Cesar, might well enough pretend to set up for the dignity: as there was Marcus Minucianus, a man of the first quality, and marry'd into the family of the Cesars, to Julia, Caius's Sister. This person offer'd himself for one; but the Consuls were willing to wave it, and so put it off with one excuse after another. Valerius Asiaticus would have put in for a pretender too, if another Minucianus, one of the conspirators against Caius, had not interposed and hinder'd it; for if any man had stood up for a competitor with Claudius, it would have been the bloodiest dispute that ever was heard of; for they had there at hand, whole troops of gladiators; military men of all sorts, and a great number of watermen, and other mob, that were there gather'd together, to be at hand, in case of a pinch. This desperate confusion diverted several from appearing, that intended otherwise to have stood; foreseeing the mischief that would certainly ensue upon it, both to the publick and themselves.

In case of a pinch, they had their gladiators and ruffians at hand.

It was now toward break of day, when Chereas came up with his people about him, and gave the soldiers to understand by a sign he made for silence, that he had somewhat to say, and desir'd a hearing. But their business was (they cry'd) to demand the choice of an emperor without any more ado; and so they stopt his mouth with noise and clamour. The senate found that this was not a time to think of settling the government, when their authority was run down at this rate by swordmen, and the dignity of that noble order subjected to the insolence, scorn, and mockery of the soldiers. This put the conspirators out of all patience; insomuch that Chereas told them in the conclusion, "If nothing but an emperor would serve their turn, he'd give them one, if they would but fetch him an order from Eutychus to justify him in what he did." Now this Eutychus was a favourite-charioteer of Caius's, and an infamous wretch, that serv'd his master in all manner of base offices. Chereas follow'd this scandal with a thousand other reproaches, declaring that he would rather bring them the head of Claudius, than ever own him for an emperor. "What! (says he) have we not had enough already of a madman, but we must now make choice of a fool?" But this was only so much breath lost; for the soldiers, without minding what he said, immediately drew their swords, and marched with their colours to find out Claudius, and to join in the same oath that the other had taken before.

The soldiers press still for an emperor.

Chereas profess'd himself my to Claudius.

The soldiers march away to fetch Claudius.

THUS was the senate abandon'd by those that should have defended it, and the consuls reduced to the condition of little more than private men, while all people were at their wits end, in grief and astonishment, to think what would become of them after the putting of these indignities upon Claudius; every man excusing himself upon these disappointments, and laying the blame upon his fellow. In the heat of this squabble, out stepp'd Sabinus, one of the confederates, in a fury, with a protestation, that he would stab every man before him rather than ever submit to the acknowledging of Claudius for his master; or so much as to see him possess'd of the empire, and so to become a slave by his own consent. "And now Chereas, what have you to say for yourself too? You that were the first asserter of the common liberty against Caius, and now to shrink and flinch from that generous resolution, for the base fear of death: As if any brave man could be happy that is not master of himself. No, no, says Chereas, I am unchangeably resolv'd not to outlive my liberty; but I should be glad however in the mean time to find how Claudius stands affected."

Sabinus protests against Claudius.

WHILE things were in this disorderly way of agitation, people came thronging into the camp from all quarters, to make their court to Claudius, and among the rest, one of the consuls, Quintus Pompeius, whom the soldiers hated so much the more, for encouraging the senate to stand up in the defense of their liberties. Upon his advancing, they assaulted him with their drawn swords; and had undoubtedly kill'd him, if Claudius had not taken him into his protection, and plac'd

Quintus Pompeius assaulted. Claudius takes him into his protection.

* Five hundred drachma's amounted to about fourteen pounds one shilling and three pence of our money.

Divers senators wounded him by his own side. But the rest of the senators that came along with him, did not come off so well; for divers of them were kept back with blows, as they press'd forward to salute him. Aponius went away wounded, and not a man of them but was in great danger. At the instance however of king Agrippa, Claudius was prevail'd upon to treat the senators and men of quality, with gentleness and respect; "For, (says he) when these are gone you will have no subjects left you, but what you will be asham'd to own. Claudius took his advice, and order'd them to meet him at the palace, whither he himself was carry'd in his litter, cross the town, with a guard of soldiers to clear the way for the populace, who throng'd in such multitudes, that they render'd his passage thither very troublesome and difficult.

At the same time, Chereas and Sabinus, two of the most eminent of the confederates, shew'd themselves in publick, expressly against the order of Pollio, whom Claudius had made captain of the guards but a little before. Claudius being now brought into the palace, and his friends about him, pronounc'd a sentence of death upon Chereas. Not but they themselves look'd upon the exploit as a glorious action; yet for the treachery sake, and for an example that might lead to the security of princes in time to come, he was led to the place of execution, with Lupus, and several others of the conspirators. He dy'd, they say, in a wonderful constancy of mind; no change of countenance at all, nor any gesture or action below the glory of an heroic soul. Lupus indeed behav'd himself wretchedly, and Chereas took notice of it with contempt. Upon the stripping of him, he complain'd of cold; and Chereas had this witty reflection upon it, that "wolves felt no cold," playing upon the word Lupus, which signifies a wolf, as well as the proper name of a man. When the executioner, who was a soldier, was to do his office, he asked him, "if he was an expert master at the trade of cutting throats, and if his sword had a good edge;" and to conclude, desir'd him to make use of the same weapon that he kill'd Caius with. The executioner did his duty, in fine, and at one blow dispatch'd his business: But Lupus, who lay wriggling and shrinking for fear of the stroke, was hack'd and mangled at several repeated blows before the officer could do his work. Some few days after, upon the festival of the people's expiatory oblations to the ghosts of their dead friends, they paid the same honour to Chereas as to the rest, by casting their offerings into the fire according to the usual ceremony, and begging his forgiveness for the past ingratitude. This was the end of Chereas.

As for Sabinus, Claudius did not only pardon him, but continu'd him in the same command he had before, upon a generous consideration, that even in his treachery he was yet true to his trust. But Sabinus, after all, made no farther use of his clemency than to deliver himself from a life he was weary of, upon the point of his own sword, and with his own hand.

* An Ethnarch was a viceroy, or lord lieutenant, of a country.

C H A P. IV.

Claudius kind to Agrippa. A sedition betwixt the Jews and the Greeks. Claudius's edict in favour of the Alexandrian Jews. An edict in favour of all the Jews.

THE first thing that Claudius did after his establishment, was to clear his army of all suspected persons; and that being done he confirm'd Agrippa by an edict, in the possession of the kingdom formerly confer'd upon him by Caius, ascribing very much to Agrippa's address and industry in his service. He added over and above Judea and Samaria, as formerly belonging to the kingdom of his grandfather Herod. And this he look'd upon as only an act of restitution, and a kind of due to his family. But for Abela, and the bordering lands upon mount Libanus, which formerly belong'd to Lyfania, these he gave as an additional bounty out of his own. The articles of alliance betwixt this king, and the people of Rome, were graven in a copper-plate, and set up in the middle of the great market-place of the city, for a memorial to posterity.

He discharg'd his old friend Alexander Lyfimachus, the great custom-officer, whom Caius had clapt up in a rage, and one that formerly manag'd for his mother Antonia. He likewise gave Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa, in contract to his son Marcus; but he dying before the consummation of the marriage, Agrippa marry'd the virgin to his brother Herod, and Claudius bestow'd the kingdom of Chalcis upon him at Agrippa's request.

THE Jews, who had been terribly persecuted and oppress'd by the Alexandrians in the reign of Caius, began now to get heart again, and in a short time betook themselves to arms, which was the beginning of a sedition betwixt them and the Greeks. Claudius upon the first tidings of this commotion, dispatch'd letters to the governor of Egypt, commanding him to take all possible care to quiet it: And at the instance of the two kings, Agrippa and Herod, sent an edict to Alexandria, and into Syria, in substance as follows.

Tiberius Claudius Cesar Augustus Germanicus, tribune and prince of the senate, greeting.

WHEREAS we are given to understand that the Jews of Alexandria have ever, from time to time, enjoy'd the same freedoms and privileges from former kings of Egypt in common with the rest of the inhabitants, as appears by several royal decrees and instruments of record at this day extant in confirmation thereof: And likewise that those rights and benefits have been continu'd to them ever since the annexing of that city by Augustus to our empire; and so transmitted, uncontroverted thorough Aquila's days, and all the governors of Alexandria, successively, that have been sent thither; having liberty granted them also by the same Augustus upon the death of their * Ethnarch, to substitute another in his stead; enjoying the free exer-

An edict of Claudius in favour of the Jews of Alexandria.

"cise of their religion and discipline without any molestation or controul.

"Now forasmuch as Caius Cesar, in a blasphemous excess of madness, hath rigorously pressed upon the Jews to worship him as a God, contrary to the good faith and honour of the imperial grant, and in a manifest violence upon their consciences; and breaking into outrages against the refusers, irritated a party of his own faction in Alexandria against the Jews, their fellow citizens: This is now to declare all those proceedings of Caius null and void, and the said privileges of the Jews to remain still in full force and virtue; requiring and commanding, both the one and the other, by this our sovereign authority, to live, as far as possible, in a right understanding together, without troubling the publick peace." These are the contents of the edict; and after this, in particular for Alexandria, there was another sent abroad by the same prince, in favour of the Jews all over the empire, in the following terms.

Tiberius Claudius Cesar Augustus Germanicus, high-priest, tribune of the people, and the second time consul elect, giveth to understand, that,

An edict in favour of all the Jews.

"UPON the request of the kings, Agrippa and Herod, our singular good friends, for the same liberty to the Jews all over the empire, in their ways and worship, that we have already granted them in Alexandria, we do heartily comply with them in their desire, not only for the sake of the advocates, but out of a respect also to the merits of the people, in acknowledgment of the friendship and good offices they have ever render'd to the state of Rome. Wherefore we judge it reasonable to have them admitted to a share of the common rights and benefits of all our cities, as well Greek, as other, and to enjoy them in as ample a manner as they did in the reign of Augustus of blessed memory: And we do likewise ordain for the future, that wherever they shall happen to be dispers'd within the dominion of our empire, they shall be allow'd to govern themselves by their own laws, without any lett or interruption, provided that they make a modest use of this our grace and favour, and do not use any opprobrious language, nor offer any indignities to the professors of other religions, so long as they themselves are allow'd to enjoy the liberty of their own.

"THIS is what we have thought fit to declare: And it is our will and command that this our proclamation may be duly notified in all our cities, plantations, towns corporate, and all other parts respectively of our dominions, as well within Italy as without, and copies thereof transmitted to all kings, princes, and governors under our jurisdiction, and to stand posted up and expos'd for the space of thirty days to the view of all people."

CHAP. V.

Agrippa sent away to his government. He dedicates his golden chain to god. Theophilus de-

posed from the high-priesthood, and Simon preferred. Silas general of the army. A statue dedicated to Cesar in the Jews Synagogue. Agrippa complains of it to Petronius.

CLAUDIUS Cesar gave to understand by these two edicts, how affectionate an esteem he had for the Jews: And the next thing he did, was to order king Agrippa away to his government; crowning him still with more and more honours, over and above several letters of special recommendation to all the governors and intendants of the provinces where he was to pass. He made a quick and a happy dispatch of his business; and so soon as ever that was over, hasten'd away to Jerusalem, where he acquitted himself of all his holy vows, and offer'd sacrifices according to the punctual formalities of the law; causing great numbers of the Nazarenes to cut their hair. Tiberius having formerly manacled Agrippa with iron chains, Caius gave him a golden chain in exchange, just of the same weight with the iron one. This chain Agrippa dedicated to God, and caused it to be hung up in the vestry over the box of the holy treasure, as a monumental memorial of the power and goodness of providence, in relieving men when they are at the lowest; and for an instruction to mankind, that the same God that casts us down, is able to raise us again. This consecrated chain represented at the same view, a prince made the sport of fortune, and a prisoner in irons: And then in the turn of a hand again, his fetters knock'd off, and a greater prince than ever he was. Now this is but according to the nature, and to shew the vicissitude of human affairs, for things to fall when they are at the highest, and to rise again when they are at the bottom.

Agrippa sent away to his government.

He dedicates his golden chain to God.

So soon as Agrippa had paid his duty to God, he deposed Theophilus the Son of Ananus from the Pontificate, and substituted Simon the son of Boethus, whose surname was Canthara in his stead. This Simon had two brothers that had been high-priests too, and Boethus the father, whose daughter king Herod marry'd, as we have said already. This happened to be the case of the three sons of Simon the high-priest, the son of onias in the time of the Macedonian government, of which we have spoken formerly.

Theophilus deposed from the pontificate, and Simon preferred.

THE office of the Pontificate being settled, the king made it his first business to pay his respects and acknowledgments to the people of Jerusalem for the honour and good-will that they had shew'd him, by remitting the tax upon houses that they had formerly paid: A point of generous emulation not to be out-done in courtesy. He made Silas general of his army, in remembrance of the many difficulties and hazards they had run together.

Silas general of the army.

A while after this, there was a gang of rash heady young fellows of Doris got together, who under a colour of religion, dedicated a statue to Cesar in the Jews Synagogue, which transported Agrippa to the highest degree, as the ready way to make their religion despicable, and to bring all to ruin. Wherefore Agrippa, without any delay, went and complain'd to Petronius the governor of Syria, of this horrible outrage; who declar'd himself with as much indignation as the other, and wrote a sharp letter to the innovators, as follows:

A statue dedicated to Cesar in the Jews Synagogue, by some hot-headed fellows of Doris. Agrippa complains of it to Petronius.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Petronius rebukes the offenders. Simon removed, with an intent to restore Jonathan; who declines it, and recommends his brother Matthias. Petronius dismissed, and Marcus succeeds him.

Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, by the Appointment of Tiberius Claudius Cesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, greeting.

Petronius gives the offenders a sharp rebuke.

“WHEREAS I have received certain information, that notwithstanding a full liberty granted to the Jews by an edict of Claudius Cesar Augustus Germanicus, to live according to the rules and prescriptions of their own laws, some of your people have been so audacious, as in contempt of the said imperial edict, to prophane their Synagogue, by setting up Cesar’s statue there, to the scandal and affront of their religion, being not only an usurpation upon the freedom Cesar hath permitted them, and a violence upon their consciences, but an indignity also to the divinity of Cesar himself; for his image should have been rather set up in his own temple, than in another; especially in the Synagogue, since the emperor himself hath found it meet and just to leave every man master within himself. I shall say nothing of my own orders in this affair, after such an affront put upon the authority of my master, who has not only indulged the Jews in the matter of their religion, but granted them all the privileges of freemen likewise, in the cities where they inhabit, in common with the Greeks. Now since so it is, that this outrage hath most certainly been committed, and the majesty of Cesar insolently despis’d; and that you yourselves disown any hand in the thing, and so turn it off to the licence of a riotous rabble; this is to will and require you, that you send by my officer Vitellius Proculus, some of the guilty persons, to answer before me for what they have done; or at least to tell him who they are; for you yourselves will be otherwise suspected for parties to the fact. In the mean time, have a care of the publick peace, and of those seditious spirits that would put all into a flame. But as for my dear master and myself, there is nothing we lay so much to heart, as to keep clear of giving the Jews any occasion or pretext of being troublesome in their own defence. And now for your better satisfaction what opinion the emperor himself hath of this matter, I send you hereunto annexed a copy of his edict to the Alexandrians, which my dearest prince Agrippa shew’d me (altho’ every body knew it already) as I was sitting upon the tribunal, positively requiring that all Cesar’s concessions to the Jews should be made good. Wherefore I do now charge and require it of you, for the future, to forbear all manner of seditious controversies, and leave them to worship their God quietly in their own way.” Petronius, in fine, so order’d this affair, that he set all right again that had been done amiss, and made them cautious not to do the same thing again in time to come.

KING Agrippa, after this, removed Simon Canthara from the high-priesthood, with an intent to restore it to Jonathan the son of Annanus, as a person better deserving such a dignity: But he declined the acceptance of it, with an acknowledgment of the honour the king design’d him: And withal told him, that “since God had not found him worthy of holding it, he should content himself with the blessing of having once worn that sacred habit; for he could better justify his entrance into that holy order at first, than he could now the taking of it up again: But, Sir, (says he) if you insist so much upon the worthiness of the person, pray give me leave to recommend a brother of mine to your majesty; a man untainted with the vanities of the world; innocent and inoffensive before God and man, and consequently better qualified for the function.” The king was so delighted with the man’s candor and modesty, that he laid the thought of Jonathan aside, and according to his advice, transferr’d the pontificate to his brother Matthias. It was not long after this, that Petronius was dismiss’d from his government of Syria; and Marcus succeeded him.

Simon removed, with an intent to restore Jonathan. Jonathan declines it;

and recommends his brother Matthias.

Petronius dismiss’d, and Marcus succeeds him.

C H A P. VII.

Silas sets up for a share in the government, &c. Agrippa fortifies Jerusalem, and Claudius puts a stop to the work, &c. The magnificence of his bounties at Berytus, &c. Agrippa compliments Marsus, which makes him jealous of the meeting, &c. Games and spectacles at Cesarea, to the honour of Cesar. Fulsome blasphemies. An owl perches over his head, and he falls immediately into gripes and torments, &c. At the end of five days he dies. His revenue and children, &c. Claudius proposes the son to succeed the father; but his favourites divert him from it. He gives the command to Cuspius Fadus.

SILAS, Agrippa’s general, valuing himself upon his fidelity to the king, the personal hazards he had run with him, and the labours and difficulties he had undergone for his service, reckoned upon it, that as they had been familiar friends, and partners in the dangers of the war, so it was but reasonable that they should go shares in the dignity and prerogatives of government: And these things consider’d, he accounted himself to stand upon the same level with the king himself; and took liberties with him to the degree of sauciness. He was extremely bold and troublesome in his common discourses; one while boasting of his own merits; other whiles minding the king of the despicable condition of his former fortunes; and at every turn making ostentation of the good offices he had done him; the desperate adventures he had engag’d in, and what pains he had taken for his service. These nauseous and continued repetitions were so reproachful and wearisome, that the king began to be offended at this intemperate freedom; for a man that has formerly been under misfortunes, does not love to hear of them when he is in a better condition; and it is a foolish as well as a mean humour, to be perpetually hitting a man in the teeth with an obligation. Silas went on so far, that the king would bear it no longer; but

Silas sets up for a share of the government.

His vanity and sauciness.

Agrippa takes away his commission, and claps him up; but sends for him to court a while after.

Silas reproaches him for it;

And is remanded to Prison.

Agrippa fortifies Jerusalem.

Claudius puts a stop to the work.

but in the heat of a passion, he not only stript him of his commission, but sent him away bound into his own country. When he came afterwards to his right wits again, and to be-
think himself how severe he had been upon a person that had done and suffer'd so much for him, the anniversary of his birth-day now coming on, and all people disposing themselves for mirth and jollity, his heart began to soften, and he sent for Silas to make one at the royal festival. Now he being a man of ingenuity, and one that could not well dissemble his indignation, where he thought he had reason on his side, bluntly answer'd the people that brought him the invitation: "What is it, (says he) the king means by doing the honour of recalling me to court now? I know well enough he'll disgrace me again as soon as his fit of good humour is over. He has already taken away as much as in him lies, my reputation, as well as my office; and does he think after all this, that my tongue is to be tied up from speaking honourable and necessary truths? Or that any thing shall ever stop my mouth, so long as I have the conscience of an honest man for my support? No, no. The world shall know from what distresses I have redeemed him; the difficulties and the dangers I have encounter'd for his safety and glory: And what's my reward now for all these labours and hazards, but a dungeon and a chain? These are not injuries to sleep, either forgotten or unreveng'd, living or dead. Go, says he, (raising his Voice) and carry your king this answer." Agrippa by this time found his temper incurable, and so remanded him to prison.

THE king turn'd his thoughts now to the care of the city, and fortified the walls of the new town, as they call it, at a publick charge; making them much stronger, thicker, and higher, than they were before; and would in the end have made Jerusalem absolutely impregnable, if Marfus the governor of Syria had not given Claudius Cesar a cautionary notice of it, for fear there might be some farther design. Whereupon Claudius wrote immediately to Agrippa, to go no farther in it, and this put a stop to the work.

THIS king was naturally so generous and obliging, that he made himself famous by his magnificent bounties, taking no greater delight in any thing than in honourable occasions to shew the munificence of a large soul. There was a great difference betwixt him and Herod, his predecessor; the latter being false, harsh natur'd, and implacably cruel, over and above that he was notoriously partial to the Greeks, in preference to the Jews: Witness his vast profusion of treasure upon foreign works, both in structure and ornament; as bathing-houses, theatres, temples, galleries, places of parade, and the like; whereas he was never known to put himself to any memorable expence in any publick works whatsoever, to the honour of the Jews. But Agrippa, on the other side, was a person, human and gentle to the highest degree; a common friend and patron to all strangers, and in truth to all mankind; but bountiful, good-natur'd, and compassionate, to those of his own country and profession in the first place, especially when in distress. Wherefore he made choice of Jerusalem for his constant residence; no man

stricter in the rules and formalities of his religion, without the corruption of any prophane or superstitious mixture; and not a day pass'd over his head without a sacrifice. There was among others, one very particular instance of a generous goodness in him.

AGRIPPA happened to be once at Cesarea; and in his absence, one Simon, a lawyer, reflected upon him in a publick assembly, for a man of a loose life, and one that in justice deserv'd to be punish'd for it, according to the practice of the church in that case. The governor sent the king word of this accusation, who immediately dispatch'd an order for Simon to come to him, who went accordingly, and the king at that time happened to be in the theatre. So Agrippa call'd him to him, and after a little pause, in a gentle tone and language, he put this question to him. "Friend, (says he) if you know any thing by me that you do not like, I would have you declare it here." The man had nothing to say for himself, but in a confusion begg'd his pardon, and the king granted it immediately, beyond all people's expectation, and not without some instance of his bounty too, over and above a reconciliation; valuing himself more upon the exercise of clemency, than upon the power of taking his revenge, and accounting it a more kingly quality to be merciful than impetuous.

ALL places wherever he came, or had to do, had some taste more or less of his magnificence and bounty; but Berytus above the rest. For there, at a most prodigious expence, he erected a stately theatre, and likewise an amphitheatre, not inferior to it; several bagnio's and arched walks; sparing no cost for the beautifying of every thing to the highest point of perfection. The pomp of the dedication of these illustrious works, was very extraordinary upon many accounts; as the variety of shows exhibited in the theatre; all sorts of mulick, and diversities of other entertainments and pleasures. In the amphitheatre were expos'd several combats of gladiators, man to man; and after that, whole troops of condemn'd malefactors, to the number of seven hundred of a side; being only an execution of justice in the form of a battle, and improving the punishment of the criminals to the pleasure of the spectators; for they were all destroy'd to the last man.

AGRIPPA, after this, pass'd from Berytus to Tyberias, a city of Galilee, where he was complimented by several kings. There was Antiochus, the king of Comagena; Samfisgeran, the king of the Emesenes; Cotys, king of the lesser Armenia; Polemon, a little prince of Pontus: And besides all these, Herod the brother of Agrippa, and the king of Chalcis; who were all receiv'd with so royal a freedom of hospitality, that it was every way answerable to the dignity both of the theatre and of the guests; and much to the honour of Agrippa, to be found worthy of so many royal visits. While they were yet together, Marfus the governor of Syria, came to visit him; and Agrippa, out of a reverence to the sovereignty of the empire, went out of town seven miles to receive him, which proved the occasion (as it fell out) of a misunderstanding betwixt them; for Marfus finding so many kings together, and such an agreement be-

An instance of Agrippa's generosity.

The magnificence of his bounties at Berytus.

He passes from Berytus to Tiberias: Where he receives the royal visits of Antiochus, Samfisgeran, &c.

Agrippa compliments Marfus the governor of Syria.

Marfus is jealous of the meeting.

twixt them, he did not know how it might stand with the publick safety to countenance so powerful and so dangerous a correspondence, and therefore sent messages to them one by one, to depart immediately; which gave Agrippa such a disgust, that he hated him for ever after.

Agrippa takes the pontificate from Matthias, and gives it to Elionous. Games and spectacles instituted at Cefarea to the honour of Cesar.

Fullsome blasphemous flatteries.

In the height of his vanity an owl perches over his head. He falls immediately into gripes and torments; reproves his flatterers, and confesses his own frailty.

At the end of five days he dies.

THIS prince then took away the pontificate from Matthias, and gave it to Elionous the son of Citheus. He was now in the third year of his reign over all Judea, when he came to Cefarea, formerly call'd the tower of Straton; where he celebrated a solemnity of games and shows to the honour of Cesar; which drew together great numbers of the nobility and men of quality from all parts of the province. Upon the second day of this festival, Agrippa went early in the morning to the theatre in a robe wrought with silver, so wonderfully rich and curious, that the beams of the rising sun striking upon it, people's eyes were dazzled with the reflection from his habit. The sparkling of the light seem'd to have something divine in it, that mov'd the spectators at the same time with veneration and awe. Insomuch that a prostitute crew of fawning parasites, cry'd him up as a God: "Beseeching him, in form, to forgive them the sins of their ignorance, when they took him only for flesh and blood like another man; but they were now convinc'd (they said) of an excellency in his nature, that was more than human." This impious nauseous flattery pass'd upon him without either check or repulse; but a while after as he was lifting up his eyes, he saw an owl in the air over his head sitting upon a rope, which he found soon after to be the presage of mischief to him, as it had been before of good luck. For he fell immediately into a violent passion of the heart, with terrible gripes and torments of the guts: In which agony, directing his speech to some friends about him, "Look ye, (says he) your God is now condemned to die; and by this fatal necessity, I am about to prove all my flatterers a company of profligate liars, and to convince the world by dying that I am not immortal. But God's will be done. In the life that I have led, I have had no reason to complain of worldly misfortunes and adversities; for I have enjoy'd as great a share of temporal happiness as any prince under the heavens." At these words his pains increasing upon him, he was presently remov'd into the palace; and it was all over the town in a moment that the king was dangerously sick, and at the very point of death. Upon this rumour, all the people, men, women, and children cover'd themselves with sackcloth according to custom, joining in prayers and outcries to God for Agrippa's recovery. The king in the mean time, looking down from his apartment near the top of the palace, could not forbear weeping at the sight of the mourners that lay prostrate upon the pavement. This extremity of pain held him from that time forward without any manner of abatement, and at the end of five days it carried him off, in the 54th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. He govern'd for the first four years of

his reign under the emperor Caius: The three former of them under the tetrarchy of Philip; the fourth in that of Herod too; and the other three under Claudius, who over and beside that of Judea, gave him the command also of Samaria and Cefarea. His yearly revenue was computed at twelve hundred * Myriads. And this did not serve his turn neither, without borrowing, for he was so profusely liberal, that his income did not answer his expence. Chelcias the general of his troops, and Herod the prince of Chalcis, sent Ariston to kill Silas their common enemy, in prison, as by the king's order, before the certainty of his death could be generally known.

THIS was the end of king Agrippa, who left behind him a son of his own name of seventeen years of age, and three daughters. Berenice the eldest, being married at about sixteen to Herod her father's brother; the other two virgins, Mariamne and Drusilla, the former being ten years old, and the other six, Mariamne the elder was contracted to Julius Archelaus the son of Chelcias; the younger to Epiphanes the son of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

So soon as the news of Agrippa's death came to be publickly known, the people of Cefarea and Sebaste were so far from doing right to the obligations he had laid upon them, that on the contrary, they bespatter'd his name and memory with the lowdest calumnies that could be invented. And, to augment the scandal, there happened to be a rabble of soldiers there at that time, who lugg'd away the statues of his three daughters out of the palace, and carried them in triumph into publick bawdy houses, reviling them after their brutal barbarous way, in terms not be repeated, feasting and revelling in the streets, adorn'd with flowers and garlands and their heads perfum'd with ointments, offering libations to Charon, and drinking thanksgiving cups for the death of their king. This was their entertainment, without ever so much as thinking of the good offices they had so lately receiv'd from Agrippa, or of those of former days from his grandfather Herod, the founder of those magnificent cities, and of the ports and temples belonging to them.

AGRIPPA, the son of the deceased, was at this time at Rome, and train'd up in the court of Claudius; who had no sooner heard of the death of the father, and the inhuman indignities that those ungrateful wretches of Cefarea and Sebaste had put upon his memory, but expressing as great a sorrow for the loss of Agrippa, as an indignation for the ingratitude of the other, he took up a resolution within himself, immediately to send away the son to take possession of the kingdom of his father; which was but pursuant to an oath he had taken, as well as agreeable to the very equity and reason of the thing. But upon the dissuasion of the favourite people he had about him, he was easily diverted from his purpose. They told him it was not safe to venture so great a trust in the hands of a raw young man; for it was so nice a commission, that the best head he had in the empire would find enough to do to manage it.

His Revenue

Agrippa's Children.

Cefarea and Sebaste ungrateful to the memory of Agrippa.

Scandalous and brutal affronts.

Claudius proposes the son to succeed his father; but he is diverted from it by favourites.

* A Myriad consisting of ten thousand, twelve hundred Myriads must amount to twelve millions.

He gives the
command to
Cuspius Fa-
dus.

UPON this plausible insinuation, Claudius chang'd his mind, and gave the whole command to Cuspius Fadus, but with this provisional deference to the memory of the deceased king, that he should not upon any terms take Marius into his government, in regard that he had been a profest enemy to Agrippa. And he charged him yet more expressly, to punish the people of Cesarea and Sebaste very severely, for the barbarous affronts they had put upon the honour of Agrippa and his daughters: commanding him also to send away the five cohorts, and the rest of the troops that were in

those two towns, to Pontus; and to detach a body of choice men out of the Roman legions in Syria, to supply their places. But this last order was not observ'd; for Claudius was prevail'd with, upon an humble application, to continue those troops still in Judea. This gave the rise to the miserable calamities that the Jews suffer'd afterward, and prov'd the very seminary of the following wars under the government of Florus: Inasmuch that Vespasian, tho' conqueror, was fain to transport them out of that country.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the Jews.

BOOK XX.

From the Year of the World 4009 to 4030.

CHAP. I.

Claudius gives Marsus's commission to Cassius Longinus. A quarrel betwixt the Jews and the Philadelphians. Three of the ring-leaders punished. Tholomeus put to death. Cesar orders the holy robes to be deposited in Antonia, as formerly, upon certain conditions. Agrippa moves in their favour, and the request is granted. Claudius to the senate. Canthara remov'd from the high-priesthood, and Joseph put in his place.

Claudius takes away Marsus's commission, and gives it to Cassius Longinus.



AFTER the death of Agrippa, (as in the former book) the emperor took away Marsus's commission for Syria, and gave it to Cassius Longinus, out of respect to the memory of his friend the late king, who in his life-time had written several letters to Claudius, to remove this Marsus from his government.

The Jews and Philadelphians quarrel.

CASPIUS FADUS, coming at the same time to enter upon his command in Judea, found the Jews beyond Jordan, and the Philadelphians sharply contending about the bounds of a small village called Mias, whose people were bold and warlike. The men beyond Jordan had taken up arms, it seems, upon their own heads, without any colour of authority from their superiors, and kill'd several of the Philadelphians. Fadus took this seditious insolence so heinously, that he caused three of the chief ring-leaders, Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, to be laid in chains; the first to be put to death, and the other two banish'd. "If they thought" (says he) "that the Philadelphians had wrong'd them, Why had not I the hearing the cause?" "But for them to presume to make war upon it, and to be their own judges and carvers, was an affront (he said) utterly intolerable."

The three ringleaders punished; Annibas put to death, Amaram and Eleazar banish'd.

Soon after this the famous captain of the robbers, Tholomeus, that had made such havoc in Idumea and Arabia, was brought to him bound, and he sentenced him to death, doing all that was to be done also to clear the country of that sort of vermin. He sent after this to the priests and rulers of Jerusalem, and shew'd them Cesar's mandate, requiring the sacred robe, and the sacerdotal stole, (vestments peculiarly belonging to the high-priest) to be deposited in the castle of Antonia, and there to remain in the custody of the Romans as they had been in former times. They durst not dispute the order, and so chose rather to make a respectful application to Fadus and Longinus, (who also was come to Jerusalem with troops, fearing lest Fadus's demands should excite the Jews to an insurrection) only for leave to move Claudius upon that point, and so to respite the proceeding till they might receive the emperor's answer. This request was granted them, upon condition of delivering up their children for hostages, in the mean time; which they readily agreed to, and so their deputies set forward for Rome. Agrippa being at that time at Rome, and in Cesar's Court, (as we said before) having seasonable notice both of their arrival, and their business, petitioned Cesar on the behalf

Tholomeus the chief robber put to death.

Cesar orders the sacred robes to be deposited in Antonia, as formerly.

They get leave of Fadus and Longinus to move Cesar in it, upon giving up their children for hostages. Agrippa moves in their favour, and the request is granted.

half of the Jews, that the holy stole might remain in their own keeping; and that he would vouchsafe to signify his pleasure to Fadus, by an order to that purpose. Claudius, upon this, had the commissioners call'd, and telling them that he had granted what they came for, bad them thank Agrippa for the grace he had shew'd them; to which answer he added the following letter.

Claudius Cesar Germanicus, tribune of the people, the fifth time consul elect, the fourth time emperor, and the father of his country the tenth time; to the senate, the people of Jerusalem, and the whole nation of the Jews, greeting.

Claudius to the senate, &c.

"WHEREAS we are given to understand by our dearly beloved Agrippa, whom we have train'd up, and tender as our own child, that you have sent us your deputies, (which deputies he hath also presented to us) with acknowledgments of our constant cares for the good of your people, and likewise with your earnest desire of having the pontifical robes and ornaments in your own custody; we do freely grant you your request, in such manner as was formerly allow'd you in the days of that excellent person Vitellius, our very dear friend. And be it further known unto you, that we have descended to these concessions, partly out of a motion of piety, it seeming unto us a reasonable thing for all men freely to enjoy the religion of their country; and partly to gratify king Herod and the young Aristobulus, whose friendship we have a great value for, upon the certain knowledge of the friendship they both have for us.

"We have written to our lieutenant Cuspius Fadus about this matter, by Cornelius, the son of Ceron; Tryphon, the son of Theudion; Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel; and John, the son of John. Dated the 4th* of the Calends of July; Rufus, and Pompeius Sylvanus, consuls.

Canthara remov'd from the pontificate, and Joseph set up in his place.

HEROD the prince of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa the deceas'd, begg'd of Claudius the charge of the temple, and the holy treasure, with the privilege of chusing the high-priests, which was all granted him, and the power continued in the family till the end of the Jewish war. This prince remov'd Canthara from the pontificate, and set up Joseph the son of Caneus in his stead.

CHAP. II.

Helen the queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates embrace the Jewish religion, &c. Theudas a false prophet pretends to work miracles. The people follow him; but Fadus scatters them, and cuts off Theudas's head.

Helen the queen of Adiabene, and Izates, turn Jews. Monobazus king of Adiabene marries his sister Helen.

MUCH about this time, Helen the queen of Adiabene, and † Izates her son, came over to the religion of the Jews, by this occasion. Monobazus, otherwise called Bazeus, the king of Adiabene, fell in love with his sister Helen, marry'd her, and got her with child. It happen'd one night, as he was

in bed with his wife, and half asleep, his hand resting upon her belly, he fancy'd he heard a voice that bad him "Take away his hand for fear of hurting the child; for providence had begun a work with a great blessing that would be crown'd with great or yet in the end." The voice startled him, and when he was thoroughly awake, he told his wife the story. When this conception came to light, it proved to be a male, and the father gave it the name of Izates. Now he had another son before this, by the same princess, which he call'd after his own name, and he had several other sons likewise by other wives. But Izates, in fine, ingross'd the greatest share of his affections.

A voice heard as they were in bed together.

He has two sons by Helen, Monobazus and Izates. Izates the favourite,

THE king's partiality in this preference was so notorious, that it put the rest of the brothers into an outrageous jealousy and envy, to see themselves appear so mean and despicable. The king took notice of their ill humour, but was yet willing to persuade himself, that the disgust might be only an innocent emulation at the bottom, which of the brothers should be the favourite, without any deliberate malice in the case: but finding however that things grew every day worse than other, he thought it his best course for sureness sake, to provide for Izates safety: and so he dispatch'd him out of hand, with a most particular recommendation, and magnificent presents, to king Abennerigus, at the fort of Spasinus; where he was received with so much tenderness and esteem, that he gave him his own daughter Samachas in marriage, with a portion of land by way of dower, that brought him an income of a very considerable value.

which creates an envy in the other.

Sent to king Abennerigus at the castle of Spasinus.

Izates marries Samachas.

MONOBAZUS, being now far gone in years, and drawing near his end, had a great mind to see his son yet once again before he dy'd. So he had him sent for, and then embracing him with infinite affection, he gave him the province of † Ceron; a country famous for aromatick plants, and particularly for the relicks of Noah's Ark that escap'd the deluge, and are there expos'd to view. Izates took up his habitation in this place, during the life of his father. Queen Helen, upon the very day of the king's decease, call'd her ministers, great officers, and commanders all about her, and spoke to them after this manner. "I need not tell you, (says she) that the late king my husband designed Izates for his successor, as the person of all his children, that he judg'd best qualify'd for the honour. But however, (says she) I shall be glad to have your advice along with me; for one body's opinion is not sufficient to make a prince happy, without the joint consent and good will of the people." She spoke this by way of compliment, and only to try how the council stood affected. The queen making a pause after these words, the ministers, with a profound reverence, according to the custom of the country, declar'd themselves unanimously for the promoting of Izates to the crown; being fully satisfy'd that it was his father's will it should be so, as the person of his family whom he look'd upon to be best fitted for that dignity. "The people, (they said) were all for him, and they themselves ready to acknowledge him for their

Monobazus in years, sends for Izates.

He settles the province of Ceron upon him.

Izates takes up his habitation there. Monobazus dies.

The queen calls a council.

Izates declar'd successor.

The matter debated and resolved upon.

* That is, on the 28th of June. † Ezates in Tacitus. ‡ Bochart reads Cardon in his Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

"sovereign: or in case of any danger from his brothers or relations, to cross him in his pretension, they offer'd their service to remove all those obstacles out of the way, by taking them off; and to cut him out a safe and an easy passage to the throne." The queen gave them thanks for this expression of their zeal; but could not agree, she said, to have any blood spilt, till Izates should come himself to order the matter as he thought fit. When the council found that the queen would not be prevail'd upon to take away their lives, they press'd it, however, that in the mean time, for the better security of the new king, they might be kept in safe custody, and some other person, that the queen should best approve of, entrusted with the administration in his absence. The queen found the proposal reasonable, and pitch'd upon Monobazus, the elder brother, for the viceroy, set the crown upon his head, gave him his father's signet-ring, with the royal robe, together with the sword of state, * and committed the administration of affairs into his hands, till his brother should come to take it himself. Izates was not long a coming, after he heard of his father's death; and immediately upon his arrival, Monobazus voluntarily deliver'd up his trust.

WHILE Izates was at the fort of Spasinus; a certain Jewish merchant, by name Ananias, having cultivated an acquaintance with some of the court ladies, instructed them in the knowledge of the true God, according to the rites and customs of the Jews. These women brought the merchant to the knowledge of Izates; who converted him likewise to the same persuasion, and upon great importunities, kept him company in his journey to Adiabene, whither his father sent to see him before he dy'd. It came to pass also at the same time, that queen Helen herself was converted to our profession by another Jew. Izates, at his return to Adiabene, was not a little troubled to see his brothers, and others of his kindred, in prison there. He could not in conscience either put them to death or keep them in chains; and then he thought it might be dangerous on the other hand, to set them at liberty, under such a provocation to a revenge: so that he steer'd a middle course, and sent them away for hostages; part with their children to Rome, to Claudius Cesar, and the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia.

WHEN Izates began to find how much his mother was delighted with the Jewish way of worship and government, he reckon'd it now high time for himself to make profession of what he was; and accounting upon the whole matter, that he could not be a thorough Jew without being circumcis'd, he resolv'd to perfect the work by initiating himself with that ceremony. His mother taking notice of it, did what she could to divert him from it, for fear of the dangerous consequences that would follow upon it; "For, (says she) your subjects will all fall off from their allegiance, so soon as they hear their king is gone over to another religion, for they will never en-

dure a Jew upon the throne." This dissuasion of his mother put some respite to the execution of his purpose: and in the mean time, the king advis'd upon the point with Ananias, who told him that he was absolutely of his mother's opinion, and threaten'd to leave him, if he went on with that design: "For, (says he) so soon as ever this shall come to be known abroad, I myself shall be the first, and the greatest sufferer, as the author of this change, and fall under the notion of a publick enemy and a seducer. Besides that, religion being an act of the heart, God may be worshipp'd as he ought to be, without the external ceremony of circumcision, upon condition of an absolute resignation to the precepts of Moses, for that is the acceptable worship; the other being but a formal respect of the body, and God will dispense with that punctillio in a case of so absolute a necessity, when the peace and safety of your dominions will be endanger'd by the observance of it." This way of reasoning wrought upon the king as the other wish'd it might.

BUT it fell out that a while after, there came another Jew out of Galilee, Eleazar by name. He was a learned man, and well read in the Mosaical laws, and a person design'd, it seems, for the final determination of this question: for the king's scruples were not quite out of his head yet. This Eleazar was introduced to Izates, whom he found poring upon the books of Moses. "Sir, (says he) you do not know all this while how great an injury you do to the law, and consequently to God; for it is not enough to know his holy will, without obeying his commandments. How long do you intend to continue in a state of uncircumcision? if you have not as yet met with the law that requires it, pray read it now, to the end that you may know how great a sin you have to answer for in the omitting of it." The king was so thoroughly possess'd with what he said, that without any more delay, he retir'd into a withdrawing-room, and sent for a surgeon, who did the office immediately. The mother, and Ananias the director, were call'd to take notice of what was done, at the sight of which they were struck with the utmost confusion and astonishment; "For, (they said) the king's government and person; the publick peace, and their own heads (as the advisers) were all at stake, if the people should but get the least intimation of it; for they would never endure a prince of another religion." But God in his mercy provided better for them, by delivering not only Izates himself out of great perplexities, and in truth desperate extremities; to shew that piety and virtue shall never pass unrewarded, and that God will never forsake those that cast themselves wholly upon his providence and goodness. But we shall have occasion to speak more of this hereafter.

WHEN the queen had stay'd long enough to see her son settled in a peaceable possession

Ananias descants upon the scruple of the case.

Eleazar a Jew of Galilee, a great doctor of the Mosaical laws.

Eleazar brought to Izates.

He preaches upon the necessity of circumcision.

The king convinc'd, and immediately circumcis'd.

The mother, and Ananias at their wits end about it.

The brother taken into custody. The administration committed to Monobazus in Izates's absence.

Izates appears, and Monobazus delivers up his trust.

Izates converted by Ananias a Jewish merchant. Queen Helen converted by another Jew. Izates troubled to see his relations prisoners.

He sends them away for hostages: some to Cesar, others to Artabanus.

Izates resolves to be circumcis'd.

His mother and the merchant against it.

* So I chuse to render τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Suidas, who acknowledges ἀρχιερεὶς in the plural number, interprets it by ἑνὶ ἀρχιερεὶ, that is, sword such as the Barbarians use; but the expression seeming to be emphatical, and the words to be here used by way of eminence, I take it to signify the sword of state. Such as is carry'd before our king and lord mayor, as an ensign of authority to denote the coercive power of inflicting vindictive justice upon offenders.

The fame of the temple of Jerusalem. The queen hath a great mind to see it, and to worship there. The king supplies her for her journey. A miserable famine in Jerusalem.

The queen's piety and charity to the poor.

Izates sends vast sums for their relief.

A conspiracy against Artabanus.

He applies himself to Izates for protection and succour.

Izates gives him good hopes:

of his government, and to have the reputation both at home and abroad, of a prince highly in favour both with God and man, she had a mighty mind to make a visit to Jerusalem, for the sake of the famous temple there that she had heard so much talk of, and to worship God, and offer up sacrifices in it, according to the rules and usage of the place. Her son was so far from being against it, that he furnish'd her with a vast provision of money, and all other necessaries, and conducted her some days journey upon her way. The queen's coming to Jerusalem was in a happy hour for the citizens; for there was so severe a famine in the town, that the people perish'd for want of bread. Their distress was no sooner made known to this charitable queen, but she presently sent away several of her train; some to one place, some to another, to look about for relief: so that in a short time there were brought in great quantities of wheat from Alexandria; dry'd figs from Cyprus, and the like; which she caused immediately to be distributed to the poor, and got herself immortal honour by so doing. Her son Izates also, upon intelligence of this terrible dearth, sent prodigious charities in money, to the governors of Jerusalem for their poor. But the history of the royal bounties to this city will be more proper for another place.

ARTABANUS, the king of Parthia, had to do with a powerful and a factious nobility; and finding the conspirators so strong, and the plot so far advanc'd against him, that he durst not trust himself any longer in his own kingdom, he resolv'd to apply himself to Izates, for advice and assistance, to protect him in his extremity, and if possible to restore him to his crown again. So he drew together, of his acquaintance and relations, a matter of a thousand persons, and met Izates upon the way: that is to say, he judg'd it to be Izates, by the magnificence of his train and equipage; for he did not know him personally. Upon advancing near him, he first saluted him after the manner of the country, with a reverence which they call adoration; and then made himself, and his condition known to him in words to this effect. "Behold, (says he) great prince, your humble suppliant, and do not despise an object of your generous compassion. It hath been my fortune to be cast down from a throne of majesty, into a private and an obscure state, which hath forced me to have recourse now to your goodness for succour; which I cannot despair of from a prince that so well understands the vicissitudes of human affairs, and how soon my present case may come to be your own, as your present degree of elevation was formerly mine. Beside the common interest of all princes in helping one another; for the success of one rebellion passes for a precedent, and an encouragement to more, when the people are embolden'd by success." These words were accompany'd with dejected looks and tears. Izates understanding that his petitioner was no less than Artabanus, immediately dismounted from his horse, and bad him recollect his spirits, and comfort himself with this assurance, that the wound was not incurable; and that providence would put a speedy end to

his present distress. "Prince, (says he) you may depend upon it, that you shall find a more considerable friend and ally than perhaps you are aware of; for I will either see you restor'd to your crown, or I will give you my own." Upon these words, Izates mounted Artabanus upon his own horse, and walk'd a-foot by his side, in acknowledgment of a duty he owed to a king greater than himself. But Artabanus was so asham'd of the compliment, that he swore by all the hopes he had of recovering his fortune and dignity, that he would dismount, unless the other would get up again, and go before him. Izates then, in compliance with his resolution, took horse again, and conducted him into his palace, with all the honour and deference that it was possible for one prince to pay to another. He gave him the precedence in all cases, private and publick, and at all collations and meetings; with a regard still to his former greatness and glory, and without any abatement for his change of fortune: Considering that only as the common lot of mortals, and that what was one man's hap to day might be another man's to morrow.

His thoughts being now wholly taken up how to serve Artabanus, he wrote a pressing and an effectual letter to the Parthians, to call their king home again: Offering to engage himself upon his honour for their indemnity, and that all past injuries should be forgiven and forgotten. Their answer was rather an excuse than a refusal, for they had given the crown to another, one Cinnamus, they said; so that it was out of their power to receive him: Beside that the very attempt of such a revocation would put all in a flame. Now this same Cinnamus, being a person of a very generous, just, and honourable disposition; and having received his education under the care and direction of Artabanus, felt the pulses of the nobility, and gave this answer, that let Artabanus come back when he would, he himself would be answerable for his security and reception. Artabanus made no difficulty at all of venturing himself upon this assurance, and so return'd. Cinnamus met him upon the way; did his reverence in form; and saluting him in the stile of KING, took the crown off from his own head, and placed it upon the head of Artabanus. This was the manner of his being restor'd to his kingdom, by the means of Izates, after he had been forc'd out of it by a faction of his nobles. Artabanus express'd his gratitude to his benefactor, by a return of all honourable duties and respects. He gave him the privilege of wearing such a Tiara, and such a sort of bed, as only the kings of Parthia had a peculiar right to use. He bestow'd upon him the country of Nisibis, formerly belonging to the kings of Armenia; a large and a fruitful territory, and famous for the ancient city of Antioch, afterwards called Mygdonia, that the Macedonians erected there. These were the acknowledgments that Izates received from Artabanus, in consideration of the good offices he had render'd him.

ARTABANUS dying some short time after, left his son Vardanes to succeed him in his kingdom, who went presently to Izates to try if he could engage him in a war with him against the Romans: But Izates was too well acquainted with the strength and conduct of those he refuses.

And treats him with all possible honour and respect.

Izates writes to the Parthians, to call their king home.

They have given the crown to Cinnamus.

Cinnamus invites him back, and undertakes for his security. Artabanus returns.

Cinnamus salutes him king. He takes the crown from his own head, and sets it upon Artabanus's. The gratitude of Artabanus.

His son Vardanes presses Izates to a war with the Romans; but he refuses.

those people, to be drawn into a league against so powerful an enemy: Beside that having five sons train'd up among them, to learn their language, and discipline, and his mother a constant woman at her devotions in the holy temple, he had some sort of tie upon him, even of honour as well as discretion, not to meddle. Now as he was utterly against it himself, he did what he could also to take off Vardanes, by continually urging to him the prodigious strength, courage, and exploits of the Romans, in hope to deter him from his purpose by such stories: But so far was the Parthian from being discourag'd by big words, that on the contrary, he made war immediately upon Izates. But as providence was pleas'd to order the matter, for the humbling of his vanity, it had been much better for him to have let that enterprize alone. For when the Parthians came to find Vardanes so resolute upon a war with the Romans, they took their opportunity to cut him off, and committed the government to his brother Gotarza, who a little while after was taken off by treachery himself too, and his brother Vologesus succeeded him, who divided the government betwixt his two brothers by the father's side: Pacorus the elder had Media, and Tiridates the younger had Armenia. Monobazus, the brother of the king, together with the rest of the kindred, taking notice of the exemplary piety of Izates, with a respect to God and his worship, and the blessings that attended it; and of the reputation he had gain'd in the world upon the account both of a virtuous life, and of being a man happy to all other purposes, they began to bethink themselves of quitting the religion of their country too, after his example, and of betaking themselves to the observance of the Jewish manners and customs. The great men of the kingdom suspecting his design, resented it highly, but however smother'd their resentment to wait for an opportunity of taking their revenge. So they wrote to Abias, the king of Arabia, and tempted him with large promises of money to make war upon their prince, with an assurance, that upon the first encounter they would leave the king in the plain field. "He had abandon'd the religion of his country, (they said) and he should not carry it off unpunish'd." Upon this, they struck a league with the Arabian, and press'd him to set about it immediately, without delay. Abias did as they desir'd, and forthwith march'd away with a considerable army against Izates. The main bodies were no sooner come within sight of one another, but Izates's men, according to their agreement, betook themselves to their heels, as in a kind of panick consternation, and without ever striking a stroke. By this time Izates found himself evidently betray'd; but made his retreat however without any confusion or disorder, into his camp; where, upon a strict enquiry into the mystery of this desertion, he discover'd it manifestly to be a treason concerted betwixt his people and the enemy, detected some of the conspirators, and punish'd them according to their deserts. On the day following he fought Abias, and routed him, made a great slaughter of one part of the army, and put the rest to flight, closely pursuing the king himself up to the castle of Arsamus, which he took by storm, rifled it, and carrying off a vast booty, return'd in triumph to Adiabene.

Abias prevented his being taken alive by laying violent hands upon himself.

Abias kills himself.

BUT the great men of Adiabene, notwithstanding this disappointment, and that providence had laid them at the king's mercy, would not yet desist from their designs; but in a supplicatory letter to Vologesus, the king of the Parthians, begg'd of him to find some way to rid them of Izates, by taking them into his own protection, and appointing whom he thought fit of his own nation to rule over them; for "the king (they said) was an apostate from the religion they were brought up in, and all the people hated him for it." This put the Parthian upon picking a quarrel with Izates, though without any colourable pretence in the world. The first thing he did toward the execution of his purpose, was a revocation of all the honours and advantages which his own father had confer'd upon him, together with the menace of an immediate war, if he should but dare in any sort to dispute his pleasure. This message gave Izates a great deal of uneasiness upon several accounts. It would have been a mean thing, he thought, to be frighted into a resignation of the privileges he was so duly possess'd of, and had so well deserv'd: And then he knew very well again on the other hand, that even in case of a compliance, that submission would not avail any thing. So that setting one thing against another, he came in the end to this positive resolution, that he would commit all to providence; and in a full dependance upon God's assistance, he would cast life, honour and fortune upon the issue of a battle. In this determination, he secur'd his wives and his children in a strong castle; laid up great magazines and stores of corn, and other necessaries in the best forts he had; burnt and destroy'd all the forage and hay round about him, and so stood firm, and in a posture to receive the enemy. The Parthian had drawn together a mighty army of horse and foot sooner than people could have imagined, and pitch'd his tents upon the bank of a river that parts Adiabene from Media: Izates encamping also not far from thence, with a body of about six thousand horse. Vologesus gave him to understand by a messenger, that he was now advancing against him with the whole force of the empire from Bactria to Euphrates, to call him to an account for his ingratitude to his masters, and that it was not in the power of the God he trusted in to save him. Izates gave the messenger this answer, That he did not pretend to vie numbers with him, but that he was under the protection of a God that was not to be controul'd by any human power. With this return he dispatch'd away the herald, and prostrating himself upon the ground, his head cover'd with ashes, and himself, his wives, and his children, fasting and praying, he call'd upon God, as follows. "Blessed Lord, (says he) whom never any creature lov'd and serv'd in vain, vouchsafe in mercy to look down upon thy servant, that hath now wholly cast himself upon thy Almighty power and infinite goodness, and deliver him out of the hands of his enemies; repress their presumptuous boldness, and not so much for my sake, as for the vindication of thy own honour, avenge thyself upon them for their blasphemous outrages against thy Almighty power. The prayers and

The great men of Adiabene press Vologesus to deliver them from Izates.

Vologesus makes void all grants to Izates, and menaces a war.

Izates resolves upon a battle. Both sides prepare for a war.

The Parthians encamp upon a river that parts Adiabene and Media; and Izates not far off. The Parthian's blasphemous defiance.

The modesty of Izates.

Izates's prayer and humiliation.

Vardanes makes war upon Izates.

Vardanes cut off, and the government transfer'd to his brother Gotarza. Gotarza cut off too, and his brother Vologesus succeeds him. The government divided betwixt Pacorus and Tiridates. The exemplary piety of Izates creates a veneration for his religion.

Abias tempted by treachery to make war upon Izates.

Izates finds out the conspiracy, and punishes the heads of it.

Abias routed, and his army cut to pieces. Izates takes Arsamus.

His prayer is heard; and the Parthians draw off.

Izates dies, Monobazus succeeds him.

The mother returns to Adiabene, and does not long survive. The mother and brother buried at Jerusalem.

Theudas takes upon him to work miracles. The people follow him; but Fadus scatters them with a troop of horse; cuts off Theudas's head, and exposes it for a spectacle.

and humiliation of this good man were so remarkably heard and accepted, that upon intelligence, the very same night, of the Dahe, and the Sace (people of Scythia) falling into Parthia with a strong army, and ravaging the country now in the king's absence, Vologesus was fain to draw off his army, and leave his work undone, to encounter this diversion; which was a most evident indication of a providence in Izates's favour.

Nor long after, this religious prince died, having lived 55 years, and reign'd 24, leaving twenty-four sons behind him, but yet appointing his brother Monobazus for his successor, as a just acknowledgment of the honour and integrity of his behaviour, in delivering up the crown which upon the death of their father he was possessed of in trust, during his absence. The mother Helen could not but be infinitely afflicted for the loss of so dear and dutiful a son; but it was a great ease to her heart yet, to find that the elder brother succeeded to the government. So that the next thing she did, was to find him out and go to him. She return'd upon this, to Adiabene, and did not long survive her son Izates after it. Monobazus sent the bones of his brother and his mother away to Jerusalem, to be deposited in the pyramids that he had built there, being three in number, and a matter of three furlongs from the place. The history of Monobazus we shall have elsewhere.

WHILE Fadus was governor of Judea, a certain impostor, whose name was Theudas, set up for a prophet, and drew great multitudes after him, upon a pretence that if they would follow him to the river Jordan, and take their goods along with them, he would but give the word, and the waters should divide, and leave them a passage to go over dry foot. This impostor had a world of followers, but their folly and madness cost them dear, for Fadus turning loose some troops of horse among them before they were aware, many of them were kill'd, divers taken alive, and among the rest, Theudas, whose head they cut off, and carried for a spectacle in triumph to Jerusalem. This happened when Cuspius Fadus had the administration of Judea.

CHAP. III.

Tiberius Alexander succeeds Cuspius Fadus. A great famine in Judea. James and Simon crucified. Cyrenius taxes Galilee. Joseph removed from the pontificate, and Ananias set up. Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander. The death of Herod the brother of Agrippa. He leaves three sons; Aristobulus, Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus. Claudius gives the government to Agrippa the younger.

Tiberius Alexander succeeds Cuspius Fadus.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER succeeded Fadus, the son of that Alexander who executed the office of Alabarches at Alexandria, the richest Citizen of his time, and a much better man for religion than his son, who turned apostate. The great famine in Judea that we have spoken of before, when the charitable queen Helen put herself to so

vast an expence for corn out of Egypt for their relief, happened in his time. And it was at the same time also, that Alexander caused to be crucified, James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee, who, while Cyrenius was taxing Galilee, lay tampering of the Jews into a defection from the Romans.

HEROD the king of Chalcis deposed Joseph the son of Camydus from the pontificate, and appointed Ananias the son of Nebedus to succeed him. Cumanus came after Tiberius Alexander: And at the same time Herod the brother of Agrippa the great departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius, leaving three sons behind him; Aristobulus by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus by Berenice his brother's daughter; but the government was given by Claudius Cesar to Agrippa the younger.

UNDER the administration of Cumanus, there fell out a sedition at Jerusalem, that cost a great many Jews their lives, upon this occasion, as follows.

CHAP. IV.

The feast of the passover brings up vast multitudes to Jerusalem; so that Cumanus set a guard upon the temple to prevent tumults. A brutal affront of a soldier upon the temple, imputed to Cumanus, &c. A soldier in a rage tears the books of Moses to pieces. The Jews go in multitudes to Cumanus for justice. The offender's head is struck off, to prevent more mischief.

THE Pascal feast, or the Jews feast of unleaven bread, being now at hand, brought up vast multitudes of people to the solemnity. Cumanus thought it good discretion, for fear of any disturbance, to set a company of soldiers for a guard upon the temple, sufficient to quiet a tumult if any disorder should happen: Which was no more than what had been done by his predecessors on the like occasion. Upon the 4th day of the festival, a soldier exposed himself to the people quite naked, which put them into an outrageous exclamation against the beastly insolence of the affront; not so much upon them, as upon God himself, to whose honour this feast was dedicated. And some among them that were bolder than the rest, rail'd at Cumanus, as if the soldier durst not have ventured to have done it of himself without his encouragement. Cumanus was highly provok'd to have so scandalous a reproach cast upon him; but however giving them gentle language, he desir'd them not to do any thing at such a time and place that might look like sedition. But he quickly found that gentleness would do no good, for instead of being quieter, they gave him more abusive language than before. Whereupon he commanded the whole army into the castle of Antonia, which we have as he said before, overlooks the temple. The common people were so terribly frighted upon the advance of these soldiers, that they shifted away as fast as they could; and pressing upon one another thorough several strait and narrow passages, so

James and Simon crucified.

Cyrenius takes Galilee Joseph removed from the pontificate, and Ananias set up. Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander. The death of Herod.

He leaves three sons Claudius gives the government to Agrippa the younger.

Cumanus sets a guard upon the temple

A soldier exposes himself naked. All people exclaim against the affront. Some impute it to Cumanus.

He resents the scandal, and the people fare the worse for't.

The army order'd into Castle Antonia. The people endeavour to get away.

* Three furlongs amount to three fourths of half an english mile.

† See Turnebus's Adversaria, l. 27. c. 25. Alabarches, or rather Arabarches, which is the correcter way of writing it, is a Greek word, and signifies a chief publican or tax-gatherer.

20000 smothered to death in the crowd.

many of them were thrown down, and trod under foot by their own people, taking it to be the pursuit of the enemy, that there were twenty thousand persons smother'd and trampled to death in the crowd; which turn'd the festival into a day of mourning, and quitting their prayers and their sacrifices, they gave themselves up wholly to out-cries and lamentations. And all this mischief from the impudence of one bestial soldier.

A domestick of Cesar's robbed, and stript upon the highway.

Cumanus revenged upon the neighbouring villages.

A soldier tears the books of Moses to pieces.

The Jews go to Cumanus for justice.

The offender's head struck off to prevent mischief.

This calamity was hardly over, but it was immediately follow'd by another; for some of those that had escaped being squeezed to death in the press, and got a matter of a hundred furlongs from the town, finding a certain domestick of the emperor's travelling upon the high-way, whose name was Stephen, they assaulted him, stript him, and took away all he had. The report of this robbery coming to Cumanus, he presently sent away soldiers to the place where it was committed, with orders to rifle all the villages & abouts, and to bring away some of the principal inhabitants prisoners. In the heat of the pillage and havoc there was a soldier there had the fortune to light upon the books of Moses among other plunder. He brought them out, and when he had storm'd and raged like a madman, against both the laws themselves, and the whole nation of the Jews, he tore them all to pieces in the face of the people. The story of this insolence and contempt was no sooner brought to the Jews, but they immediately gather'd together in multitudes, and went with their complaint to Cumanus, who was then at Cesarea, desiring him to do them right upon the rioter, not as in a private injury, but in the cause of God himself. The governor durst not deny them justice, for fear of a popular revolt; but upon advice with his friends, had the criminal's head struck off for the violation of the law, and so put a stop to the progress of another tumult.

of Samaria to Jerusalem, upon the celebration of their festivals, they happened to pass one time by a village called Nais, under the jurisdiction of Samaria, and situated in the great plain, where there fell out a quarrel betwixt the passengers and the villagers, and several of the Galileans were slain. Some of the chief among them took this affront in such indignation, that they animated the Jews to take up arms, and with sword in hand to assert their liberties. Slavery, they told them, was at best scandalous and troublesome; but when that servitude is accompanied with arbitrary injustice, it becomes altogether intolerable. The magistrates did what they could to make things easy, and undertook so far for Cumanus, that he should give them satisfaction upon the authors of this tumult. But the people were deaf to all terms of pacification. Nothing but arms would serve their turn, and they made choice of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, to head them. This Eleazar had been for several years a mountaineer, and one that made it his profession to live upon spoil, particularly ravaging up and down in Samaria with fire and sword. Cumanus, being given to understand the present posture of affairs, drew out some squadrons of horse from Sebaste, and four companies of foot, with a body of the Samaritans in arms, and so advanced upon the Jews, kill'd a great many of them, and took more prisoners.

Several Galileans slain

The Jews animated to take up arms.

They chuse Eleazar, for their leader.

Cumanus puts the mutineers to the rout.

THEIR condition was now so hopeless and forlorn that the best men among them, for sobriety, sense, and quality, betook themselves to prayer and humiliation in sack-cloth and ashes, for the averting of those dreadful judgments that hung over their heads; not omitting at the same time such popular arts and arguments, as were most likely to bring the multitude to better reason. As for example: They set before them the desolation of their country, the burning and demolishing of their temple, the carrying captive and enslaving of their wives and children to profane nations; begging of them upon the whole matter, as ever they lov'd their country, their lives, liberties, families, laws, and religion, to betake themselves to more moderate councils for the future, and peaceably to go back again to their own houses, lay down their arms, and be quiet. This way of reasoning brought them so far to their wits again, that the common people withdrew, and the tumult dissolv'd; the rovers returning to their old quarters and trade again; from which time forward Judea became a nest of thieves.

The multitude unruly and all arts us'd to pacify them.

CHAP. V.

A quarrel betwixt the Jews and the Samaritans, &c. The Samaritans complain of the Jews to Numidius Quadratus, &c. Several Samaritans and Jews sent to be try'd by Cesar, &c. Cumanus banished, &c. Claudius Felix sent governor into Judea, &c. Felix in love with Drusilla, &c. Agrippa and his wife buried under Vesuvius, &c. The death of Claudius Cesar; suspected to be poisoned, &c. Domitian, afterwards Nero, by Claudius's adoption. By Messalina Claudius had Britannicus and Octavia. He puts Messalina his former wife to death for jealousy. His daughter Antonia by Petronia marry'd to Nero. Agrippina bent upon advancing of her son, &c. Nero proclaim'd emperor, &c. The death of Azizus, king of the Emesenes, &c. Nero gives the Less Armenia to Aristobulus, and part of Galilee to Agrippa, &c.

A quarrel betwixt the Jews and Samaritans of Nais.

AFTER this was over there arose a dissention betwixt the Samaritans and the Jews; and upon this occasion. It being usual for the Galileans to travel by the way

THE heads of Samaria went now in a body to * Numidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, (being then at Tyre) with a complaint against the Jews for firing and rifling their villages; which they were not so much troubled at, they said, upon their own account, as for the encroachment upon the sovereign authority of Rome, which had singly and solely the cognisance of cases of that quality: But these people, they said, ran burning and rifling up and down, and took upon themselves to be their own judges, as if the Roman magistracy had been no more than a mere cypher. This was their case, they said, and

The Samaritans complain of the Jews for burning their villages.

They call for justice upon them.

* An hundred furlongs amounted to almost twelve English miles and three quarters.

* Salmastius shews that it should be read Umidius Quadratus. See his annotations upon Elius Spartianus.

The Jews
blame Cu-
manus.

The Samari-
tans guilty of
a riot.

Another
hearing at
Lydda.

Dortus and
four more put
to death for
federation.

Ananias and
Ananus sent
bound to
Rome.

Time and
place ap-
pointed for
their trial.

Agrippa en-
gages Agrip-
pina in their
favour.

Claudius
hears both
sides himself.

The Samari-
tans con-
demn'd to
die.
Cumanus ban-
nish'd.
Celer drag-
ged to death
thro' the
streets.
Claudius Fe-
lix sent into
Judea.

they came to their governor only for justice. When the Samaritans had exhibited their case, and had set forth their grievance, the Jews, on the other side, turned the whole blame, both of the riot and of the combat, upon the plaintiffs; but laying the main stress of the charge upon Cumanus, who had been brib'd, they said, into a connivance at a most notorious and bloody outrage. Quadratus, upon this accusation and reply, adjourn'd the hearing, telling both parties, that he would go into Judea himself, and upon a perfect knowledge of the whole truth, pass judgment accordingly; so that there was nothing more done at this time. Quadratus went a little after this into Samaria, and upon hearing the cause, found the Samaritans guilty of the riot. He was informed likewise of a practice among the Jews to raise a commotion, and caused several prisoners that Cumanus had taken into custody to be crucify'd. He went from thence to Lydda, a borough that might pass for a considerable city; where he heard the Samaritans case once over again; and understanding from a certain Samaritan that one Dortus, an eminent Jew, with four more of his own tribe, had encouraged the people to an insurrection, he caused them all to be put to death: But as for Ananias the high-priest, and Ananus the captain, he sent them bound to Rome, to answer for themselves before Cesar. He sent also into Italy the chief of the Samaritans and the Jews, with Cumanus the governor, and Celer a tribune, in order to the decision of all their controversies before the emperor. After this, he went to Jerusalem, for fear of new broils there; but finding all things in peace and quiet, and the Jews so wholly intent upon celebrating their feast of the passover, and sacrifices, that they minded nothing else, he let them alone in the free exercise of their profession, and went back to Antioch.

CUMANUS and the Samaritans, being now come to Rome, they were order'd to appear upon the day and place, set for their trial, having made so great an interest beforehand with the freemen and friends of Cesar, that they would probably have carry'd the cause, if it had not been for Agrippa the younger, who was at that time at Rome. This Agrippa, finding the Jews in danger to be oppress'd by power, made application to Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, with earnest importunities to press her husband for a fair and impartial hearing, and for justice upon the criminals, whoever they should be found to be. Claudius was so far prevail'd upon by this intercession, that he heard both sides in form; and finding upon the whole matter that the Samaritans began the tumult, judgment pass'd against the plaintiffs; so that they were condemn'd to die, Cumanus to be banish'd, and Celer the tribune, to be carry'd to Jerusalem, and dragg'd to death through the streets, in the face of all the people. Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, was then then sent governor into Judea.

THIS prince, in the twelfth year of his reign, bestow'd upon Agrippa the tetrarchy

of Philip and Batanea, with Trachonitis and * Abila, which had been formerly the tetrarchy of Lysanias: But he took away Chalcis from him, when it had been four years under his government. This young man, after all these grants and bounties conferr'd upon him by Cesar, marry'd his sister Drusilla to Azizus, king of the Emesenes, who was now become a proselyted Jew. She had been promis'd before to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, upon his promise to embrace the Jewish religion: But upon his refusal to come over, the match broke off. As for Mariamne, another of the sisters, he marry'd her to Archelaus the son of Chelcias, to whom she had been contracted some time before, by her father Agrippa; and he had by this lady a daughter, call'd Berenice.

It was not long after this that Drusilla and Azizus were parted, and it happen'd thus: Drusilla was look'd upon to be the greatest beauty of her time. Felix the governor of Judea thought her so, and fell passionately in love with her: So he call'd Simon his particular friend to him (a Jew of Cyprus, and one that had the reputation of a famous magician) and gave him in confidence the story of his amour, with instructions to try if he could get her off from her other husband to marry him, who would certainly make her the happiest creature under the heavens. Drusilla, finding herself very uneasy under the restless importunities of her sister Berenice, unadvisedly entertained the proposition, renouncing her religion as well as her husband, and married Felix, by whom she had a son called Agrippa, who, in the days of Titus Cesar, and in the prime of his youth, together with his wife, were both bury'd under a fiery eruption from the mountain Vesuvius, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter.

As for Berenice, she liv'd a widow some considerable time after the death of Herod, who was both her husband and her uncle; but falling under a scandalous report of an incestuous familiarity with her brother, she thought herself of the most decent way how to wipe off that slander, which was by getting Polemon the king of Cilicia to turn Jew, and take her to his wife, which would pass for a confutation of the rumour. Polemon consented, and for the fortune's sake, marry'd the woman. But Berenice being a lady that did not love to have her appetite restrain'd, quickly parted with her husband; and he at the same time, with his religion. Mariamne grew as weary of Archelaus too, and chang'd her bed-fellow for Demetrius, the most eminent Jew of Alexandria, as well for extraction as estate; and at that time † Alabarches of this place. By this husband she had Agrippinus; of whom we shall say more in due time and place.

CLAUDIUS Cesar reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, and then dy'd; not without a strong presumption of being poison'd by his wife. She was the daughter of Germanicus the emperor's brother. Her first husband was Domitius Enobarbus, one of the greatest men in Rome, who deceased and left her a widow; in which state she continued a

Drusilla, Agrippa's sister, marries Azizus, a new converted Jew.

Mariamne marries Archelaus.

Drusilla and Azizus part.

Felix in love with Drusilla. He makes Simon the confident of his passion.

Drusilla quits both religion and husband, and marries Felix.

Agrippa and his wife bury'd under Vesuvius.

Berenice suspected of incest, marries Polemon, and makes him a Jew.

Berenice and her husband part.

Mariamne leaves Archelaus for Demetrius.

The death of Claudius Cesar; suspected to be poison'd.

Domitius Enobarbus her first husband.

* In the Greek *Ἀβίλα*, yet Abila seems to be the true reading. See Berkellius's notes upon Steph. Byzant. p. 9.

† This word, as we've observ'd above, p. 490. signifies a chief publican or tax-gatherer, but is here put for chief governor of the Jews in Alexandria. See Turnebus's Adversaria, l. xx. c. 25.

She had a son by Domitius.

Messalina put to death for jealousy.

His daughter Antonia married to Nero.

She consults the death of Claudius, and the succession of Nero at once.

Nero proclaimed emperor.

The new emperor poisons Britannicus. He murders his own mother. Puts Octavia to death.

The death of Azizus. His brother succeeds.

good while, till Claudius marry'd her. She had a son by Domitius, that was called after his father's name, which was afterwards chang'd for Nero, upon Claudius adopting him into his family. This emperor had a former wife, whose name was Messalina, by whom he had children, * Britannicus and Octavia. This Messalina Claudius put to death out of jealousy; but for his daughter Antonia, whom he had by Petronia, a former wife, and the eldest child he had, he married her to Nero, which was the name he gave to his adopted son.

AGRIPPINA'S heart was set upon the advancing her own son to the empire; and therefore, it is said, she consulted the death of Claudius, and the securing of the succession to Nero, both at the same time, for fear Germanicus should interpose and supplant him. She had gotten currius, Captain of the guards, the great officers, tribunes, friends and favourites, all in readiness, as soon as ever the breath was out of Claudius's body, to carry Nero to the soldiers and proclaim him emperor. This they did, and this being done, his first exploit after his elevation, was the secret poisoning of Britannicus, which was follow'd not long after, with the barefac'd murder of his own mother, in requital, both of the life she had given him, and of the empire also that she had procured him. He put his wife Octavia to death, and divers persons of the first rank for integrity and honour, upon senseless and fictitious pretences of plots against his person. But we have had the history of Nero over and over so often already from other hands, that there needs no more be said upon the subject: Some indeed are as extravagant in the fulsome extreme of panegyrick and flattery, as others in the contrary excess of rage and prejudice, and the truth lost betwixt them, which is an intemperance not to be endur'd in an historian: But I do not so much wonder at these falsities in the case of Nero, when I consider that betwixt partiality and prepossession, without any interest in the good or bad of the story, historians have as little regarded the matter of fact in the lives of his predecessors. But for those who care not what they write, let them write what they think fit, since that liberty pleases them. For my own part, my business is to relate nothing but what appears to be downright matter of fact, strictly adhering to the naked truth, and aiming at as much brevity and conciseness as the subject will allow, where any thing falls in by the by. But as to what concerns our own nation, I shall be very particular and plain, without either suppressing our misfortunes, or palliating our mistakes.

To return now to my text, Azizus, the king of the Emisenes, died in the first year of Nero, and his brother succeeded him; and Nero gave the Less Armenia to Aristobulus, the son of Herod king of Chalcis: He gave also to Agrippa a part of Galilee, subjecting likewise Tiberias and Taricheæ to his government, with an addition of Julias beyond Jordan, and of fourteen villages more under that jurisdiction.

CHAP. VI.

Judea infested with robbers and impostors, &c. Dora of Jerusalem in great credit with Jonathan. Felix agrees with Dora, to have him made away. Jonathan stabb'd by ruffians, &c. A false prophet draws the people after him, &c. A dispute betwixt the Cesarean and the Syrian Jews, &c. They fall to blows. Felix turns the soldiers upon them, Agrippa gives the high-priesthood to Ismael. The high-priests divide from the other priests. They walk with a guard; take away their tythes, and starve the rest.

THE state of affairs in Judea grew every day worse and worse, and the land was quite over-run with robbers, impostors, and seducers, who drew the people after them in shoals, though there hardly pass'd a day, but Felix put to death some or other of the gang; and Eleazar, the son of Dineus, captain of a considerable band among them, he got alive into his hands by downright breach of faith: For Felix gave him a solemn invitation to come over to him upon the parole of a man of honour, that he should be safe and free to all manner of purposes; but as soon as he had got him in his power, he sent him away presently to Rome. Neither could Felix endure Jonathan the high-priest, for he would be still minding him of his male-administration, and that the people, by whose interest chiefly and recommendation he came to the government, being disobligh'd and offended with his misconduct, would be sure to charge all publick miscarriages upon him. Felix took all good counsel of this kind for reproach, and therefore contriv'd with himself how he might get quit of these ungrateful importunities; for wicked men do not love to hear often of their faults. As he was thus bethinking himself, it came in his head that there was one Dora of Jerusalem, a man that was look'd upon to be much in credit with Jonathan: So he tempted this Dora with the promise of a considerable sum of money, if he could get Jonathan dispatch'd out of the way; as there were bravo's enough to be had for such an exploit. Dora undertook the commission, and by this means the business was brought about. There was a certain crew of ruffians, with privy daggers under their coats, that went up to Jerusalem under pretence of devotion. These villains intermixing themselves in company with Jonathan's train, took their opportunity, and stabb'd the high-priest in the crowd, and so came off without ever being call'd to an account for that sacrilegious murder. This impunity prov'd such an encouragement to other villainies of the like kind, that the same pretence and disguise was made use of afterward, upon such festival occasions, for the cutting of throats, whether for money or for private revenge, or upon what other consideration soever; and this not only up and down in several parts of the city, but in the very temple itself; as if the holiness of the place were to be a protection to so execrable an impiety. And now what wonder is it, after the practice and sufferance of such abominable prophanations and pollutions, for God

Judea infested with robbers, impostors, and seducers.

Felix breaks his parole, and seizes Eleazar.

Dora of Jerusalem much in credit with Jonathan. Felix agrees with Dora to have him made away.

Jonathan stabb'd by ruffians in disguise of pilgrims. This method of villany brought into precedent.

in this wrath to deliver up his city, and his own house into the hands of the Romans, to be purg'd with expiatory flames; the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children to be condemn'd to misery and bondage; to bring them to a right application of the providence, and so to sanctify the affliction to them.

Thieves and murderers at work in one place, magicians and impostors in another.

A false prophet inveigles the people up to mount Olivet, &c. Pretends that they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall to the ground. Felix routs the rabble: But the prophet escapes.

WHILE the thieves and murders were at work in one place, there were magicians and impostors as busy in another, the multitude following them in droves into solitudes and deserts to see the signs and miracles they promised them; but they paid dear for their curiosity, for they were presently taken up by the order of Felix, and divers of them put to death. There came at the same time a certain person out of Egypt to Jerusalem, setting up for a prophet, and inviting the common people to follow him up to the top of mount Olivet, * five furlongs from the city; for when he came thither he would but say the word, he said, and they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall flat to the ground, and make way for them to enter the city through the ruins. When Felix came to hear of this adventure, he made his soldiers stand to their arms; and breaking in upon them with horse and foot, routed the rabble, kill'd four hundred upon the place, took two hundred of them alive; but the Egyptian that led them escaped.

THE thieves were now tampering the people yet once again into a rebellion against the Romans; notwithstanding their late defeat. "The yoke was intolerable, (they said) why did they not shake it off?" And at this rate they went railing up and down from place to place, burning and pillaging all that would not join with them.

A squabble betwixt the Cesarean and the Syrian Jews, about privileges.

THERE fell out another unlucky dissention at the same time too, betwixt the Cesarean Jews and the Syrians, upon the question of some certain privileges. The Jews claimed a precedency in the right of their king Herod as the first founder of that city, which the Syrians did not deny; but not of the tower of Stratton, they said, which was originally the name of the place, before ever any Jew had set footing there. When the report of this controversy came to the knowledge of the neighbouring governors, they caused the incendiaries on both sides to be taken up, and whipt, which for a while put some stop to the tumult: But the town Jews, after all this, valuing themselves upon their wealth, fell to vilifying and reproaching the Syrians with foul language, who returned it again upon the Jews, having several soldiers among them to supply with confidence what they wanted in matter of estate; so that giving the Jews as good as they brought, the brawl proceeded from words to stones, and from thence to blows, till in the end several were kill'd and wounded on both sides, but the Jews had the better of it. When Felix found that this controversy was already advanced to a little kind of war, he press'd it with great instance to the Jews that they would let fall the dispute; but when he saw words would do no good, he sent armed troops among them, who killed a great many of them, took more prisoners,

The incendiaries on both sides taken up and whipt.

They fall to blows.

Felix turns the soldiers upon them, and gives them the booty.

and gave the soldiers the rifling of several rich houses for their booty. The modest and the more honourable part of the Jews, for fear of worse consequences, went to Felix, and begg'd of him to call off his soldiers before it went too far, and while they had time to bethink themselves and repent.

KING Agrippa at the same time gave the high priesthood to Ismael, the son of Phabeus, and the high-priests themselves began to divide from the other priests, and the governors of Jerusalem; every man taking a guard along with him of the boldest, and the most seditious fellows they could pick up; railing and throwing stones at one another, and no more care taken to keep the peace than if the city had been entirely without magistracy. Nay, such was the impudence of the high-priests, that they sent their servants up and down into barns to take away the priests tythes; insomuch that the poorer sort of that holy order perished for want of bread. Thus it was, and thus it must be, where the violence of faction gets the upper hand of justice.

Agrippa gives the high-priesthood to Ismael the son of Phabeus. The high priests divide, walk with a guard, take away the tythes, and starve the other priests.

CHAP. VII.

The Cesarean Jews complain to Cesar of Felix, &c. Judea over-run with vagabonds, &c. Agrippa builds a palace that overlooks the temple. The Jews are disgusted at it, and run a wall betwixt them to hinder the view. Festus orders the wall to be taken down. The Jews got leave to move Cesar about it: And so they sent ten eminent citizens, with Ismael and Chelcias, as their commissioners. The empress Poppea sets all right with Nero, and keeps Chelcias and Ismael for hostages. The pontificate transferr'd to Joseph.

FELIX, being now remov'd from his government, and Porcius Festus substituted by Nero in his place, some of the principal Cesarean Jews made a journey to Rome together, to accuse Felix: And they would undoubtedly have crush'd him to death, for the violence and injustice of his behaviour toward the Jews, if his brother Pallas, who was at that time in great favour with Nero, had not obtained his pardon.

The Cesarean Jews complain to Cesar of Felix. Pallas obtained his pardon.

THERE were two eminent Syrians of Cesarea, who by a mighty sum of money, made such an interest with Beryllus, tutor to Nero, and his Greek secretary, that he got the emperor's letter mandatory to Cesarea for the disfranchising of the Jews, and abrogating all the privileges that they pretended to within that city; which privileges had been hitherto in common, both to Jews and Syrians. This was granted him without any difficulty; and that grant was the root of all the calamities that afterward beset us: For the Cesarean Jews would never be quiet after this letter, till it came to a direct war.

Beryllus gets a mandate for disfranchising the Jews.

WHEN Festus came into Judea, he found all in desolation and distress, the country laid waste, the people forced from their habitations, their houses expos'd to fire and pillage, and all at the mercy of a brutal rout of vagabonders.

Festus finds Judea over-run with vagabonds and Freebooters.

* Five furlongs is half an English mile, six paces and a furlong.

bond free-booters, that ravag'd up and down there in great numbers at pleasure. These robbers by the Romans were called * Sicarii from Sica, or the short sword they wore; a weapon bending toward the point, and betwixt a Persian scymitar, and the Roman dagger. With these weapons they did terrible execution by thrusting themselves into crouds upon great days when the city was throng'd under a colour of religion; and dispatching whom they pleas'd in that confusion, without any difficulty, or danger of discovery. But other whiles again they fell barefac'd with fire and sword as into an enemy's quarter, and carry'd all before them.

A noted impostor inveigles the multitude into the wilderness. Festus destroys both leader and followers. Agrippa builds a magnificent palace.

THERE was in those days a famous seducer who drew after him great numbers of people, whom he had deluded into an opinion, that if they did but follow him into such a wilderness, no harm should ever befall them; but Festus, with a detachment of horse and foot, put a stop to the procession, and destroy'd master and disciples all together.

KING Agrippa caused to be erected near the porch of the royal palace at Jerusalem, belonging formerly to the Aslamonean family, a stately magnificent fabrick. It stood upon an eminence, with a noble prospect into the city, and was so contrived that the king out of his bed-chamber could see every thing that pass'd in the temple, which was a thing he took great delight in. But on the other side, the principal men among the Jews were as much offended at it. For according to our laws we do not allow of any spectators upon our holy rites and ceremonies, and more especially our sacrifices: so that, for prevention sake, they ran up a high wall before the seats that inclosed the inward part of the temple toward the west; which did not only obstruct the view from the king's bed-chamber, but the sight also of the galleries to the westward on the other side of the temple, where the Roman guards us'd to stand upon high-days for the security of the place. The king took this very ill; and Festus, worse: insomuch that he order'd the wall to be taken down again. The citizens made answer, that their lives were not so dear to them as their temple; and therefore they humbly desired time and leave to send their deputies to Cesar about it, before any thing should be put in execution. This liberty being granted them, they sent to the emperor ten eminent citizens, with Ismael the high-priest, and Chelcias the treasurer of the temple, as their commissioners. Nero did not only pass over what they had done, but effectually qualify'd it in permitting them to continue the wall as it was. This boon was granted them upon the intercession of the empress Poppea, a pious woman, in favour of the Jews. The ten deputies were allow'd to come back again, but Poppea detained Chelcias and Ismael as hostages. When Agrippa came to understand what pass'd, he transfer'd the pontificate to Joseph, otherwise call'd Cabis, the son of Simon, formerly high-priest.

The Jews grumble at it.

The Jews run up a wall betwixt them.

Festus orders the wall to be taken down. The Jews send to Cesar about it. They send ten citizens; Ismael, and Chelcias, as their commissioners.

The empress Poppea sets all right again. Chelcias, and Ismael kept for hostages. The pontificate transfer'd to Joseph.

place, &c. Ananus calls a council, and cites James the brother of Jesus, to appear before him upon a charge of blasphemy, &c. Albinus writes a threatening letter to Ananus. Agrippa puts him from the pontificate, and gives it to Jesus the son of Damneus, &c. He takes the high-priesthood from Jesus the son of Damneus, and gives it to Jesus the son of Gamaliel, &c. Gessius Florus succeeds Albinus. Privileges allow'd to the singing men of the tribe of Levi, &c. The temple finished. The Jews petition for leave to repair the porch, and Agrippa refuses it, &c. The high-priesthood transfer'd from Jesus the son of Gamaliel, to Jesus the son of Theophilus. The war betwixt the Romans and the Jews. The original, and number of the high-priests, &c. From Aaron to Phanias, eighty three in number. The government at first, Aristocratical, next monarchical; and then, to the title of kings. The history of the pontificate.

NERO receiving the news of Festus's death, gave his government to Albinus. Agrippa, at the same time, degraded Joseph, and elevated Ananus, the son of Ananus, to the pontificate in his stead. This Ananus, the father, was look'd upon as one of the happiest men living: for he had five sons that came successively to the pontificate after him, which no man alive could say but himself. The Ananus we are now speaking of, was naturally of a fierce, and enterprising disposition, by sect a Sadducee, the most censorious and uncharitable sort of people upon the face of the earth, as we have said elsewhere. This being his way and opinion, he took his opportunity in the interval betwixt the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus (who was as yet but upon the way) to call a council together with the assistance of the judges; and to cite James, the brother of Jesus which was called Christ, with some others, to appear before them, and answer to a charge of blasphemy, and breach of the law; whereupon, they were condemn'd, and deliver'd up to be stoned. This was so offensive and surprizing a way of proceeding to all the honest and conscientious part of the city, that they presently sent the king private notice of it as a very ill thing done; with a request that Ananus might have a check for it, and a caution never to do any such thing again for the future. Others were sent with an account of it to Albinus, who was then upon his journey to Alexandria, representing it as an usurpation and encroachment upon his authority; for without his consent it ought not to have been done. Albinus took this so heinously, that he wrote an angry menacing letter to the high-priest upon it; and king Agrippa at the end of three months remov'd him from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jesus the son of Damneus.

ALBINUS was no sooner come to Jerusalem, but he apply'd himself with all possible care and diligence, to the quieting of the province, and began the work with suppressing and cutting off the robbers. Ananias the high-priest, at the same rate, made himself so popular by his affability and bounty, that he became every day more and more the darling of the people; still plying Albinus the high-priest with

Festus dies, and Albinus succeeds. Ananus put in Joseph's place.

Ananus fierce bloody, and a sadducee.

Ananus calls a council, and cites James the brother of Jesus, &c. to appear before him. The charge is blasphemy, breach of the law, and they are sentenc'd to be ston'd.

Albinus writes a menacing letter to Ananus. Agrippa puts him from the pontificate, and gives it to Jesus.

CHAP. VIII.

Festus dies, and Albinus succeeds him. Agrippa discharges Joseph, and puts Ananus in his

* See Drusus de tribus sectis Judaeorum, l. 2. c. 24.

respects and presents: but he had a company of lewd servants about him, who, joining with others as bad as themselves, went ranging about from one barn to another, and forced away the priests tithes from them; beating and wounding those that refused to deliver them. There were other high-priests also with their servants, who did the same thing too, for there was no body to controul them: the priests being ready to starve all this while, having nothing but their tenths to live upon.

ONE night upon an holiday-eve, the robbers stole privately into the city, and surprized the secretary of Eleazar, an army officer, and the son of Ananias the high-priest. They took him alive, bound him, and carry'd him away; and then sent Ananias word, that if he could get Albinus to discharge half a score of their companions that he had then custody, the secretary should be set at liberty. The necessity was so pressing that Albinus could not well refuse the gratifying of Ananias under the present circumstances; tho' the granting of this request proved of very ill consequence in the end. For when the highwaymen had found out the way of compounding their villanies, they were never without one invention or another to secure some of Ananias's relations for a pawn, which they never parted with but for some of their own comrades in exchange. By this way of proceeding they grew bold and strong, and laid the whole country desolate.

KING Agrippa had now enlarged Cesarea Philippi, and given it the name of Neronias in honour of Nero. He built also at Berytus, a most magnificent and costly theatre, which he endow'd with a vast sum of money for the celebration of the yearly shows, and the distribution of doles of corn and oil among the people, in such a proportion by the head. He caused the city also to be beautify'd and adorn'd all over, with curiosities of statues and pictures, and such a collection of antique pieces and originals from the hands of the greatest masters in their several kinds, that this town was, in truth, the store-house of all that was rare and precious in the kingdom: but by this way of taking from his own people to gratify strangers, and of beggaring the one to the advantage of the other, he utterly lost himself in the hearts of his subjects.

HE took away the pontificate from Jesus the son of Damneus, and gave it to Jesus the son of Gamaliel; which created such a feud between them, that they hardly walk'd the streets without a crew of ruffians at their heels, reproaching and railing still at one another as they met: sometimes with hard words, and sometimes it came again to stones; but Ananias, who had the most money, got consequently the strongest party.

COSTOBARUS and Saul, being both of the blood royal, and nearly related to Agrippa, had a very great interest too, and each of them a band of bravo's at his back to execute his commands, and to fight his quarrels. They were naturally insolent and rapacious, where they had to do with poor people that they might trample upon. From this juncture it is

that we may date the mortal declension of our common-wealth, which from this time forward sunk still from bad to worse.

WHEN Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he had no better way, he thought, to ingratiate himself with the Jews, than to do justice upon the people, that he had in custody. So he caused all the prisoners to be brought before him, and upon examination of matters, proceeded against them according to their demerits: putting to death those that were manifestly guilty of capital crimes, and discharging the rest, who were in only for misdemeanors, upon fine and ransom. This was a way to clear the prisons, and likewise to stock the country with an increase of thieves.

THOSE of the tribe of Levi, who officiated in the temple as singing-men, besought the king, and prevail'd upon him to call a council, and to grant them the use of the linen-stole, a vestment peculiar to the priests; and suggesting that such a concession would stand upon record, as an act of grace, to the king's eternal honour. This request of theirs was heard and granted, in form and manner as they desir'd it, and the singing-men permitted to wear the stole. There were another sort of these Levites, who officiated in the services of the temple, and these were likewise allow'd, promiscuously, to serve in quality of singers. Now all this was directly against our national laws and customs, which were never abandon'd but with a judgment upon the violation.

THE building of the temple being now over, and a matter of eighteen thousand workmen, who had nothing to live upon but their labour, ready to starve for want of employment; the people not caring to have money lie by them for a prey to the Romans, and out of a desire to make some provision for them (for if they wrought but an hour they were sure of their wages) proposed the repairing of a building on the east-side of the temple, which overlooking a deep narrow valley, was supported by a wall of four hundred * cubits high, the stones smooth wrought, and white, and every piece † twenty cubits in length and six in depth, being the work of Solomon, the first founder of the temple. But Agrippa, who was entrusted by Claudius Cesar with the repairing of this glorious structure, computing with himself how much easier it was to destroy such a work than to rebuild it, especially a work that would take up so much time and money as that which was now propounded; he did not think fit to comply with this desire of the people; but if it might content them to beautify the city by paving the streets with white stone, he should not be against it.

THIS prince took away after this the high-priesthood from Jesus the son of Gamaliel, and gave it to Matthias the son of Theophilus; and in his days, began the wars of the Romans against the Jews.

IT will be proper for me in this place (with a respect to the work I have in hand) to

give some account of the original of high-

Gessius Florus succeeds Albinus.

Privileges allow'd to the singing-men of the tribe of Levi.

Another sort of Levites admitted contrary to law.

The temple is now finish'd, and eighteen thousand men ready to starve.

The Jews petition for leave to repair the porch. A description of the porch.

Agrippa refuses them.

The original qualifications and number of the high priests.

Agrippa enlarges Cesarea Philippi, and calls it Neronias. He builds a glorious theatre at Berytus.

He takes the high-priesthood from Jesus the son of Damneus, and gives it to Jesus the son of Gamaliel.

Costobarus and Saul had the ruffians still at their heels.

* Four hundred Jewish cubits amounted to seven hundred twenty eight English feet, and some odd inches; that is, to one hundred forty two yards, two feet, and some odd inches.

† Twenty cubits amounted to something more than thirty six feet; that is, twelve yards: and six cubits to something above ten feet; that is, three yards and a foot.

Aaron the first of the order.

The succession hereditary.

From Aaron to Phanassus 83 in number

The government at first aristocratical; next monarchical, and then to the title of kings.

The history of the pontificate.

priests; the qualifications necessary for those that are to be admitted into this function, and the number of those that were advanced to this dignity as far as to the end of the war. The first of the order was Aaron, the brother of Moses; and after his death, his children succeeded him; and so the honour descended in course to his family: And this custom of hereditary succession prevail'd so far with our forefathers, that none but those of the blood of Aaron were accounted capable of that holy office; not even kings themselves. From Aaron to Phanassus, who was declared high-priest by a faction in a time of war, there were eighty three in number: Thirteen of them officiating in that station from the time that Moses erected a tabernacle to God in the desert, to their entrance into Judea, where king Solomon built and dedicated the holy temple.

For at first there was no succeeding to the pontificate, but by a vacancy upon death, whereas it came to be a practice afterward to introduce another, while the former was yet living. These thirteen persons descending from the two sons of Aaron, succeeded to their honour in their turns. The form of government was at first aristocratical; after that monarchical; and the next transition was to the title of kings. From the time of Moses's carrying us out of the land of Egypt to the building of Solomon's temple, we reckon upon six hundred and twelve years.

AFTER the thirteen high-priests above-mentioned, there followed eighteen more, in four hundred sixty six years, six months and ten days, in succession one to another, under the government of kings. Computing from king Solomon, to the days of Nebuchadonozor king of Babylon; when he march'd up to Jerusalem and took it; burnt the temple, and carried away the whole nation, together with Josedec their high-priest, captives.

AFTER a captivity of seventy years in Babylon, Cyrus the king of Persia, dismiss'd the Jews home again, with leave to rebuild their temple; Jesus, the son of Josedec, exercising at that time the function of high-priest. After him, came fifteen more of his posterity, who succeeded him in the same dignity, but in a popular way of government, till the time of king Antiochus Eupator, which was about four hundred and fourteen years; when this same Antiochus, with his general Lyfias took away both the dignity and life of Onias, otherwise called Meneleus, at Berytus; but rejected his son from the succession, and set up Jacimus, high-priest in his place; one of the race of Aaron, 'tis true, but not of the pontifical family. Wherefore Onias, the son of Onias the deceased, went away into Egypt, and, insinuating himself into the good opinion of Ptolemy Philometor, and of Cleopatra, his wife, prevail'd upon them to build and dedicate a temple to God at Heliopolis, in imitation of that at Jerusalem, and to constitute him high-priest there; of which temple we have said enough elsewhere already. Jacimus died at the end of three years in the execution of the pontifical office, without a successor; so that there was a vacancy in the pontificate for seven

years. But after the revolt of the Jews from the Macedonians, the dignity was transferr'd to the family of the Aslamoneans, and Jonathan preferr'd to the pontificate, which he enjoy'd for the space of seven years; and then being taken off by the treachery of Tryphon, his brother Simon was promoted to his place; and upon his being afterwards assassinated by his son-in-law, at a publick entertainment, his son Hyrcanus succeeded him, who held it for the space of one and thirty years; and then, upon his death, it went to his son Judas, otherwise called Aristobulus, who was the first that took upon him the name and quality of king; and after one year's reign, left his brother Alexander, heir and successor, both to the pontificate and to the kingdom: In both which capacities he administred for the space of seven and twenty years; and then departing this life, he transmitted the regency to his wife Alexandria, with authority to dispose of the pontificate, to which of the brothers she pleas'd; and she gave it to Hyrcanus, who enjoy'd it for the nine years that she reign'd: But upon her death, Aristobulus the younger brother made war upon him, overcame him, and reduced him to a condition of a private man; assuming both the kingdom and the pontificate to himself, which he held for three years, and just as many months: When Pompey, upon taking of Jerusalem, carried him and his children prisoners to Rome; and Hyrcanus, being restored to the pontificate, accepted also of the principality, but not under the title of king; enjoying the high priest-hood three and twenty years more, besides the other nine before spoken of. At the end of this term, Barzopharnes, and Pacorus, great men, and generals for the Parthians, pass'd the Euphrates, and made war upon Hyrcanus, took him alive, and carried him away prisoner; advancing Antigonus the son of Aristobulus to the crown, who in three months after, was taken in Jerusalem by Herod and Sofius: And then by the command of Anthy, put to death at Antioch.

HEROD having now receiv'd the kingdom from the Romans, made no longer any scruple of chusing the high-priests out of the Aslamonean race; but conferr'd the honour indifferently upon persons, tho' never so obscure, provided they were but in holy orders; saving only in the case of Aristobulus; for he made choice of him, being the grandchild of Hyrcanus, who was taken by the Parthians, and the brother of his wife Mariamne, to ingratiate himself with the people, who had the memory of Hyrcanus in great veneration. He was, in fine, so generally well belov'd, that Herod grew jealous of him, and drowned him at Jericho by a contrivance, swimming in a fish-pool; as we have said heretofore. After this time he would never confer the pontificate upon any of the Aslamonean family. His son Archelaus took the same measures too, and so did all the Romans after him, that came to be governors of the province. From the days of Herod, in fine, to the burning of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus, there were in all eight and twenty high-priests that govern'd in the

* This passage appears at first view, somewhat obscure, and the two last distinctions may, perhaps to some readers, seem confounded: but by the monarchical Josephus here means that form of government which obtain'd among the Jews under the judges, concerning which, and the rest; see Selden de Synedr. Heb. l. II. c. XV. p. 393, 396.

whole for the space of a hundred and seven years; some of them under Herod and Archelaus, his son. But after their death, the government was Aristocratical, and the sovereignty lodg'd in the pontificate; of which we have spoken sufficiently already.

CHAP. IX.

Gestius Florus succeeds Albinus, the husband of Cleopatra. Florus worse than Albinus. The character of Florus. The beginning of the war. The history of the Jews, from the creation of the world to the 12th of Nero. Josephus promises the history of the wars.

Gestius Florus succeeds Albinus.

The husband of Cleopatra.

Florus worse than Albinus.

The character of Florus.

The beginning of the war.

† GESSIUS FLORUS the successor of Albinus to the government of Judea, by the appointment of Nero, was the man that made the Jews perfectly miserable. He was by birth a Clazomenian, and the husband of Cleopatra, whom he brought along with him; a woman every jot as bad as himself. It was by her interest in the empress Poppea, that he obtain'd this dignity, which he abused afterwards to such a degree, that the Jews would have accounted it a blessing if they could but have chang'd him for Albinus again; for tho' he had as much malice and mischief in him as his heart and head would hold, he carried it close and as private as he could yet: Whereas Florus on the contrary made an open profession and ostentation of his wickedness; as if it had been the business of his commission to undo the nation. He was rapacious beyond measure, inexorably cruel, and so insatiably covetous, that where there was any thing to be gotten, much, or little, nothing came amiss to him. He went shares with the thieves, which gave a kind of authority to the trade, when they knew beforehand they could compound the robbery for such a part of the booty. The oppression, in fine, was so intolerable, that the miserable Jews were forced to abandon their habitations, their country, and their altars, and to fly for sanctuary to the most barbarous of strangers. But without any more words, it was Florus alone that forced us upon a war with the Romans, in a resolution rather to fall all together, than perish one by one, with infamy and scorn. It was in the second year now of Florus's government, and the twelfth of Nero's, when the war began; and whoever has a mind to be particularly inform'd in the history of what he did and suffer'd through the course of that war, shall but need to read over the books we have written upon that subject.

I am now come to the end of my Antiquities, which I have brought down from the

creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, in an historical deduction of what had befallen the Jews through so many ages; as in Egypt and Syria; what they suffered under the Assyrians and Babylonians; how they were treated by the Persians and Macedonians; and how, last of all, by the Romans. I have also given an accurate and an orderly account of the constant and continued succession of our high-priests for the space of two thousand years. And so likewise for the descent of our kings, and the course of other forms of government, as they succeeded one after another: their powers, administration, and affairs: All which I have faithfully extracted from the authority of holy writ, as I promised at the first entrance upon this work.

AND I shall be bold to say this further, that no man living, my self excepted, whether Jew or stranger, could have given the Greeks so just, and so punctual an account upon the whole matter, as I have done. For, without vanity, my own country-men will allow me to be as well read in the Mosaical law as any man. And then for my skill in the Greek tongue, I have studied the Grammar, and the critical proprieties of it as much as another; but for the nicety of the accent in the perfection of pronouncing it, the speaking of several languages, is a thing that our people neither practise nor value; but look upon it as a kind of a prophane study common to slaves as well as to gentlemen. The only wisdom and learning, in fine, that we reckon upon, is a due application to the knowledge of our laws, and the holy scriptures, and a right understanding of them: An excellency that some two or three perhaps, of all that ever offer'd at it, have succeeded in to their honour and satisfaction.

It will not be amiss now at last, I hope, to say somewhat of myself: That is to say, of my family, and of the actions of my whole life; while there are people yet living, either to witness the truth of things, or to disprove me. So that I shall now put an end to my Antiquities, as they are here comprised in twenty books, and sixty thousand lines. And I do intend further, God willing, to draw up a short relation of the whole war, from the beginning to this very day; being in the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and of my age the six and fiftieth. * I have propounded also to write of the Jewish opinions, in four books concerning God himself, and his nature; and likewise of our laws, why some things are permitted by them, others forbidden.

† Vossius, in his notes upon Catullus, reads Gestius, or Cestius Florus.

* If we point these words in the original otherwise, they may be according to Epiphanius Scholasticus, translated thus: "I have propounded also to write of the Jewish sects in four books; of God himself and his nature; and of our laws; why some things are allow'd by them, and others forbidden."



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

TO

EPAPHRODITUS:

IN ANSWER TO

APIO N, about the ANTIQUITY of
the J E W S.

BOOK I.



HAVE said enough already in my JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, to satisfy my readers beyond all doubt, most excellent Epharoditus, that the Jews are a very antient people, and a nation indebted to themselves for their original; beside that they have kept up their claim from the beginning to this very day. This is no more than what I have made undeniably appear in a just history of five thousand years, writ in Greek, drawn from the authority of holy writ itself: And all this is too little yet, either to secure me, the author of that piece, from calumny and reproach, or the whole story at length from the vanity of a fable. For, say they, if the race of the Jews were so illustrious as Josephus makes it, how comes it that none of the Greek historians of the best credit, ever took any notice of it? Now this being the case, I cannot do my self a more necessary right, than in the first place, with all possible brevity, to confute and correct my malicious enemies, secondly, to inform and instruct the ignorant; and thirdly, to lay open indifferently to all lovers of truth, the naked state of the matter. As for my authorities, I shall make use of none but of an undeniable reputation among the Greek writers: And for those

that have either spitefully, or ignorantly traduced me, or my writings, I shall overthrow their pretensions out of their own mouths. I shall likewise shew how it comes to pass, that the Greeks in general have made so little mention of us; and then for the rest in particular, that they either knew nothing at all in reality, or at least pretended to know nothing at all of the matter in question.

THERE are a sort of people so superstitiously addicted to the Greeks, that they make them the only oracles to be consulted for the faith and credit of history, to the contempt and disparagement of all other men and nations. Now I cannot but infinitely wonder at the confidence of these smatterers in antiquities, in these cases where both reason and fact are directly against them. Wherefore we are not to govern our selves by this or that man's opinion, but by the weight and the intrinsic value of the thing itself. As for the Greeks, I see little or nothing among them that is not novel, and of yesterday, as we say, either in their buildings, arts, or laws, and in fine, the very use of history is but of late date among them: Whereas by their own confession the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phenicians, (to say nothing of ourselves) have from time to time recorded, and transmitted down to posterity

The Grecians are altogether for novelties.

The Egyptians, &c. a people of antiquity and credit.

The Jewish antiquities, a history of 5000 years.

What mov'd Josephus to write this history.

rity the memorials of past ages, in monumental pillars and inscriptions, according to the advice and direction of the wisest men they had, for the perpetual memory of all publick transactions of moment, and to the end that nothing might be lost: Beside that these people living in a clear air, the very climate contributed to the preserving of these antiquities from corruption and decay; which was quite otherwise with the Greeks in both respects, either of duration, or of order and appointment.

It is natural enough for those that set up new states or societies, to fancy themselves the greatest masters of that oeconomy under the sun. Now as to the Greeks skill in letters, they came not only late to the bare pretence, but they are not at this very hour come up to the perfect understanding of the matter. The antiquity they boast of looks no farther backward than to the Phenicians; and they value themselves upon the reputation of having had Cadmus for their first master: But so far are they from being able to produce, either in their temples, or publick registries, any one authentick memorial of these times, that when it came afterwards to be a question, whether the use of these letters were so much as known at the time of the Trojan war, it was carried in the negative, that there was no such characters then in being. It is most certain that there is no Greek manuscript extant that dates before the poem of Homer: And it is likewise as certain, that the Trojan war was over before that poem was written. Nay, and it will not be allow'd neither that Homer ever committed this piece of his to writing at all; but it pass'd by tradition from one generation to another, like a ballad song that the people had got by rote, till in the end copies were taken of it from dictates by word of mouth; which was the true reason of so many contradictions and mistakes in the transcripts.

As for Cadmus the Milesian, Acusilaus, and other Greeks, who afterwards attempted history; these were all but very little before the Persians inroad into Greece. And so for Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, who were the first among them, that ever philosophiz'd upon divine and celestial matters, they do all unanimously own the Egyptians and the Chaldeans for their masters; and for the little that we find publish'd in writing upon that point, however it may have the reputation of some antiquity, yet whether these men were the authors of it or not, remains to this day a question.

How unreasonable a thing is it for the Greeks now to appropriate to themselves, not only the sole knowledge of antiquity, but a pretence likewise before all others for men of historical faith, candor, and credit! Nay, is it not evident on the contrary, from their own works, that the history they deliver is not so much matter of fact, as conjecture and opinion; and that every man writes according to his fancy? Their authors still clashing one with another, and imposing upon the world inconsistent reports, at the same time, of one and the same thing.

It would be tedious, and time lost, to run through all the disagreements betwixt Helanicus and Acusilaus, in the matter of their genealogies; the differences betwixt Hesiod

and Acusilaus; to shew how many times over and over Ephorus hath given the lye to Helanicus, Timeus to Ephorus, those that came after Timeus, to Timeus himself, and, in fine, all to Herodotus.

NEITHER does Timeus agree any better with Philistus, or Callias, in their Sicilian histories: Neither do the historians of Athens and Argos accord any better than the rest, but fall foul one upon another. Now, in one word, what historical agreement are we to expect from the reporters of private actions and adventures, when even in the course and narration of the Persian war, the most celebrated authors are at variance among themselves! Nay, the truth and credit of Thucydides himself is called in question upon several occasions, tho' the most cautious, candid, and untainted historian of the age he wrote in.

THERE may be many reasons given for this disagreement among the Greek authors, if a man would but apply himself to the finding of them out. But the two points that I lay the principal stress upon, are these. First, the failing of the Greeks in not laying a timely foundation of history in records and memorials, to conserve the memory of all great actions: For without these monumental traditions, posterity is left at liberty to write at random; and to write false too, without any danger of being contradicted in the history of former times. Now this way of keeping publick registers hath been neglected, not only in other parts of Greece, but it was never heard of, even in Athens itself, where the people pass by the name of earth-born, with a respect to their original, and value themselves above all others, both for antiquity and letters. Draco's penal laws are universally allow'd antecedent in time to all other of their writings, tho' bearing date but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus. And what shall we say now to the Arcadians, who boast pretensions to a priority also, tho' they came later to the use of letters than any of the rest?

Now there being no lights or authorities extant, for a guide to those that were desirous to learn, or to set others right, that went either innocently or maliciously out of their way, how was it possible but historians must be divided and confounded among themselves, especially when truth is made the least part of their business, how fairly soever they may profess and pretend to the contrary? They write, in effect, for popular applause; and if they can but get the reputation of good orators, no matter for discharging the part of honest men. Some write merely for fancy or humour, without any regard of justice to the story; others in a panegyric strain, to curry favour with kings and states; and there are some again who spend their time in calumniating the writings and the persons of those that went before them, thinking thereby to acquire a reputation; which is all contrary to the rule and office of an historian.

It is the infallible mark of a true and genuine history, when several writers agree in the same thing, time, and place; but the Greeks in contradicting one another, made that diversity an argument of truth. If the question betwixt them and us, were choice of words, or delicacy of style, we should never dispute the precedence with them; but for matter of fact and antiquity it is quite another case.

THE

Thucydides himself censured.

The Greeks divided, and the reasons of it.

The first inventors of letters.

No Greek manuscript before Homer.

Cut above page ped

The certain marks of a true history.

The Grecians better orators than historians.

The antiquity and use of records.

The registers under the care of the priests.

THE Egyptians and the Babylonians are known to have been very diligent and exact of old, in the marking of their accounts and annals. This way of registering among the Egyptians, was the priests province, who took a great deal of care and pains, in the discharge of that duty. The Chaldeans did the same thing with the Babylonians; and the Phenicians, intermingling with the Greeks, instructed them also in the use of letters, for the government of life, and the upholding of publick traditions. But this being acknowledg'd on all hands, more discourse upon it in this place would be needless. So that I shall only content myself to shew briefly, that our forefathers provided at least as well for the securing of this order and regulation, if not better, than any that went before them, in charging the high-priests, and the prophets with this commission; which practice has been continued with great integrity, to this very day: Nay, if I might speak a bold word, I durst almost pronounce that it shall never fail. For there was not only care taken from the beginning, to make choice of men of exemplary piety and virtue, for this function; (over and above that they were set apart also for the service of the altar) but a provision was likewise made for preserving the sacerdotal race, untainted with any prophane or adulterate mixture; for no man is qualify'd for the office of a priest whose mother was not of a priestly extraction; and therefore, without any regard to wealth or honour, whoever pretends to the priesthood must prove his descent in a right line, by a multitude of witnesses.

AND this rule holds not only in Judea, but wherever our people are dispers'd over the face of the whole earth; as in Egypt, and in Babylon; and all over the world; in fine, where our priests make it a point of conscience only to intermarry with their own tribes. In this case they send, from the father to Jerusalem, the name of the woman they have a mind to marry, with a draught of her pedigree, well and sufficiently attested. But in a time of war, (which many times falls out) as for instance in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the great, and Quintilius Varus, and particularly within our own memory; in this case, the surviving priests reform and supply the old registers, compose new ones, and put the women that are left to the scrutiny of a strict examination. The priests marry no captives, for fear of contracting a foreign mixture; and there can be no clearer proof of their integrity, than that the names of all our priests, in an uninterrupted succession from father to son, have now stood upon record throughout a great tract of two thousand years. If any one man among them falsifies or prevaricates, he is presently forbidden the holy altar, and deposed from the exercise of his function. In this method, we are certainly, and necessarily in the right. All men are not allow'd to write; and we meet with no contradictions in those that do. As for those unaccountable antiquities among the prophets, we look upon them as divine revelation rather than history: but for others who write the story of their own times, the number of them is not very great, neither are they very

repugnant one to another. But to come to my business.

I RECKON only upon two and twenty books that we are bound to believe; and those two and twenty books comprize the history of the world from the beginning of it to this day; five books of these two and twenty, treat of the creation of the world and the generation of mankind, and so to the death of Moses, in a series of little less than three thousand years.

FROM the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and the king of Persia, every one of our prophets wrote the history of the age he liv'd in, comprehending the whole in thirteen books; the other four books containing holy hymns and moral precepts. There is also a course of history* from Artaxerxes to this instant, which we look upon with great veneration, but incomparably short of what we ascribe to the other, for want of the successional line and descent of the prophets to make it still more authentick and sacred. As for the other works, we give as much credit to them, as we would do to our own eyes; having been thus long in the world without any attempt upon them, either to add or to diminish; nay, or but so much as to transform, or to disguise them. But we set a value upon these writings, as divine; we call them so, and we are train'd up from the very cradle to meditate, to observe, and to maintain them as such, and, finally, to suffer death cheerfully in their defence rather than forsake them.

HOW many are there of our captive countrymen, at this day, struggling with all manner of deaths, and labouring under exquisite torments, contending in the theatres with beasts and more brutal men! And what's their crime, but that they will not renounce their country's laws, and blaspheme the God of their fore-fathers? When did ever any of the Greeks stand such a trial of their honour and courage? a people that would rather suffer all the writings they have in the world to be destroy'd, than expose their persons to the least danger for their preservation. But alas! they look upon all that is sacred of that kind, to be no more than words of course. And this is the case even of the best of their historians. For they take upon them to write history without any privacy many times to the fact, or so much as either consulting or believing those that have been upon the place, and parties to the action. What extravagant uncouth histories of our late wars have we seen publish'd, by persons that never came within distance of understanding one syllable of the matter! But if they can patch up a medley of fancy and hear-say, they have the confidence to set up presently for historians of the first rate.

BUT this is not yet the case of my history; for I have deliver'd nothing but upon ocular testimony and certain knowledge; and having the means of informing myself in every thing that pass'd, I have been likewise as faithful in the report of things, as I was just and accurate in the scrutiny. I had a command in Galilee, so long as our people were able to defend themselves against the Romans; but it was my fortune, in the end, to be made a pri-

Twenty two books of holy writ.

The history of the Bible.

The bravery of the Jews above the Grecians.

Historians upon guess and hear-say.

* Our author here means the books of the Apocrypha.

soner, and carry'd in custody to Vespasian and Titus, who order'd me at first to be kept bound, with a commission at the same time to observe and to inspect what was done; but I was afterwards set at liberty, and went abroad with Titus from Alexandria, upon occasion of the siege of Jerusalem.

Josephus's
undeniable
authority for
what he says.

THERE was nothing at that time escap'd my knowledge. The motions of the army were all open to me, and no care wanting on my part, to represent every thing with the greatest exactness: and so for the state of the city, I had it from prisoners and deserters, with the emperor's express order to take them all into my particular care and assistance. I made the best, in fine, of my notes, and out of those minutes, compil'd my history.

This history
was compil-
ed at Rome.

THE foundation being now laid, and myself at Rome, and at leisure, I took some friends to my assistance in the Greek tongue, and went on with my work; wherein I have discharg'd myself with that scrupulous nicety of candour and justice, that I dare say the generals themselves, Vespasian and Titus, will vouch for me. Now these were the persons to whom I made the first present of my book; and next after them, to certain noble Romans who commanded in the same war: others I sold to such of our own party as I found well skill'd in the Greek language; as Julius, Archelaus, the incomparable Herod, and the most excellent king Agrippa; who do all acquit me with one voice, that I have behav'd myself like a faithful historian, and would undoubtedly have expos'd the abuse, if I had either left out or put in any thing through ignorance, or for favour. And now some people treat me as a cheat, as they would do a boy at school, upon the declamatory, betwixt trifling and detraction: but they never consider, that whoever takes upon him to tell the truth, he should make sure in the first place to know it himself, and that must be done either by himself or with the help of another; and I have already gone both these ways to work.

He appeals
to the gene-
rals them-
selves, and
several great
officers for
the truth of
it.

Josephus
treated as an
impollor.

He reasons
the case and
clears him-
self.

As for my antiquities, I have, in the quality of a priest, and in the way of my profession, extracted them out of the holy scripture, and digested them into a methodical order. But in the history of the war I was an actor in some cases, a spectator in others, and, upon the whole matter, a stranger to nothing that was either done or said. How shameless an impudence is it now for these people to contend with me for the truth: nay, putting the case as they pretend, and that they have indeed had the sight of Titus's and Vespasian's journals, what does this signify to the invalidating of my history, in a point where the Roman generals were absolute strangers to the matter?

THIS digression was but necessary, to shew what a sort of historians we are like to have, if this liberty goes forward. But there is enough said, I think, to satisfy any man, that the very Barbarians themselves stand fairer for the dignity and reputation of that pretence than the Greeks.

The Greeks
will have the
Jews to be
upstarts.

I COME now to a sort of people that will have the Jews to be novel, and no better than upstarts; because the Greeks, they say, make no mention of us. I shall then cite my authorities out of books writ by authors

of other nations, whereby it will appear with what little reason our adversaries advance so false and scandalous an assertion.

As to the place of our habitation or abode, we live in a midland-country; and for the matter of trade and travel, we never trouble our heads upon either of those two accounts. Our cities lie remote from the sea; the soil fruitful, and well dress'd and cultivated. Our greatest care is for the maintenance and education of our children, and to have them train'd up to piety, and in obedience to the laws of our country: and this is it we reckon upon as the main business of our lives. After all this, we have a peculiar way of living to ourselves, which gives us to understand that in times past we had no communication with the Greeks; as the Egyptians and Phenicians had: and so had others also, by a common tie of navigation, trade and commerce, for the advancing of their fortunes. Neither did our predecessors make inroads upon their neighbours, as other people have done, for the enlarging of their estates; tho' they wanted neither numbers nor courage, to be dangerous and troublesome, if they would have shewn themselves quarrellsome.

THUS it was that the Phenicians became known to the Greeks; and by them the Egyptians, and other traders into Greece. After these, the Medes and Persians, who having gotten into the command of Asia, the Persians carry'd the war into Europe. The Thracians became known by neighbourhood; the Scythians, by holding a correspondence with those that use the Pontus; and so all along the eastern and the western sea, the people could not fail being taken notice of by historians. But for those who lived remote from the sea, far into the continent, they were unseen and unheard of for many ages: And this is no more than what happened in Europe too; when after an establishment of the Roman power and greatness, and so many wars waged, and conquests obtained by them, yet neither Herodotus nor Thucydides, or any other of their contemporaries, ever made so much as the least mention of this mighty empire; till the discovery of it came at length to the Greeks, and with very much ado.

BUT what will become of common writers, when Ephorus himself, the flower of the whole choice, shall be guilty of such a blunder as this, for example, that I am about to tell you? He takes upon him to give an account of the Gauls and Iberians, and makes the kingdom of Spain itself, with the vast continent it stands upon, to be no more than one state; and so imposes upon us for the history of the place, things that were never done, said, or heard of there. And whence comes this ignorance of the truth now, but from taking our aim at it out of distance? Or whence comes the other mistake of the truth, but from an affectation of overdoing the truth itself?

A notorious
blunder of
a famous hi-
storian.

AND where's the wonder now for people that live strangers to the world, and in a manner out of it, and under such a reserve as we do, not to furnish matter for history?

BUT what if I should turn the Greeks way of reasoning upon themselves now, and conclude against the antiquity of their race, because our books say nothing of it? would not such an inference be exploded as ridiculous?

Josephus
turns the
Greeks rea-
soning upon
themselves.

and

Jo-
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Salatis b
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over-rule
the EGYPT
tians.

and would not the Greeks appeal to the writers of adjacent and neighbouring countries to vouch for them? Now if this be allow'd fair on the one side, why may it not with equal reason be so on the other? the Egyptians and the Phenicians, are the chief witnesses that I shall make use of in this case; and there will be no ground neither of exception to the evidence: for the Egyptians are notoriously known to be our professed enemies, and so are the Phenicians, particularly those of Tyre. But the Chaldeans have a better opinion of us; as having been in time past, under their command; and likewise for blood, as well as for country-sake, they make honourable mention of us in their chronicles.

Josephus appeals to the Greek historians themselves. The testimony of Manetho, an Egyptian writer.

WHEN I shall have cleared my countrymen from this calumny of the Greeks, and discharg'd all the abominable slanders they have cast upon us, it will be then time to see what the Greek historians say of us themselves, without leaving room for any farther cavil. To begin now with the Egyptians, (who are not looked upon to be any great friends of ours) there is one Manetho, an Egyptian by birth, and well skill'd in the Greek, as appears by a Greek history he extracted out of the holy scriptures about the Jewish religion. This Manetho falls foul upon Herodotus, in many places, for belying the Egyptians thro' the ignorance of their ways and customs; and in the second book of his history, he delivers himself as follows. I make use of his very words, as if his person were here present to make good his testimony.

Salatis breaks in upon, and over-rules the Egyptians.

"WE had a king whose name was Timeus; and in his reign we fell, beyond all imagination, under God's heavy displeasure. There came pouring in upon us a rugged robust people out of the east, that made an inroad into the province; and there encamping, took it by force, and carry'd all before them without so much as a stroke, putting our princes in chains, cruelly laying our cities in ashes, demolishing our temples, and miserably oppressing our inhabitants; some cut to pieces, and others, with their wives and children, sent away into bondage. After all this, they set up a king from among themselves, whose name was Salatis. THIS new king advanc'd to Memphis, and having subjected both the upper and the lower provinces, and put garisons into all tenable places, he fortify'd to the eastward in a more especial manner, for fear of an invasion from the Assyrians, whom he look'd upon as the stronger of the two. He found in the country of Saïtes, a city formerly call'd Abaris, which was situated very conveniently for his purpose, to the east of the river Bubastis. This city he improv'd and repair'd, and fortify'd it with strong works and walls, and a body of two hundred and forty thousand men to cover it. He made choice of harvest-time for the execution of his design, with a regard both to the plenty of the season for provisions, and to the means also of paying his soldiers, and to the securing of himself likewise against all assaults, or invasions, by his excellent discipline and conduct.

"SALATIS dy'd, having reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by one Benion, who govern'd forty four years. After him came Apachnas, and reigned six and thirty years, and seven months. Apophis came next, and ruled sixty years and one month; Janias, fifty years and one month; and last of all came Affis, who rul'd forty nine years and two months. These six were the first kings, and perpetually in war to exterminate the Egyptians, root and branch. The people were called HYCSOS; that is to say, king-shepherds; for HYC, in the holy tongue, is as much as king, and SOS, according to the vulgar, is a shepherd: So that HYCSOS is taken as a compound. Some will have it that these people were Arabians. According to some other copies, HYC does not signify king-shepherd, but shepherd-captive; for HYC and HAC, with an aspiration, sounds in Egyptian, as much as captive; and it seems to me the more reasonable interpretation of the two, as it suits better with the ancient history.

The successors of Salatis.

A people called HYCSOS, or king-shepherds.

"WE have it upon the credit of the same author, that when these — (call them what you will) kings, or shepherds, and their train, had kept the government of Egypt in their own hands for the space of five hundred and eleven years, the king of Thebes, and the remainder of Egypt, that was not as yet subjected, made a violent and an obstinate war upon the shepherds, and routed them, under the command of king * Alisfragmuthosis: And when the greatest part of them were driven out of Egypt, the rest withdrew into a place called Abaris, of ten thousand acres in content; and this the shepherds, (according to Manetho) enclosed with a strong substantial wall, that secur'd them all necessaries within themselves. He says further, that Thumosis the son of Alisfragmuthosis, laid siege to it with four hundred and eighty thousand men: But when he found that the place was not to be carry'd by assault, they came to conditions, upon articles to depart Egypt, and a safe convoy to go whither they would. Upon these terms they march'd out with their goods and families, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand souls, by the way of the wilderness into Syria; and for fear of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, they retir'd into a country that is now known by the name of Judea; where they erected a city large enough to receive this vast multitude, and call'd it Jerusalem."

The shepherds routed and driven out of Egypt, into Judea.

The building of Jerusalem.

THE same Manetho tells us in another book of his Egyptian history, "That he finds these people, in books of great authority, distinguish'd by the name of captive-shepherds; our ancestors having been brought up to grazing, and from that pastoral employment, taking the name of shepherds. They reckon that they had some ground for calling them captives too; for it was by that name that our father Joseph made himself known to the king of Egypt, when he obtain'd permission to send for his brethren. But of this more particularly elsewhere." So that it will be sufficient at present to consult the tes-

Why call'd shepherds, and captives.

* Al. Misfragmuthosis. See Marsham's Chronicon.

Manetho confirms the testimony of Josephus. The successors of Thumosis, king of Egypt.

timonies of the Egyptians, upon this subject, and to hear Manetho over again in his own words, about the time when this happened.

"KING *Thumosis reign'd five and twenty years and four months, from the departure of the shepherds out of Egypt, to the building of Jerusalem. His son Chebron took the kingdom after him, and govern'd thirteen years; and after him, Amenophis, twenty years and seven months; his sister Amesses, one and twenty years and nine months; her son Mephres, twelve years and nine months; his son Mephramuthosis, five and twenty years and ten months; his son Thumosis nine years and eight months; his son Amenophis, thirty years and ten months; his son Orus, thirty six and five months; his daughter Acencheres, twelve and one month; Rathotis her brother, nine years; his son Acencheres, twelve and five months; another Acencheres his son, twelve years and three months; his son Armais, four and one month; his son Armefis, one year and four months; his son Rameffes Miamun, sixty six and two months; Amenophis, nineteen and six months. Sethosis, having rais'd a great force both at sea and land, constituted his brother Armais lieutenant-general of Egypt, and vested him with all sovereign powers and privileges, the wearing of the crown excepted; and with a caution not to oppress the queen or her family, nor to intermeddle with the king's concubines.

Sethosis makes his brother Armais lieutenant-general; and over-runs the country.

"SETHOSIS, upon this, march'd up to Cyprus and Phenicia, and so forward to the Medes and Assyrians, conquering still as he went; some by the sword, others by the very terror and reputation of his arms. He was so elevated by his successes, that he stopt at nothing; but laying all waste to the eastward, he carry'd the whole country before him. While this was doing, his brother Armais, without any difficulty or scruple, broke faith with his brother in Egypt, and did just the contrary to what he should have done. He expell'd the queen, abus'd the king's concubines, and, at the instance and advice of his false friends, assum'd the crown, and took up arms against his brother. The Egyptian high-priest gave Sethosis notice of all these indignities from time to time: Upon which advice, the king came immediately back again by the way of Pelusium, and made good his government. From this prince the country took the name of Egypt; for Sethosis was also call'd Egyptus, and his brother Armais nam'd likewise Danaus."

Armais breaks his articles.

Thus far goes Manetho. And from hence it plainly appears, upon a clear computation, that our predecessors, otherwise known by the name of shepherds, left Egypt three hundred ninety three years before ever Danaus went to Argos; tho' the Greeks value themselves mightily upon the antiquity of that prince. Wherefore Manetho advances two great points for us, out of the Egyptian writings; one, that our forefathers came over to the Egyptians from some other place; the other, that they were gone again almost a thousand years before

Manetho clears two great points.

the siege of Troy. As for some other reports of Manetho, that he has superadded; not out of the Egyptian memorials, but by his own confession, from stories without authors; I shall take my time to shew that those fancies are nothing more than fables and fictions without any ground. But we shall see now what account the Phenicians have given the world of this matter. There are among the Tyrians, publick records of great antiquity; and they are so carefully preserv'd too, that nothing escapes the registry that is worth the remembering. They make mention, among several other considerable passages concerning ourselves, of king Solomon's erecting a temple at Jerusalem, an hundred forty three years and eight months before their predecessors built Carthage; describing also the very model of the temple.

Tyrian records of great antiquity.

Solomon's temple built long before Carthage.

HIRAM, the king of Tyre, had so great a friendship and esteem for David, that he lov'd his son Solomon the better, even for the father's sake; and as an instance of the value he had for him, made him a present of an hundred and † twenty talents of gold, toward the ornament of the fabrick, and furnish'd him with the choicest wood from mount Libanus, for the roof and wainscot. Neither was Solomon wanting on the other hand, in a magnificent return: As, among other acknowledgments, he made him a present of Zabulon and Naphthali. But the love of wisdom was the chief inducement to that tenderness of friendship betwixt them. They exchange'd problems one with another, to be resolved; in the solution of which, Solomon approv'd himself the better skill'd, and had the preference. There are extant among the Tyrians to this day, divers copies of the letters that pass'd betwixt them; and for confirmation of what I say, I shall appeal to Dios an historian, among the Phenicians, of an unquestionable credit, and in his own words.

The king of Tyre, and Solomon dear friends.

The testimony of several famous historians, as Dios, a Tyrian, for one.

"HIRAM the son of Abibal, succeeded his father in the government. He repair'd and improv'd divers cities in the eastern parts of his dominion; enlarged Tyre, and, by the help of a dam, join'd it to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, standing in an Island, and beautify'd it with many donatives. After this, he went up to mount Libanus, to cut down wood for temples.

Hiram, the son of Abibal, succeeded his father.

"WE have a report that Solomon the king of Jerusalem, and Hiram, interchange'd certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he that fail'd of the solution, should incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the question too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one Abdemonus, a Tyrian, after this, resolv'd the said question, and propos'd new ones for Solomon to interpret, upon the penalty of paying so much to Hiram." This is the substance of what Dios says upon this subject.

I SHALL come now to Menander, the Ephesian; an author that has made a collection out of historical memorials, of the lives and actions of princes both Greek and Barbarians. Which, for the better authority of the work, he hath extracted from the records of the se-

Menander an Ephesian.

* Gr. Thumosis.

† An hundred and twenty Jewish talents weigh'd thirteen thousand six hundred eighty seven pounds six ounces; and their value in gold amounted to six hundred fifty seven thousand pounds English money.

veral places of which he treats; and having pass'd through the succession of the Tirian kings as far as Hiram, thus he goes on.

"UPON the death of Abibal, his son Hiram came to the crown, and liv'd to enjoy it thirty four years. This prince threw up a huge mount that join'd Eurychorus to the city of Tyre, and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter, which was there deposited in his temple. He went after this, into a forest, to a mountain call'd Libanus, where he cut down all the cedar for roofs for temples; demolishing the old buildings, and raising others. One he dedicated to Hercules, another to Astartus; the former in the month Peritius, and the other when he march'd against the Tityans, for not paying their taxes: but upon the reducing of them, he presently return'd.

"HIRAM had at this time a young man, a servant in his house, whose office it was to expound Solomon's riddles, and his name was Abdemonus. From this king's time now to the building of Carthage, the computation lies thus.

"BALLEAZAR the son of Hiram, succeeded his father, and dy'd in the forty third year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. The next was Abdastartus, the son of Beleazar; who dy'd in the twentieth of his life, and the ninth of his reign; this prince was murder'd by his nurse's four sons, and the eldest of them govern'd twelve years in his place: and after him, came Astartes the son of * Delecastartus, who liv'd sixty six years, and reign'd twelve. After him came his brother † Aferymus, who liv'd fifty four years, and reign'd nine, and was murder'd by his brother Phelles; who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age, and after a reign of eight months, was slain by one ‡ Ithobalus a priest of the goddess * Astarte; who liv'd to the age of sixty eight years, and rul'd thirty two. His son Badezor succeeded him, who liv'd forty five years, and reign'd six: and then his son † Margenus liv'd two and thirty years and reign'd nine. The next was Pygmalion, who liv'd fifty six years, and govern'd forty. It was in the seventh year of his reign, that his sister Dido built Carthage in Africa. So that from the time of Hiram to the erecting of Carthage, we account a hundred fifty five years and eight months. Now taking for granted that the temple of Jerusalem was built in the twelfth of king Hiram, it makes a hundred forty three years and eight months, from the raising of the temple to the building of Carthage."

CAN any thing be clearer now, or more pertinent to our purpose than this testimony of the Phenicians? for our ancestors were undoubtedly come into Judea before they built a temple in it; and that temple was not built neither, till they had made themselves masters of the country by the sword; as I have made appear abundantly out of holy writ in my history of the Jews.

WE shall see now how far the Chaldeans

agree with the rest, in the justification of our history; and begin with Berofus, a Chaldean by extraction, and an author of eminent credit with all lovers of letters, for the learned pieces of astronomy, and the Chaldean philosophy, which he wrote in the Greek tongue.

THIS Berofus, after the manner of the most ancient historians treats of the deluge, and the destruction of mankind, just as Moses reports it: and of the ark also; and how the first father of our race was preserv'd in it riding upon the mountains of Armenia. He runs thro' the genealogy likewise of the sons of Noah; their names and their ages, and so carries on the train, from Noah himself to Nabulassar, the king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans, with an account of this king's exploits. He tells how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor with a mighty army into Egypt and Judea; where finding the people in rebellion, he broke in upon them; and when he had conquer'd them, and set fire to their temple at Jerusalem, he return'd, carrying away our whole nation in captivity to Babylon. After this confusion, the city lay desolate for seventy years, till the days of Cyrus king of Persia. He says likewise, that the Babylonians were in possession of Egypt, Syria, Phenicia and Arabia; and the king much a greater prince than any of his predecessors. But we must not forget Berofus in his own words: As for example.

"NABULASSAR the father, says he, understanding that his deputy in Egypt, Celestria, and Phenicia, was up in arms, being old himself, and past the fatigues of war, he sent his son Nabuchodonosor (in the vigour of his youth) at the head of a strong army to bring him to reason. This prince encounter'd the rebel, defeated him, and recover'd all the provinces that were engaged in the revolt.

"It happened at the same time that Nabulassar fell sick at Babylon and dy'd, after a reign of nine and twenty years. It was not long before the son had notice of his father's death; whereupon he immediately settled his affairs in Egypt, and the rest of the provinces; and committing the captive Jews, Phenicians and Syrians, that had been in Egypt, to the care of some particular confidents, to see them brought up to Babylon, together with the army and baggage, he himself, and a small retinue along with him, took his journey for Babylon by the way of the desert. Upon his arrival, he found all things dispos'd to his wish; the Chaldeans, and all the great men declaring themselves for his interest, and for the establishing of him upon the throne of his father.

"IN this interim, while the prisoners were upon the way, he order'd them the most commodious lodgings of the city for their quarters, and all accommodations to be provided for them. The spoils of the war were apply'd with wonderful munificence, to the enriching and adorning of the temples: as that of Bel, and others. He caus'd to be erected a new town for an addition

The Chaldean writers agree with the rest.

Berofus the historian treats of the deluge, &c.

Berofus's account of Nabulassar and Nabuchodonosor.

Nabuchodonosor's kindness to the captive jews.

* Al. Beleastartus. † Al. Astarimus. ‡ Al. Ithobarus.

* She was a Phenician Goddess, and the same as Astartoth in scripture, which denoteth sheep or flocks, to whom in compliance to one of his concubines Solomon is said to have built an altar. † Al. Methinus.

"to the old one; and to prevent the turning
"of the river the city stood upon, from the
"place, in case of a siege, they ran up a tri-
"ple wall, part of it brick, and the rest, of
"brick and bitumen, * about the whole. And
"after all these fortifications, such gates as
"might have become the dignity of a temple.
"He built likewise a glorious palace near
"that of his father's, but incomparably be-
"yond it, both for the vast capacity of it,
"and the expence. The description of it
"would be too tedious; but it must not be
"omitted however, that this curious and ad-
"mirable piece was the work of only fifteen
"days.

"THERE were in it also several artificial
"rocks, that had the resemblance of moun-
"tains; with nurseries of all sorts of plants,
"and a kind of hanging garden, suspended in
"the air by a most admirable curiosity of con-
"trivance. This was to gratify his wife;
"who being brought up in Media, among
"the hills, and in the fresh air, found a re-
"lief in such a prospect."

THIS is what Berofus speaks of this king;
and there are several other things worth tak-
ing notice of in his Chaldean antiquities, where
he blames the Greeks for making Semiramis,
the queen of Assyria, to be the foundress of
Babylon. Now Berofus is the more credible
in what he says, for coming up so near to the
Phenician records about the king of Babylon,
and his subjecting all Syria and Phenicia to
his command. Philostratus says effectually
the same thing in his siege of Tyre; and Me-
gasthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian
history; where he makes this king of Babylon
to have been a greater and a braver hero
than Hercules himself; adding withal, over
and above, that he subjected the greatest part
of Libya and Iberia to his dominion.

As to what concerns the temple of Jerusa-
lem, we have the authority of Berofus for it,
that it was laid in ashes by the Babylonians;
and that Cyrus, who had at that time the ab-
solute command of Asia, began afterwards to
rebuild it; as the same Berofus has it, in his
third book, and in these words.

"WHEN Nabuchodonosor was just enter'd
"upon the third wall, in the forty third year
"of his reign, he fell sick and dy'd. † Evel-
"Marodoch his son succeeded him; but hav-
"ing made himself odious to the highest de-
"gree by his exorbitant lusts and oppressions,
"he was cut off by the treacherous practice
"of Niriglossor his sister's husband, in the
"second year of his reign. After his death,
"the traitor advanc'd himself to the crown,
"and kept it four years. His son Laboro-
"sardochus came very young to the govern-
"ment, and continu'd in it only nine months;
"being then destroy'd by the treachery, even
"of his very friends, who look'd upon him as
"a youth of vicious and very dangerous in-
"clinations, and so took him out of the way.
"He was no sooner dispatch'd, but the con-
"spirators met; and so laying their heads
"together, chose one Nabonidus for their
"king, being both a Babylonian, and of the
"same family. The walls about the river of
"Babylon, were finish'd by this prince.

"IN the seventeenth year of this king's
"reign, Cyrus, with a mighty army out of
"Persia, over-ran all Asia, and so marching
"directly towards Babylon, Nabonidus fair-
"ly met him in the field; fought him, and
"lost the battle: only himself, and some few
"of his people got into the town of Borsippe.
"Cyrus was now before Babylon; making
"no doubt, but upon forcing the first wall,
"he might carry the place. But upon second
"thoughts, finding his design impracticable;
"he quitted the siege, and went back to Bor-
"sippe, with a full resolution to attack the
"place. But Nabonidus chose rather to cast
"himself upon Cyrus's mercy, than to stand
"the shock, and so upon his submission, Cy-
"rus banish'd him out of Babylon, and put
"him in the quiet possession of an estate in
"Caramania; where he ended his days in the
"condition of a private man.

THESE words of Berofus agree exactly with
our books: That is to say, that Nabuchodo-
nosor destroy'd our temple in the eighteenth
year of his reign; and in that condition it
lay desolate for seven years. In the second
year of king Cyrus, the foundations of it
were laid anew; and in the second of Darius,
the whole was rebuilt. We shall now sub-
join to the foregoing authorities, somewhat
out of the Phenician histories; for proofs can
never be too many, provided they agree in
chronology; and the computation stands thus.

NABUCHODONOSOR laid a siege of thirteen
years to Tyre, in the reign of king Ithobal.
Baal came after him, and reigned ten years:
and then they erected judges in the place of
kings; as there was Ecnibalus the son of Bas-
lech, who govern'd two months; Chelbis the
son of Abdeus, ten months; the high-priest
Abbar, three months; † Myrtonus and ‡ Ge-
raslus Batus the sons of Abdelimus, six years;
and Balatorus among the rest, one year; upon
whose death they sent for Merbalus from Ba-
bylon, who reigned four years; and upon his
death they took his brother Iram, who go-
vern'd twenty years, in whose time it was
that Cyrus made himself master of the Persian
empire. Now all this put together, amounts
to fifty four years and three months. It
was in the seventh year of Nabuchodonosor's
reign, that he began the siege; and in the
fourteenth of king Iram, that Cyrus had the
empire: so that what the Chaldeans and the
Tyrians deliver concerning our temple, does
but farther verify our own writings upon that
subject. Here is enough said already to put
the question of our antiquity past any farther
dispute, unless men will be wilfully blind.

BUT having to do with a people that will
have all the world to be Barbarians but them-
selves, and allow nothing for authentick, but
upon the credit of their own authority; we
have no other way than to make use of our
very adversaries, for witnesses on our behalf
against themselves, and to appeal to Greek
authors in our own justification. ^{the Jews appeal to their very enemies.}
THERE was one Pythagoras, a Samian, an
eminent philosopher, and the most celebrated
man of his time for piety and wisdom. This
Pythagoras was not only well seen in our
laws, but in many cases a strict observer of
them,

Berofus con-
cerning the
temple of Je-
rusalem.

And the sto-
ry of Nabu-
chodonosor.

* Bitumen was a thick fat sort of clay or slime, like pitch, found near Babylon, made use of in building, instead of mortar, its cement being of incredible strength and duration. † Scr. Evil-Merodach. ‡ Al. Myrtonus.
§ Al. Geraslus.

them, as most manifestly appears: Not from any thing that he ever wrote, but from what others knew, and reported concerning him. As Hermippus, for one; a very exact and careful historian. He tells a story in the first book of his * Pythagoras, of one Calliphon of Croton, a particular confident of Pythagoras. This Calliphon dy'd, he says, and his soul would never let Pythagoras rest, night nor day, for precepts and instructions. It gave him in charge not to pass forward at any time where his ass had stumbled, to abstain from drinking muddy water, and to speak ill of no man. And then he goes on, that this was in imitation of the Jews and the Thracians, with an application to himself. And it was truly said; for this man incorporated divers customs of the Jews into his philosophy.

OUR people were likewise so well known in places of note, in times long since past, that several cities do, to this day, retain our rites and fashions; and others reckon them worth the imitation, as appears by Theophrastus in his book of laws, where he speaks of the Tyrian laws against swearing by any strange God, naming the Corban among the prohibited oaths; that is to say, in Hebrew, the gift of God: And it is only to be found among the Jews.

HERODOTUS Halicarnassus was no stranger to our nation neither; for he makes some mention of us in his second book: Where speaking of the people of Colchos, he has this passage. "As to the matter of circumcision, I find only the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians to have us'd it of old: But the Phenicians, and the Syrians in Palestine, own the use of it from the Egyptians. The Syrians, who border upon the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macronians, are reputed to have taken it up of late from the Colchians. There are no others that are circumcis'd: And they proceed after the manner of the Egyptians. But for the Egyptians and Ethiopians, I cannot say which had it of the other." Now this author is positive that the Syrians of Palestine are circumcis'd; whereas there are no people circumcis'd in Palestine but the Jews. Now speaking this upon knowledge, it must necessarily be intended of the other.

AND then there's † Cherilus, an ancient poet, in an account he gives of the several nations that fought under Xerxes, the king of Persia, against the Greeks, he makes mention of our people after all the rest, in words to this effect:

These people, with an admirable grace,
Brought up the rear; their language Tyrian was;
Themselves unknown, the mountains their abode,
By Solymus, that near a vast lake stood.
Their hair cut round, and their heads cover'd o'er
With head-pieces of tann'd horse-hides they wore.

FROM hence it is evident, that speaking of the mountains of Solyma or Jerusalem, and of a huge lake at hand there, it can be understood

of no other than the Jews who inhabit among those mountains, and of the lake Asphaltites, which is by much the largest in all Syria. And so much for Cherilus. Neither were the Jews barely known to the Greeks, or only to the common sort of them, but likewise to their wise men and philosophers of the first rank; and that with marks too of a singular friendship and esteem.

CLEARCHUS, a disciple of Aristotle, a peripatetick, and one of the greatest men of the sect, personates his master in the way of a dialogue with Hyperochides, in his first book of sleep, upon the subject of a Jew of his acquaintance.

"It would be tedious, (says he) to run through the whole history of the people of the Jews; and therefore I shall only give you a taste of this particular person's admirable wisdom. Hyperochides made answer, That it would be the greatest favour he could do them. Why then, (says Aristotle) I shall begin, according to the rules of art and method, with what concerns his original or profession. He was a Jew of the lower Syria, of the race of a sort of philosophers that the Indians call Calani, and the Syrians call them Jews, from their country of Judea, where they live. Their capital city has a hard name, and they call it Jerusalem. He was a person of great hospitality to travellers and strangers; and no less considerable for his discourses and good manners. It was my fortune to be in Asia, with some disciples of mine; and this heavenly man gave us several visits there, to the high satisfaction and improvement of those that understood the blessing of such a conversation." This is the testimony of Clearchus, in favour of the Jews, though but by way of digression.

THIS is the character, according to Clearchus, that Aristotle gave this Jew; over and above his wonderful temperance and moderation, in the government of his appetites and passions. They that have a mind to know more of him may read it in the original, without running out into superfluities.

HECATEUS the Abderite, a great man both for learning and business, being trained up with Alexander the Great, and living with Ptolemy king of Egypt, the son of Lagus, wrote an entire tract expressly upon the subject of the Jews; from whence I shall briefly extract some passages that I find for my purpose, and begin with the timing of them.

He gives an account of a battle fought betwixt Ptolemy and Demetrius, near Gaza, eleven years after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, according to Castor. "It was in this Olympiad, (said he) that Ptolemy the son of Lagus defeated Demetrius the son of Antigonus, otherwise called Poliorcetes, in a battle not far from Gaza." Now it is agreed on all hands, that Alexander dy'd in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, and it follows consequently, that the Jews were a flourishing people in the days of that great prince.

HECATEUS says farther, that after the battle of Gaza, "Ptolemy made himself master

* Origen, who quotes the same place, makes it to be in *α. Νουμωστίν.*

† See Wormius de Corrupt. antiquat. Hebr. apud Tacitum & Martialem vestigiis. c. 21.

Hecateus's
character of
Hezekias, to
the honour
of the Jews.

" of Syria, and the adjacent places; and that
" people were so charm'd with Ptolomy's hu-
" manity and good-nature, that a great many
" follow'd him into Egypt, for the affability
" of his conversation. There was among the
" rest, one Hezekias, a high-priest of the
" Jews, and a person of the first quality among
" his country-men: sixty six years of age, a wife
" man, and a powerful speaker; and one that
" understood the affairs of the world, as well
" as any man living. The same author says
" likewise, that the number of Jewish priests
" who received tenths, and liv'd all in com-
" mon, were near fifteen hundred, or therea-
" bout.

AND afterwards, speaking again of the
same Hezekias; " We had several meetings
" and conferences, (says he) with this great
" man and others about him; concerning our
" different customs, practices and opinions:
" Infomuch that he carry'd us to his habita-
" tion, and instructed us in the manner of his
" people's government and discipline, which
" he shew'd us in writing."

HECATEUS proceeds next to the zeal and
veneration we have for our laws; even to the
degree of chusing death, torments and all
extremities; nay, and suffering cheerfully too,
rather than be guilty of the least violation of
them. And then he goes on upon the subject
of our patience, under ill usage and reproach.
" What indignities have these people endur'd
" (says he) from their neighbours? How have
" they been persecuted by the Persian kings and
" their officers, and yet stood firm to the last
" extremity against all trials? As for instance:
" The temple of Bel was fallen down at Ba-
" bylon, and Alexander, being at that time
" upon the place, had a mind to repair it, and
" accordingly order'd all the soldiers to assist,
" in carrying timber and materials towards the
" advancing of the work. The Jews were
" the only people that refus'd, and were se-
" verely punish'd for their disobedience: But
" when the king saw nothing would work up-
" on them, out of a generous tenderness for
" so brave a constancy, he gave them an ex-
" emption. Upon their return (says the au-
" thor) into their own country, they demo-
" lish'd all the temples and the altars that they
" found erected to strange gods: For which
" some of them were fin'd and punish'd, and
" others pardon'd." This historian enlarges
then upon the wonderful steddiness of our re-
solutions, the vast multitudes of our people,
the prodigious numbers that were carry'd away
captives by the Persians into Babylon, and o-
thers again, after the death of Alexander,
transported into Egypt and Phenicia, upon oc-
casion of a sedition in Syria. He speaks like-
wise of the extent, the beauty and the fruit-
fulness of our country, (that is to say, of Ju-
dea) which he computes at near three millions
of acres, and a most excellent and fruitful soil.
And as to the city of Jerusalem, the spacious-
ness of it, the numbers of its inhabitants, and
the model of the temple, he speaks to this
effect:

" THE Jews have in their possession a great A description
" many towns, villages and strong holds; but of Jerusalem,
" one city above all the rest for largeness and
" strength. It is accounted * fifty furlongs in
" compass, an hundred and fifty thousand in-
" habitants, and the name of it Jerusalem.
" In the middle of this city stands an inclo-
" sure of stone, an hundred † cubits about, and
" two mighty gates to it. Within this inclo-
" sure, is a quadrangular altar, made of un-
" wrought stones that never any tool touch'd;
" the superficies of it ‡ twenty cubits over, and
" the depth ‡ ten. Near about it there stands
" a spacious building, with a golden altar and
" candlestick in it, of two talents weight; and
" lamps burning continually night and day.
" But for images, plants, groves, &c. as in
" other temples, there was no such thing to be
" found. But there are priests that pass their
" time there day and night in great purity,
" and they drink no wine at all." The same
author again tells us an odd story of a Jew,
upon an expedition, who serv'd under one of
Alexander's successors, and these are his words:

" As I was travelling one time (says he) to-
" ward the Red Sea, there was one Mosollam
" in the company, a Jew, and one of our horse
" guard, who was look'd upon to be very
" brave, and a famous marksman with a bow
" and arrow. As they were journeying to-
" gether, a fouthsayer, who took upon him to
" foretel the fortune of their voyage, bad them
" all stand, and they did so. This Jew ask'd
" them what they stood for? Look ye, (says
" the cunning man, and shew'd him a bird) if
" that bird stands, you are to stand: If it rises
" and flies on, you are to go forward too; but
" if the bird takes its flight the contrary way,
" you must all go back again. The Jew, with-
" out any more words, lets fly an arrow and
" kills the bird. The diviner and his com-
" panions fell presently upon the Jew, in most
" outrageous terms. Why certainly, (says the
" other) you are all mad, to make such a
" bustle about a foolish bird. How should
" that poor wretch pretend to tell us our for-
" tune, that knew nothing of its own? If this
" bird could have foreseen good or evil to
" come, it would have kept itself out of the
" way of this arrow." But here's enough of
Hecateus; and they that desire more of him,
may fetch it out of the book itself.

The power
of imagina-
tion.

ONLY one word now out of Agatharchides;
not as any friend of ours, but I take him in
charity to be no malicious enemy. " He tells
" a story how Stratonice cast off her husband
" Demetrius, and pass'd out of Macedonia in-
" to Syria, with a design to marry the king
" Seleucus. But Seleucus not answering her
" expectation, she stirr'd up a commotion in
" Antioch, while he was with his army in
" Babylon. At his return he took Anti-
" och, and Stratonice, making away for
" Seleucia, was taken, and it cost her her life." Now her only course had been to have taken
her passage by sea: But she was diverted from
it by a dream. Agatharchides, reflecting up-
on Stratonice's superstition, takes an occasion

* Fifty furlongs were something more than six miles and a quarter English measure.

† An hundred cubits amounted to something more than one hundred eighty two English feet, that is three score yards and two feet.

‡ Twenty cubits amounted to something more than thirty six feet, that is, twelve English yards.

‡ Ten cubits were something more than eighteen feet, that is, six English yards.

to treat more at large upon that topick; and so enters upon an invective against the Jews.

The strictness of the Jewish sabbath.

"THE people (says he) they call Jews, are possess'd of a city by the name of Jerusalem, a place of an impregnable strength. They have a custom there of resting the seventh day, without either bearing of arms or tilling the ground, or attending any common business whatsoever: But they employ it wholly in their temples, and upon their devotions, from the morning to the evening. PTOLEMEUS the son of Lagus made his advantage of this custom, and enter'd the city with an army upon that day. And what was the consequence of it? Why when the Jews should have been defending their lives and liberties, their heads were altogether taken up with the superstitious foolery of not violating their sabbath: And so they deliver'd themselves up to an insupportable tyranny, which taught them, by experience, the unwarrantable foundation of so pernicious a law: From hence it is that men fly to dreams and opinions; never considering that things necessary are not to be controul'd by human reason." This is Agatharchides's way of ridiculing our conduct: But whosoever passes a sober judgment upon the whole matter, will find the proceeding grounded upon the most glorious foundation of honour and virtue; for what can be more heroical than to postpone life and country to the duty we owe to God's holy laws and religion?

Agatharchides reflects upon it.

THERE are many historians, 'tis true, who liv'd in the same age with us, and yet say nothing of us; not out of ignorance, but envy rather, or some other spiteful passion, as will be made appear. Jerome was a co-temporary with Hecateus, and wrote a book entituled, Of the successors of Alexander. He was the favourite of king Antigonus, and had the government of Syria. Now Hecateus wrote a complete volume of our affairs, and Jerome has not so much as one word of us, though we did in a manner draw the same air together. But men act according to their differing inclinations: Some are for transmitting the memory of the good things that are in us to posterity; and others for suppressing them to the scandal even of truth itself.

The Jews justify'd.

BUT we are not yet without evidence, sufficient to justify our claim to the antiquity we pretend to; which may easily be prov'd from the Egyptian, Chaldean and Phenician histories, besides the Greeks over and above: For, to omit those before mention'd, there's Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnafeas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and many others, perhaps more than I am aware of, who have particularly made mention of us. Now the greater part of these authors must undoubtedly be in the dark, as to the history of the first ages of the world, for want of the holy scriptures for their guide: But they all agree, however, in a common acknowledgment of our antiquity; and that's as much as we desire. As for Demetrius Phalereus, the elder Philon, and Eupolemus, they are not much out of the way, and deserve to be born withal, for want of the means of being better inform'd.

THERE is yet one article behind that I have oblig'd myself to clear; that is to say, I am

to disprove all the reproaches and scandals that have been cast upon us, and to expose the authors of them upon the credit of their own witnesses; for they have spoken as much against themselves as against us. But the spite and partiality of passionate writers is no new thing to men conversant in history: Some exercise their malignity upon whole nations, cities, manners, &c. some, in short, upon one thing, some upon another; as Theopompus did by the Athenians, Polycrates by the Lacedemonians, and the author of Tripoliticus (not Theopompus, as some imagin) did by the Thebans. Timeus hath been very foul also, both upon these people and others; and it is still their way to derogate from what is most excellent. Some out of malevolence and envy, others to get themselves a name by setting up for the authors of extravagant stories; by which means they pass with fools for wise men, and with wise men for fools. This is their way of defaming the Jews; and, to gratify the Egyptians, they endeavour to blast the truth itself.

THE Egyptians being known to be our enemies, there was no better way to gratify those people, than to disguise and falsify the story, both of our forefathers coming into Egypt, and that of their going out again: for they hated and envy'd us for many reasons. First, for growing so powerful and considerable while we were among them; and afterwards so happy when we were from them. The diversity of religions was another cause of dissention; there being the same difference, in proportion, betwixt their religion and ours, that we find betwixt the divine purity and created nature; for they made Gods of their beasts, and worshipp'd brute animals, one with another indifferently. This was the doctrine they drew in with their mother's milk, and that prepossession, render'd these foolish people incapable of better things. They had a mortal hatred for the proselytes that came over to us; and they were sunk to such a sottish abjection of mind, that they made no difficulty of contradicting themselves, and giving the lye to their own records. This shall be made good out of the authority of a great man of their own, whom I have already made use of in proof of our antiquity.

The Egyptians partial and prepossess'd.

WHEN Manetho was upon his Egyptian history, he pass'd a solemn protestation that he would faithfully extract it out of the holy scriptures; "And so he prefaces his discourse with a story of our ancestors carrying an army into Egypt, and subduing the country; but that, being driven out again soon after, they settled themselves in a province that is now call'd Judea, built a city by the name of Jerusalem, and erected a temple." Thus far he follows antiquity. But when he comes afterward to give himself a loose, and to deliver vulgar rumours and traditions, (as he calls them) the fables he raises of us are altogether incredible; for he makes no more of us than a rabble of Egyptian lepers, and other infected persons promiscuously jumbled together, that were driven out of Egypt for their uncleanness. He fancies them a king too, by the fictitious name of Amenophis; but was so conscious of the imposture, that he durst not

Manetho's Egyptian history.

A foolish story of one Amenophis.

* J. at. Arifhances.

venture upon calculating the precise time of his reign, as he does in other cases; for the connexion would betray him. Under this cover he tacks several idle tales to his history, wherein he had almost forgotten his own reckoning; that is to say, that it was now five hundred and eighteen years since the shepherds went out of Egypt toward Jerusalem; for it was in the reign of * Thumosis, that they departed. From Thumosis to the two brothers, Sethon and Hermeus, the government continued in a succession for three hundred ninety three years. "Sethon, he says, was otherwise called Egyptus, and Hermeus was call'd Danaus, whom Sethon expelled the kingdom, and then kept the government fifty nine years. His eldest son † Rhampses succeeded him, and reigned sixty six years." Now after owning the departure of our predecessors out of Egypt so many years before, he casts the mock-king Amenophis into the royal list, and makes him a prince of divine speculations; like Orus, he says, one of his predecessors; and adds further, "That he had a mind to see the Gods, wherein one Amenophis the son of Papius, and a priest of their way, so far gratify'd him, that he told him his desire should be granted, upon condition that the kingdom might be clear'd of all lepers and other unclean persons. This Amenophis, (says Manetho) was a person of such a reputation for a holy man and a prophet, that the king was overjoy'd at the promise, and presently gather'd together out of Egypt a multitude of infirm, foul, and sickly people, to the number of fourscore thousand, and sent them away to the eastward of the Nile, to work in quarries there, with a mixture of other Egyptians to whom that service was allotted. There were, (says he) leprous priests also, and learned men intermingled with the rest.

MANETHO carries it on; that "This wise heavenly man, in a horror of conscience for what he had done, and in the dread of a judicial vengeance from heaven upon himself, for giving that violent counsel, and upon the king for taking it, finding by a revelation that divine justice, to balance the tyrannical oppression of their sufferings, had in providence appointed them the government of Egypt for thirteen years: The priest durst not speak one word of this to the king, but committed the inspiration to writing, and so laid violent hands upon himself. This gave the king terrible apprehensions and anxiety of mind." And the author goes on as follows, word for word:

"THE king being now ply'd with petitions on the behalf of these miserable people, and particularly for some place of retreat where they might live safe and easy, they pitch'd upon ‡ Avaris, formerly known by the name of Typhon, and the seat of the shepherds. The prince granted them this boon; and they were no sooner settled in it, but, finding it a commodious post for a rebellion, they lifted themselves under Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, and took an oath of fidelity to him in whatever he should command them; upon these preliminary

conditions, that they should neither worship any of the Egyptian gods, nor abstain from any of the meats that they account holy, nor intermarry but with people of their own opinion. When they had gone thus far, in opposition to the interest and customs of the Egyptians, the commander presently order'd the fortifying and the walling in of the city, and the levying of war against Amenophis; who taking other priests along with him, sent an embassy to the shepherds at Jerusalem, whom king Thumosis had forced away out of Egypt; with instructions to the deputies to advise upon the common cause, and to invite them into a league against Egypt, with a promise to join in the confederacy, and receive them into Avaris, the seat of their ancestors, where they were sure they could want nothing; but they might fight when they found it convenient, and with all the ease in the world make themselves masters of the province. They were transported with joy at this proposal, and immediately drew out to the number of two hundred thousand men, and so marched away outright to Avaris.

AMENOPHIS, upon the news of this invasion, was at his wit's end what to think of the prophetic writing the priest left behind him, and so immediately called a great council of his princes and people together, and sent away all the beasts that pass'd for sacred among the Egyptians, with a strict order to the priests to keep all their idols as close as possible. He committed his son Sethon, otherwise called Romasses, after his father's name Rhampses, a child of five years of age, to the care of a particular friend; and so marched away himself, at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men to encounter the enemy. But upon second thoughts, and a check of conscience, he wheel'd off without fighting, and went his way to Memphis; where he and his people took shipping, and with Apis, and the rest of their Gods, fled into Ethiopia. The king of the country, who was in alliance with him, gave him and his people so generous a reception, that they wanted for nothing the place afforded, either provisions, or habitations, for their entertainment and convenience, to serve them the whole course of that fatal thirteen years banishment. Thus it far'd with the Egyptians in Ethiopia; beside that they had a guard allow'd them upon the frontier, for the safety of their king's person.

BUT in the mean time, the Jerusalem auxiliaries made infinitely more ravage in Egypt, than they that call'd them in: for there was nothing they stuck at that was either inhuman or wicked; and the very spectacle of their impiety was a calamity not to be express'd. The razing, burning, and rifling of towns and villages was nothing to them, without sacrilege, and breaking the images of their Gods to pieces over and above; most barbarously tearing the consecrated creatures, that the Egyptians ador'd, limb from limb; forcing the priests and prophets to be the executioners of them themselves, and then turning them off naked."

* Gr. Tethmosis. † Gr. Ramphes. ‡ Gr. Abaris.

THE author says yet further, "That the founder of that polity was one Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, so called from Osiris, a God that was worshipp'd there; and (he says) that this priest changing his religion, chang'd his name too, and called himself Moses." This is an Egyptian story of the Jews, but contracted for brevity's sake.

MANETHO says yet again, That "Amenophis and his son Rhampses marched afterward out of Ethiopia, with two great armies, encountred the shepherds and the lepers, routed, and had the chase of them with a very great slaughter, to the borders of Syria." This is the account we have from Manetho, which is most ridiculously trivial and childish, as will evidently appear.

He gives it for granted, in the first place, that our forefathers were not originally of Egypt, but came thither from abroad, reduced the country, and after that, quitted it. But as to our mingling afterwards with the Egyptian lepers, and Moses, that led us out of the land of Egypt, being one of them, this is so palpable a falshood, that it will be prov'd out of his own mouth to have been many ages before. Now this is not only a fiction, but the foundation of it as ridiculous, as it is false.

KING Amenophis, (he says) had a mind to see the Gods. What Gods I beseech you? For the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, may be seen at any time; and these are the gods that they worship. But if he means celestial Gods, they are altogether invisible. And what was it that put this conceit in his head now? why, another king, it seems, had seen them before. And why might not he as well have been told what they were, and how they look'd, without any further trouble? Very good! but the prophet, they say, who possess'd him with this extravagant curiosity, was a good and a wise man, and one whom the king did very much confide in: that is to say, that he would do a thing impossible to be done. But he fail'd of his end however. In one word more; why must the gods be ever the more invisible at last, because men are cripples, or lepers? they are offended at us for ill-manners, not for corporal defects. And how shall it enter into any man's head to imagine, that so many thousand diseased and impotent persons should be brought together at so short a warning? or how came it that the king did not follow the direction of his prophets; and rather banish them according to his order, than condemn them to the mines and the quarries? as if his business had been rather to get workmen than to purge the province. And then he makes the prophet kill himself in the dread of a divine vengeance, and leave the king in a writing the fate of Egypt. But how came the prophet not to foresee his own destruction as well as the rest? why did he not dissuade the king from the vanity of his fantastical longing? or to what end did he trouble himself about a calamity, that was not to take place till he should be dead and gone? or was the misery he fear'd worse than death itself? but the most sottish part of the story is yet behind.

"The king heard of this, (he says) and mightily troubled he was, to think what might come of it." And what did he do, I beseech you? why, instead of purging Egypt

as he should have done, of the sick and unclean, he restor'd them upon their first asking to Avaris, the habitation of their forefathers: and there they made choice of the high-priest of Heliopolis for their prince and governour, and to him they swore allegiance; in particular, that they would neither worship any of their gods, nor forbear eating any of their privileged meats, but destroy all as much, as in them lay, that the Egyptians esteemed sacred, and contract no marriages but with their confederates. These were the measures that the multitude bound themselves by oath to live and die by. In fine, they fortify'd Avaris, he says, and took up arms against the king; sending to Jerusalem for assistance, with a promise of putting it into their hands, (as their station of old) not doubting but from thence, upon a conjunction, they might easily make themselves masters of all Egypt. He follows the story, that they advanced with two hundred thousand men; but that Amenophis the Egyptian king, because he would not fight against God, took his flight into Ethiopia, and took Apis and all his deify'd animals along with him; and that afterwards the Jews, breaking in upon Egypt, laid their towns waste, and then set fire both to their cities and temples, put their nobility to the sword, and so committed all manner of out-rages without distinction or mercy. The priest, (he says) that had the administration of the government, was a native of Hierapolis; his name was Osarsiph, so called from their God Osiris, which he afterwards chang'd for that of Moses. He says that Amenophis fell into Egypt, out of Ethiopia, with a mighty power, in the thirteenth year after his expulsion; and in a battle with the shepherds and the lepers, gain'd a noble victory, cut off great numbers of them, and had the pursuit of the rest up to the skirts of Syria.

MANETHO was not aware here again how unmasterly he racks his stories together: For though the lepers and the invalids might think it hard measure at first to be so treated by the king, at the instigation of the prophet, yet when they came afterwards to be eas'd of the slavery of the mines, and to be allow'd the comfort of a commodious habitation, this fair usage one would think should have sweeten'd them again: or, if the aversion they had to the king was implacable, why did they not rather contrive some practice upon his person, than imbroid the publick, where they were all so much concern'd for the sake of their relations? But the contest was with men, not with the Gods; neither would they act contrary to the laws they were brought up in; so that now we are to pay our thanks to Manetho, so declaring that the ring-leaders of this uproar were none of those that came out of Jerusalem, but the very Egyptians themselves, and the priests especially, that had ty'd them up by oath to what they did. What can be more nonsensical than to say, that, when they saw none of the lepers friends or allies would join with them in the rebellion, or bear any part in the risk of the war, they were forced to send some of their sick people to Jerusalem for succour? Well! and upon what score of friendship or interest betwixt them? For they were rather to be look'd upon as enemies, in the contradictions of their lives and manners.

Notes upon Manetho.

Josephus's reflections upon the absurdities of the whole.

But they came, he says, at the first call, upon the promise, hope, and expectation of being put into the possession of Egypt; as if they who had been beaten out of Egypt had not understood the condition of the place. 'Tis true, if they had been in a necessitous starving condition, it might have been worth their while; but for people at ease, and in a much more fruitful and agreeable country than Egypt, to run such a hazard in favour of their own enemies, and those so scandalously diseased too, that they would never have been suffer'd in a private family; these are extravagances for none but madmen to be guilty of. And who could foresee the king's running away after all this, at the head of three thousand men? for that was the number (says Manetho) that he brought to Pelusium to encounter the rebels. He charges it also upon the Jerusalem army, that they seized the Egyptians corn and provisions, and brought the poor people into great distress by embezzeling their stores. And what could they expect less now from an open and a declar'd enemy? especially when the Egyptians had already done the very same thing, and bound themselves by oath to continue the same course.

WHAT shall we say then to his story of the rout Amenophis gave the enemy, with the slaughter and pursuit of them to the borders of Syria? Does Egypt lie so open on all hands, and would not they who had the management of the war, when they knew Amenophis was upon the march, secure the passes out of Ethiopia, and draw an army together to oppose him, which might so easily have been done? "But he pursued them closely (says Manetho) over all the dry barren sands, as far as Syria, and did execution upon them all the way he went." A likely matter! to pursue an enemy with an army over a desert that is hardly passable, even without any interruption. Here is enough out of Manetho to shew that we neither had our original from the Egyptians, nor any mixture with them. As for the leprous tainted part of them, we may reckon that there died many of them in the quarries, more in the war, and great numbers in this last action and flight. We shall proceed now to confute what Manetho says concerning Moses.

Moses vindicated from the scandals of Manetho.

THE Egyptians themselves are all agreed upon it, that Moses was a man of singular integrity and wisdom; and they stood out at nothing, tho' never so false and infamous, to make an Egyptian of him, (that is to say, their countryman) and one of the priests of Heliopolis, who was expell'd, with several others, for a leper. Now it appears from chronology, that Moses lived five hundred and eighteen years before this conjuncture, and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country where we now inhabit; so that there needs no further proof that he was no leper, than what arises from his own words, i. e. That no lepers should be admitted into any towns or villages, but live apart in a distinct habit by themselves; and that whoever touch'd a leper, or lodg'd under the same roof with him, should be reputed unclean; and whoever should come to be cur'd of that disease, and restor'd to his former state, he should pass some certain purifications, wash himself with fountain water, shave all his hair off,

and offer such and such sacrifices, before he should be receiv'd into the holy city. Now if Moses had been afflicted with this distemper himself, he would never have been so severe upon others for it.

AND this strictness of his was not only in the case of lepers, but no man was qualified for the priesthood who had the least maim upon him, or any other corporal defect; as it was deprivation also when it happen'd to be the case of a priest. Can any man think now that if Moses had been a leper, he would have made such laws against himself, and so much to his own shame and loss? As to the change of the name at last, from Osarsiph to Moses, what affinity does there appear betwixt the one and the other? Where's the agreement betwixt them? Moy in Egyptian is water, and Moyses is as much as preserv'd out of the water; and that's the whole mystery. It is now manifest, that so long as Manetho kept himself to the records of antiquity, he was not much wide of the truth; but when he gives himself up to fiction and fable, there is no longer any connection in his story.

I SHALL now advance to Cheremon, another Egyptian historian, who supposes the same names and persons, of Amenophis and his son Ramefles, with Manetho. He says, "That the goddess Isis appear'd to Amenophis in a vision, and chid him severely for suffering her temple to be ruin'd in the war. And (he says) that Phritiphantes, a holy scribe, suggested it to the king, that if he would clear Egypt of all people labouring under foul and malignant distempers, he should never be troubled again with those nightly apparitions. Upon this there was a call made of impotent and infirm wretches, and two hundred and fifty thousand of them banish'd under the command of Moses and Joseph, two of the number, and holy men; Moses in Egyptian being call'd Tisithes, and Joseph Peseeph. (He says) that they found at Pelusium three hundred and eighty thousand men, that Amenophis had left there, refusing them a passage into Egypt, that they struck a league, and join'd in an expedition against the Egyptians; but Amenophis would not stand it, and so withdrew into Ethiopia, leaving his wife big behind him. She staid up and down in caves and holes, till at length she was deliver'd of a male child, that she called Messenes; who growing up to man's estate, drove about two hundred thousand of the Jews into Syria, and brought back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia." Thus far Cheremon.

Cheremon, another Egyptian historian.

THERE needs no more now to overthrow the credit of these writers, than to confront them. There is no reconciling of truth and error, and no dividing of truth against itself. But when men fly to fables and impostures, they write fancy rather than history. Manetho imputes the banishment of the lepers to Amenophis's curiosity to see the Gods; Cheremon to the vision of Isis: The former makes the priest Amenophis the adviser to the purging of the king's dominions of the sick people, the other says it was Phritiphantes: and they agree every jot as well in their numbers as in their stories: One makes them eighty thousand, the other two hundred and fifty thousand. Manetho again sends the lepers first to

These writers contradict one another.

Lyfey a shan and a fess'd

to the quarries; and after that, transports them to Avaris, where they send to Jerusalem for help, and make that the rise of the war. Cheremon will have it, on the contrary, that being driven out of Egypt, they made use of three hundred and eighty thousand men at Pelusium, that Amenophis had left there; and with that body of men invaded Egypt, and frighted Amenophis away into Ethiopia. This he tells us, but, (which is wonderful) not one word who these men were, whence this vast army came, whether Egyptians or foreigners, or why Amenophis would not receive them. And then there's Cheremon's dream of Isis and the lepers. He says again, that Moses and Joseph were expell'd together; whereas Joseph was dead four ages before Moses's time, computing the whole at about an hundred and seventy years. Manetho makes Rameffes, the son of Amenophis, a banish'd man with his father, a party in the war with him, and father and son fellow exiles in Ethiopia; but Cheremon makes him a posthumous child, and born in a cave after the death of his father. In time he grows up to be a conqueror, and drives away near two hundred thousand Jews into Syria. What a sottish credulity is this! Without telling us what these three hundred and eighty thousand were, or how t'other eighty thousand men perish'd; whether they fell in battle, or went over to Rameffes. But which is the greatest wonder of all, he does not so much as tell us who they are that he calls Jews, or to which of the two parties he gives that appellation; whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand lepers, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand at Pelusium. But it would be time lost to confute those who confute themselves: And there is no conviction so strong as that which comes out of their own mouths.

Lyfymachus,
a shameless
and a pro-
fess'd falsifier.

I come now to Lyfymachus, a profess'd falsifier, as well as the rest; but for the faculty of an extravagant invention, so much beyond them all, that he out-does them all with the malice of the faction. He says "That in the reign of Bocchoris king of Egypt the Jews were so leprous, scabby, and over-run with foul distempers, that they press'd into the temples to beg for charities. There dy'd great numbers of them of contagious diseases; upon which there follow'd a famine in Egypt. Bocchoris, in this distress, sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon about this dearth, and the answer was this, That he should purify the temples, by sending away all unclean and impious persons out of them into the desert, and drowning those that were ulcerated and leprous (for the sun itself had a horror for so abominable a sight) and this being done, the earth should bring forth fruit again. Bocchoris, presently upon this, calls his priests and his diviners about him, and, by their advice, orders the sick people to be sorted together, and deliver'd up to the soldiers: Those who were afflicted with sores and leprosy, to be wrap'd up in lead, and cast into the sea; and the others to be carry'd into the wilderness, and there expos'd to be starv'd. The night coming on, these poor people began to think what to do with themselves: So they made fires, set watches and guards, and the next night kept a fast, to reconcile them-

selves to the Gods whom they had offended. "On the day following, there was one Moses, (he says) who advis'd them to decamp, and march on all together till they met with better accommodation; with a charge to do no good offices upon the way, nor so much as to give any man good counsel that should desire it; and likewise to break down and destroy all the temples and altars they found in the way. These proposals were no sooner approv'd, and the resolution taken, but the multitude presently put themselves upon the march over the wilderness, and after many hardships, came at last into a country that was both dress'd and peopled. They treated the inhabitants cruelly to the highest degree, burnt and pillag'd their temples, and came, in the end, to a place that they now call Judea, and built a city there by the name of Hierosyla, (according to the occasion) being as much as to say, the spoil of holy things: But coming afterwards into power and reputation, they were ashamed of their own name, and changed Hierosyla into Hierosolyma, and call'd themselves after their city."

We have here a third king, quite different from the two former kings of Manetho and Cheremon, who, without one word of the dream and the Egyptian prophet, went to ask counsel of the oracle about lepers and other unclean persons. He says, "That the Jews gather'd together in multitudes about the temples." Does he mean the lepers by the Jews; as if the Jews were only tainted with that disease? For he seems so to restrain it in calling them the people of the Jews. But why does he not tell us also whether he means natives or strangers? If Egyptians, why does he call them Jews? Or if strangers, why does he not tell us whence they came? And then again, if there were so many of them drown'd, and the rest thrown out into deserts, how came there to be so many left; and how came they likewise to pass the wilderness, possess the country, erect a city, and to build the most glorious temple in the world?

How comes he now again to give us only the bare name of our law-giver, without any thing of his country, his person, or his family? And how came he to make such extravagant laws in his passage, to the dishonour both of Gods and men? Either these exiles were Egyptians, or not: If the former, they would hardly cast off their country's laws on a sudden; or if they came from elsewhere, they had undoubtedly certain laws and customs of their own, which they could not easily be induced to quit. It is likewise to be consider'd, that if they had join'd in an oath of confederacy against those who drove them out, they might have had a plausible colour for it: But for a company of miserable friendless wretches, as they own themselves, to engage in a mortal feud and defiance against all mankind; what greater folly could there be in the world, save only the fiction of so ridiculous a story? And yet the conceit of the name, with an allusion to the city, and afterwards changing it, makes the foolery all of a piece. But how could the name of this city (derived, as he says, from the spoil of holy things) be look'd upon as honourable, in the opinion of its first founders, and

and yet become afterwards so great a scandal to their posterity, that they were ashamed to own it, and for that reason changed it? Now this angry gentleman was so intent, I suppose, upon spite and mischief, that he took Hierosolyma for the same thing in Hebrew, that it is in

Greek. But what need many words, for the exposing of an imposture that has the confidence to contradict and to disprove itself? Beside that, it is high time to put an end to this book, and pass to the next; wherein I propound to make good my undertaking.



as to give any man good counsel that should desire it; and likewise to break down and destroy all the temples and altars they found in the way. These prophecies were no more approved, and the relation taken, but the multitude presently put themselves upon the march over the wilderness, and after many hardships, came at last into a country that was both rich and populous. They treated the inhabitants civilly to the highest degree, built and enlarged their temples, and came, in the end, to a place that they

the name of Hierosolyma (according to the occasion) being as much as to say, the temple of holy things; but coming there was no power and reputation that was formerly of their own name, and changed their name into Hierosolyma, and called themselves after their city.

We have here a third king, quite different from the two former kings of Armenia and Cherson, who, without any word of the dream and the Igyptian prophet, went in search of the treasure, and found it in the same place.

Josephus means the Jews by the name of Hierosolyma, which was only a name, and the Jews were only named after the name of the city, and not after the name of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

I come now to the fourth king, who, as well as the rest, but not for the sake of an extraordinary intention, to make them from all, that he would have them all, and how came they named of the nation, Hierosolyma, that in the time of the king, they were the Jews, and not the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

I come now to the fifth king, who, as well as the rest, but not for the sake of an extraordinary intention, to make them from all, that he would have them all, and how came they named of the nation, Hierosolyma, that in the time of the king, they were the Jews, and not the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

I come now to the sixth king, who, as well as the rest, but not for the sake of an extraordinary intention, to make them from all, that he would have them all, and how came they named of the nation, Hierosolyma, that in the time of the king, they were the Jews, and not the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

I come now to the seventh king, who, as well as the rest, but not for the sake of an extraordinary intention, to make them from all, that he would have them all, and how came they named of the nation, Hierosolyma, that in the time of the king, they were the Jews, and not the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

I come now to the eighth king, who, as well as the rest, but not for the sake of an extraordinary intention, to make them from all, that he would have them all, and how came they named of the nation, Hierosolyma, that in the time of the king, they were the Jews, and not the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

I come now to the ninth king, who, as well as the rest, but not for the sake of an extraordinary intention, to make them from all, that he would have them all, and how came they named of the nation, Hierosolyma, that in the time of the king, they were the Jews, and not the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.

And there is no country or city named Hierosolyma, which comes out of their own mouth, and which is the name of the city, and not of the temple, which was the name of the city.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

TO

EPAPHRODITUS:

IN ANSWER TO

APION, about the ANTIQUITY of
the JEWS.

BOOK II.

HAVING already given sufficient proof of the antiquity of our nation, upon the credit of several Phenician, Chaldean, and Egyptian historians, together with other Greek authors, in my reflections upon Manetho, Cheremon, &c. After this right, I say, done to the common cause, in the foregoing treatise, I shall now (my dearest Epaphroditus) turn my discourse more particularly to my personal adversaries, and to Apion the grammarian, in the first place; if at least such a one may be worth taking notice of. As to his relations, they are vulgar and fabulous, after the way of that foul-mouth'd sort of people; the air of his writings flat and heavy, palpable ignorance over and above, and a vein of calumny running from one end of them to the other; a mixture, in fine, that speaks the compositor to be unmannerly, violent, and troublesome, to the highest degree. But yet considering that there are more fools in the world than wise men, and that fools are better pleased with fooleries than with matters of more gravity and weight; and considering again, how many there are that had rather hear their neighbours traduc'd, than well spoken of; I find myself under some kind of necessity to call this fond false man to an account for the grossness of his arrogance, in making himself judge of the cause: But then I have this encouragement on the other hand, that people are generally well enough content to see the mischief of malicious

scandals and clamours turn'd upon the heads of the authors.

As to his very manner of writing, it is so dark and intricate, that there is hardly any guessing at his meaning, in the confusion, contradictions, and inconsistency of his stories. One while he mistakes the history of our forefathers departing out of Egypt, the same way that others have done, whom I have already confuted: Another while, he falls foul upon the Alexandrian Jews, and then launches out into outrages against the rites and ceremonies of our holy temple and worship.

Now as to the two points, of our forefathers deriving their descent originally from Egypt, and of their being driven out again for any foul disease, or infectious distemper, or any other reason of that kind; I have said more than needed, to the clearing of those imputations. So that I shall only sum up what Apion hath added over and above, and particularly in the third book of his Egyptian history. "Moses, (he says) was by birth, of Heliopolis, as I have heard from the oldest men upon the place, of my time. The people formerly had their religious meetings in the open air, till Moses, who was well-skill'd in the worship of his country, brought their congregations out of the fields into private houses in the city, enjoining the people to address their prayers still toward the sun. Now with a respect to the situation of the place, there were, instead of obelisks certain pil-

Josephus's remarks upon Apion's follies and mistakes.

Apion a dark, a coarse, and a fabulous writer.

"lars advanc'd upon the figures of basons with
"engravings upon them; and the shadow fall-
"ling upon these basons, (for all was open
"above) still as the sun mov'd, the shadow
"mov'd along with it.

The whole
story ridicu-
lous from one
end to the
other.

THIS was the rare conceit of our wonder-
ful grammarian. But I shall rather leave the
confutation of him to the writings of Moses,
than take it upon myself. As for Moses, he
gives no account, either of any such form pre-
scrib'd, or made use of, at the first erecting of
the tabernacle; or that he ever order'd poste-
rity to do any thing like it; neither was Solo-
mon (afterward the founder of the Jerusalem
temple) ever aware of any such fantastical cu-
riosity, as Apion speaks of.

As to the authorities he cites, of the old
men, who told him Moses was an Heliopoli-
tan, he was too young, it seems, to know it
himself, and therefore consulted some of his
cotemporaries, who, he says, were well ac-
quainted with him. Was there ever so rank
or so ridiculous a contrivance? Apion could
not find out what countryman either Homer,
or Pythagoras was; though the latter but of
yesterday in comparifon. How comes he then
to be so positive in the case of Moses, who liv'd
so many ages before them; and all this upon
the credit of what he had heard old men say?

AND these historians are no less divided, a-
bout the time of Moses's leading the lepers,
the lame, and the blind out of Egypt. Ma-
netho makes it to be in the reign of Tethmosis,
near three hundred ninety three years before
the banishing of Danaus to Argos. Lysimachus
will have it in the reign of king Bocchoris;
that is to say, seventeen hundred years before
Molon, and several others reckon according
to their own fancy. But Apion, who sets up
for the oracle of the whole party, fix'd the
time precisely upon the first year of the seventh
Olympiad, the very year, he says, of the
building of Carthage. He makes mention of
Carthage, as a token that would infallibly
confirm the truth of his computation. Where-
as, at the same time, without considering
what he does, he furnishes arguments and evi-
dence against himself; at least if any heed may
be given in this case to the Phenician records;
for we find in that history, that Hiram liv'd
at least an hundred and fifty years before the
building of Carthage, as we have proved al-
ready out of the Phenician annals; and that
he had a particular friendship and veneration
for Solomon, the founder of the temple at Je-
rusalem, and contributed materials in abun-
dant toward the perfecting of that work. But
Solomon, in fine, laid the foundation of the
temple six hundred and twelve years after
the Jews went out of Egypt.

As to the number of the exiles, Apion a-
grees in the same false account with Lysima-
chus, of an hundred and ten thousand. But
then the original he gives of the word sabbath,
is childish even to admiration. "When the
"Jews, (says he) had been six days upon the
"way, they were seized with ulcers, and in-
"flamations about the groin; and for this rea-
"son they rested the seventh day. And being
"now safely arriv'd in the country, called at
"present Judea, they gave the day the name
"of the sabbath, from the Egyptian Sabbato-
"sis; which is as much as to say, the disease
"of the groin, as aforesaid". Ought not an

author of this complexion to be laugh'd at,
for such ridiculous trifling, or exploded for of-
fering to impose upon the world, under the
face and countenance of history, such intoler-
able absurdities, such monstrous and inconsis-
tent improbabilities? An hundred and ten thou-
sand men all labouring under the same distem-
per! And if they were likewise blind, lame,
and languishing, as Apion elsewhere reports
them, how was it possible for such an infirm
multitude to hold out, but so much as one day's
journey, in the desert? And this was not all
neither, for they were to cut their way thro'
all opposition over and above. Is it not an
unlikely thing, I say, that an hundred and
ten thousand men should all fall ill at the same
time, of the same disease? This could never be
according to the ordinary course of nature;
and it would be the grossest of blunders to im-
pute it to chance.

AND is it not an admirable fancy of Apion's,
the bringing of an hundred and ten thousand
sick and weak men, safe and sound, every
soul of them, to Judea in six days? And then
what a story does he tell you of Moses's ad-
vancing up to mount Sinai, between Egypt
and Arabia, and lying close there for forty
days; at the end of which, coming down, he
deliver'd the law to the Jews? I would fain
know now, how it is possible for such a body
of men to march over so vast a desert in six days;
or to subsist forty days in a place that affords
neither bread nor water.

HIS trifling with the grammatical reason of
the word sabbath, is frivolous to the last de-
gree of impertinence and folly; for there is a
mighty difference betwixt the two words Sab-
bo and Sabbatum: By the latter, we under-
stand the Jews day of rest; and the other he
expounds himself, to be only the name of the
Egyptian disease. This may pass for a supple-
ment of certain new fables, that Apion has
superadded to the story of Moses; and so for
the Jews going out of Egypt, that was never
heard of before. But where's the wonder for
a man to bely other people, who first clashes
with himself? He was born at Oasis in Egypt,
but renounces the place of his nativity to be
thought an Alexandrian; which shews what
opinion he hath of the Egyptians; for that's
the name he gives to all people, whom he
would represent for the worst of men: And
this is it that makes him take such pains to dis-
guise his extraction, and shuffle off his original.
They that glory in the dignity of their coun-
try, reckon it a point of honour to make good
their title, and to maintain the rights and pri-
vileges belonging to it, against all violence and
intrusion. Now this is the case of the Eryp-
tians, with respect to us. Either they claim
country and kindred of us, on the one hand,
where they pretend to value themselves upon
that relation: Or where they take themselves
to lie under a scandal, they are willing, on
the other side, that we should bear our part
in the reproach. But Apion manages all his
outrageous passions against us, as if his business
were to gratify the Alexandrians, for allow-
ing him the freedom of their city; well un-
derstanding the mortal feud there was at that
time betwixt them and the Alexandrian Jews;
and still, though he pretended to expose only
one sort of Jews, the venom of his calumny
and malice extended to the whole race.

BUT

The
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BUT what were the grievous and intolerable indignities all this while, that he charges with so much bitterness upon the Alexandrian Jews? The Jews, says Apion, upon their coming out of Syria, settled themselves along the coast, at a place within the wash of the tide; but no port at hand for a vessel to ride in. Well! and was not Apion much to blame now to cast a scandal upon so famous a city; and a city he so much glory'd in (how vainly and falsely soever) as the place of his nativity! For that quarter is a dependency upon Alexandria; and universally reputed a most commodious habitation. If the Jews took it by force, and so maintain'd it against all opposition, so much the more to their honour.

The Jews had several eminent benefactors.

BUT to deliver the plain truth of the matter, it was Alexander the great that put the Jews into possession of it, and granted to them the same freedoms and immunities with the Macedonians themselves. But what would Apion have said now, if, instead of an establishment in this royal city, they had had their residence allotted them at Necropolis; and if their tribes were yet call'd Macedonians to this very day? But either Apion hath read the epistles of king Alexander, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and the succeeding kings of Egypt, the inscriptions that Cesar caused to be engraven upon the pillar at Alexandria, in memory of the privileges by him granted to the Jews: Apion, I say, hath either read these memorials, or he hath not; if the former, he must needs be a very ill man to write things so contrary to his knowledge; and if the latter, he has forfeited his credit, for undertaking a subject he was ignorant of.

A nonsensical cavil.

AND his wonder and admiration at the Jews calling themselves Alexandrians, argues no less ignorance; for do we not know that all colonies take their names from the first founders? To prove this we shall not need to look out for foreign instances, having so many nearer home. The Jews of Antioch we call Antiochians, our forefathers being made free of that city by king Seleucus; and so the Jews of Ephesus, are called Ephesians, and those of Ionia, Ionians: to which right they stand entitled by the successive privileges of former grants. And this is a grace that the state of Rome hath vouchsafed, not only to particular persons, but to whole provinces and nations. How came the ancient Iberians, the Tuscans, and the Sabines to be called Romans else? Now if Apion will not allow the benefit of this common liberty to others, why does he claim it to himself, in taking upon him the name of an Alexandrian? What pretence hath any man (according to his rule) who was born in the inland part of Egypt, to write himself an Alexandrian, and especially an Egyptian; those people being the men of the whole world to whom the masters of it, the Romans, refuse this liberty? But our envious historian, lying under an incapacity of pretending to this advantage himself, turns his displeasure against those that are in a rightful possession of it.

The Jews highly in favour with Alexander.

IN the erecting of this city, Alexander made use of the assistance and service of the Jews; not for want of men, but in the testimony and approbation of their faith and integrity, and with a resolution to do them far-

ther honour and respect. Alexander, says He- cateus, had such a tenderness for the modesty and loyalty of the Jews, that, beside other signal bounties, he gave them the province of Samaria, over and above, tax-free.

AFTER Alexander, came Ptolemy the son of Lagus; who had every jot as good an opinion of the Alexandrian Jews, as his predecessor, and into their hands he committed the trust of all the forts and strong holds in Egypt. And for his better security, he planted Cyrene, and other cities of Libya, with these people.

And so with Ptolemy the son of Lagus.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus succeeded Ptolemy the son of Lagus; who did not only set all the Jewish prisoners at liberty that he had in his country, but remitted them several duties, and other sums of money; and, which was more than all the rest, he contracted a passionate inclination to be instructed in our laws and customs, and in the holy mysteries of the sacred scriptures; insomuch that he press'd earnestly for interpreters to be sent him in order to his better information. Now for the more speedy advance of the work, the care of it was committed to Demetrius Phalereus, Andreus, and Aristeas (no common men): Demetrius the miracle of his age for learning and virtue, the other two, captains of the guards of his body, to whom was committed the care of the work. It was not to be thought now, that this prince could ever have had such a veneration for the Jewish laws and customs, and for the piety and wisdom of our forefathers, without a suitable reverence and affection for the professors of these holy rules and methods. But Apion must be very little read in that history, if he did not know that the Jews were highly in favour with almost the whole race of the Macedonian kings.

THE third Ptolemy (called Euergetes) having made himself master of Syria by force, paid no solemnity of acknowledgments for his victory to the Egyptian Gods, but sacrific'd, and gave God thanks in the temple at Jerusalem, after the manner of the Jews.

Ptolemy Euergetes.

PTOLEMY Philometor, and the Queen Cleopatra, committed the charge of the whole government to Onias and Dolitheus, who were both Jews. Apion meanly derogates from the action; whereas he should rather have thank'd them for preserving that Alexandria, whereof he very falsely pretended himself to be a citizen. For when Egypt was up in a rebellion, and upon the very brink of being irrecoverably lost, these two Jews set all right again. Soon after this, Onias enter'd the place (says Apion) with a small army, in the presence of Thermus the Roman ambassador: and this is all he says of the exploit, tho' it cannot be deny'd to have been a brave and a generous action.

Ptolemy Philometor.

UPON the death of this Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy Physcon the son, marched out of Cyrene, with a design to force Cleopatra and the king's sons out of Egypt, and usurp the kingdom to himself. Upon this ground it was that Onias made war upon Physcon, in defence of Cleopatra, like a true friend to a crown'd head, as well in adversity as in prosperity. But there never was a more remarkable instance of God's power and justice than

Ptolemy Physcon succeeds Ptolemy Philometor. Physcon makes war upon Cleopatra, and Onias engages in her defence.

* This part of the Greek copy is lost, and the vacancy supply'd out of the Latin.

upon this occasion. For when Ptolemy was ready to join battle with Onias, he caus'd all the Jews in Alexandria, men, women and children to be stript and bound, and so thrown naked to the elephants to be trampled to death; and the beasts were made drunk too, to inflame their fury. But in the conclusion, and beyond all expectation, the elephants quitted the Jews, and turning their rage another way, they destroy'd a great many of Ptolemy's best friends. In this instant of time, there appeared to him a hideous figure, with a menacing precaution to him to leave persecuting the Jews; and the favourite mistress of all his concubines, (some call'd her Ithaca, others Hirene) joining in the same office of mediation, the intercession wrought so effectually upon him, that he not only granted the request, but heartily repented himself of all the cruelties that he had either actually committed or intended. This is a truth so notorious, that the Jews of Alexandria keep to this day an anniversary festival in memory of their deliverance. And yet such is the spiteful malevolence of Apion, that enemy of mankind, that he takes upon him to reproach the Jews for joining in this war against Physcon, as an impious action; whereas he should rather have extoll'd it as a laudable piece of justice.

A miraculous providence in favour of the Jews.

Envy and detraction all over.

Apion celebrates the last Cleopatra, though the lewddest of women.

AND so for the last Cleopatra that reign'd in Alexandria, how does Apion celebrate that queen, and lay all the blame at our door, only because she was ungrateful to us? Why does he not expose her in the lewdness of her life and manners, in her iniquity and falseness to the tenderest of husbands, friends and relations, to the Romans in general, and to her imperial benefactors? Did she not cause her own sister Arsinoë to be put to death in the temple without a crime? Did she not as treacherously murder her brother? Did she not rifle the temples of the Gods of her ancestors, and the sepulchres of her forefathers? Did she not receive her kingdom as a bounty from the hand of the first Cesar, and afterwards rebel against his adopted son and successor? What was it but Cleopatra's charms and philtres that debauch'd Anthony, and made him a traitor both to his country and to his friends? Some princes she dethron'd, others again, she made the passive instruments of her iniquity.

To pass now from her ingratitude, lewdness, inhumanity and avarice, to that infamous meanness of spirit that she shew'd at the naval battle of Actium, where she abandon'd even her belov'd Anthony himself, and the father of many children by her; and her forcing him to deliver up his army and his honour, and all this to follow her. Could any thing be meaner, or more contemptible? In fine, upon Cesar's taking Alexandria, she was transported to such a degree of rage, that she valu'd herself upon the merit of a merciless barbarity: Inasmuch that she reckon'd it would have made some amends for the loss of the town, if she could but have put all the Jews that were in it to death with her own hand. Now if it be again, as Apion reports, that Cleopatra refus'd corn to the Jews in a time of famine, why does he charge that upon us as a disgrace, which in effect redounds to our honour? But Cleopatra receiv'd the just reward of her evil doings.

AND what can we do better now for our own justification, than to appeal to Cesar himself, the publick decrees of the senate of Rome, and the testimonials of Augustus Cesar? Which will all bear us witness of the faith and true allegiance we have ever paid to the empire; and particularly in the war against the Egyptians.

The Jews appeal to Cesar himself in justification of their loyalty.

Now these are the pieces and the authorities that Apion should have consulted, if he would have done us right. He should have examin'd what opinion Alexander himself and other great princes had of us; all the Ptolemies, the senate, and so to the most illustrious of Roman emperors. If Germanicus could not supply all the Alexandrians with corn that wanted it, this was no fault of the Jews, but the infelicity of a barren season, or a hard year. For no body ever doubted the good affection of the emperors toward the Alexandrian Jews, neither were they deny'd wheat any more than their neighbours; but, on the contrary, they found credit upon all occasions, as in the command of the river and other considerable passes; and they were trusted, in fine, in all places and matters of moment, beyond other people.

BUT then, says Apion, if the Jews be citizens of Alexandria, how comes it that they do not worship the same Gods, and embrace the same religion with the rest of their fellow citizens? Now to answer you in your own way; how come you, who are all Egyptians, to fall foul on one another, and to have irreconcilable differences in opinions in the matter of worship? Shall we pronounce you presently to be no Egyptians for this? Or shall we doubt, on the other hand, whether you are, in truth, men or no, for taking so much pains to breed up beasts, even contrary to nature, and then for worshipping them when you have done? Whereas our people live in union and agreement. Now if you are so divided among yourselves, what wonder is it if the Alexandrian Jews, who came thither from abroad, stick to their old laws still, how different soever from yours?

Apion's objection answer'd.

BUT Apion will have it again, that all the broils and commotions in the state there, were occasion'd by these disagreements in matters of religion betwixt the Alexandrian Jews and ancient inhabitants. Now if this imputation holds good against the Alexandrian Jews, why not as well against all other Jews elsewhere too? For wheresoever we are dispers'd, we are nevertheless all of a piece. So that he that looks narrowly into these turbulent revolutions, will find them occasion'd only by such as Apion himself: For so long as the Greeks and Macedonians were in this city, the Jews had the free exercise of their religion, and the people lived all quietly and happily together. But as the Egyptians more and more encreased, so the times in proportion grew more and more troublesome. But the Jews all this time continu'd the same, throughout all changes; while the other, having neither the constancy of the Macedonians, nor the prudence of the Greeks, stir'd up all these broils: And being, over and above, poison'd with the ill habits and practices of the Egyptians, and irritated by the aversion they had for the Jews. These were the people, I say, that gave the rise to all our con-

Apion imputes all the state factions to the divisions among the Jews.

Josephus turns them upon Apion and his party.

The Jews vilify'd by Apion; and vindicated by Josephus.

confusions: So that we are only charg'd for the errors and miscarriages of our very accusers. Apion is likewise pleas'd to vilify us as strangers, tho' fully qualify'd with the rights of freemen; and yet our adversaries at the same time set up for citizens, without the least colour of a pretence or title to that privilege. We do not read that any prince in the history of former times, or that any of the late emperors ever granted letters of freedom to the Egyptians. But the first who introduc'd us to a right to that claim, was Alexander the Great, and the grant hath been since enlarged with additions by other kings; and since that again, continu'd and confirm'd to us by the Romans.

The case of graven images.

APION takes occasion to lay great blame upon us also, for not setting up images and statues in honour of the emperors; as if they could not have taken notice of this themselves, without his intermeddling on their behalf. Now instead of arraigning us, he should rather have celebrated the generous courtesy of the Romans, in allowing their subjects the freedom of their own religion, without extorting from them such honours as they could not pay them with a good conscience; so that they contented themselves with those respects which might be honestly render'd them. It is the good-will that stamps the obligation, and sets a value upon the benefit, without the intervention either of necessity or violence. Well! But it is a common practice, you will say, both with the Greeks and other nations, to set a high esteem upon the pictures or images of their fathers, mothers, children; nay, and of strangers sometimes, and so to their very servants, &c. And shall men grudge a deference of the same kind and quality to their lords and masters? My answer is, That ours is a quite different case, with respect to our venerable lawgiver, who hath positively forbidden us the use of all images, and of any creature whatsoever, either animate or inanimate. And he did not this in any prospect of derogating from the dignity of the Roman empire; but he would not suffer any corporeal image or representation to be made of an invisible and an incomprehensible God. But we are not yet forbidden the paying of a reverence to good men, in the next place to God himself; as in the case of the emperors and the people of Rome, for whose welfare and prosperity we offer daily sacrifices, at the charge of the publick, and for no other mortals under the sun.

THIS may serve for any answer to Apion's extravagances about Alexandria; but not without admiration at the confidence of Posidonius, and Apollonius Molon, who furnish'd the materials, and charge us for not worshipping the same gods with other people. To say nothing of numerous scurrilous stories upon that subject, even to the degree of blaspheming and ridiculing our very temple itself, and without any check of conscience for what they do. Not but that a falsity of any sort is one of the most unmanly of vices, and most unbecoming of gentlemen; but especially where the scandal of it falls upon a holy temple, so famous all over the world for the exemplary solemnity of an orderly devotion.

A senseless tale of an ass with a golden head.

"In this holy place (says Apion) the Jews had the golden head of an ass of very great value; which head the Jews worshipp'd, and it was a deity answerable to their reli-

gion; the image (he says) of an immense value was found deposited in the treasury, and carry'd away by Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the rifling of that sacred place." Now my answer to Apion is this: That supposing the story to have been a truth, it would not yet look well out of the mouth of an Egyptian to reproach us with it; for an ass is not one jot more scandalous than a goat or a weazle, or several other beasts which the Egyptians adore. How could any man be so besotted now as to believe himself, in so incredible an imposture, with twenty gross contradictions in the face of him? Have we not still govern'd ourselves from time to time by the same laws and customs, without ever shifting or changing? And tho' Jerusalem hath borne her part in the common fate of other cities, and fallen into the hands of enemies over and over, as Theos, Pompey the Great, Licinius Crassus, and of Titus Cesar now at last, temple and all, there was no talk of an ass's head found there, nor of any thing extraordinary, but the purest piety, and the ensigns of it, which will not be properly a subject for this place.

As for Antiochus, his pilaging of the temple was a faithless and a perfidious action. He did not master it as a fair enemy, but as a treacherous friend, and a traitor to his allies. He wanted money, and thus he supply'd his necessities, like a common thief by robbery: But in short, we have many grave historians to bear us witness, that there was nothing found, as he pretends, upon the rifling of it, to make the party or the cause ridiculous. As among others, I may reckon Polybius the Megalopolitan, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolas the Damascen, Timagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apollodorus; who do all agree, that Antiochus being very necessitous, broke faith with the Jews, and robb'd the temple of a prodigious mass of gold and silver. Now if Apion had not had the heart of an ass, and the impudence of a dog, two of the gods usually worshipp'd by them, he would have taken these circumstances into consideration. But we are not yet come to have that veneration for our asses, that the Egyptians have for their asps and crocodiles; wherein they are so superstitious, that whosoever is stung by the one, or snatch'd away by the other, they reckon he goes immediately to the gods. But asses are to us the very same thing they are to other wise men: We make use of them to carry our burdens, and do our drudgery; but if they spoil the corn, or will not do as they should do, we correct them with blows.

The treachery and sacrilege of Antiochus.

Now after all this spite and calumny, Apion's inventions have been either so ill laid, or so ill put together, that he could never get credit enough in the world yet to do us any hurt. But there is another malicious story still behind, that passes all the rest, and he borrow'd it from the Greeks: We shall not need to say more of it than this, That they know little of what belongs to piety or holy things, who do not understand, that the prophaning of a temple by walking through it, is a much more pardonable offence, than the raising of scandals against religious men, and reflecting indignities upon those who serve at the altar: But it was their business rather to palliate a sacrilegious and a perfidious prince, by impu-

A fantastical
encounter
between An-
tiochus and
a Grecian.

ting what he did to his necessities, than to do right to us, and our temple.

APION says farther, "That Antiochus, upon entering the temple, found a man in bed there, with a table before him, set out with all the delicacies that either sea or land afforded. This man was so surpriz'd at the encounter, that, looking upon Antiochus as his good angel, and one that came to rescue him, he threw himself at his feet, and in a posture of adoration, implor'd his assistance. The king bade him speak freely, and tell him what he was; how he came thither, what he did there; and finally, what was the meaning of that treat there upon the table. The poor man, upon this, burst out presently into a passion, and with sighs and tears gave him this answer.

"I AM (says he) a Greek; and as I was wandering up and down this country for a livelihood, I was taken up at unawares by some outlandish people, who brought me to this place, and shut me up here, with order not to let any creature come at me. I was at first well enough pleased with an entertainment so much beyond my expectation: but upon second thoughts, finding myself a little suspicious and uneasy, I found some of my keepers to know what might be the meaning of this way of proceeding, and the resolution they gave me was this; That the Jews had a law or custom among themselves once a year, upon a certain day prefix'd, to seize upon a Grecian stranger: and so when they had kept him a fattening for one whole year, to take him out into a wood, and offer him up for a sacrifice, according to the solemnity of their own forms; taking a taste of his blood, with a horrid oath at the same time, to live and die mortal enemies to the Greeks: after which, they cast the remainder of this miserable carcass into a ditch. The Greek told Antiochus likewise, that his time was within a few days of being expir'd; adjuring him by the veneration he had for the Grecian Gods, to deliver him from that inhuman treachery of the Jews."

THIS tragical invention was carry'd on to the highest pitch of shameless cruelty; but not so far yet, as to discharge Antiochus of the sacrilege in any sort, as those parasites would have had it, who trump'd up this story in his favour. For it was not upon the Greek's account that Antiochus enter'd the temple; but he found him there after he was in, without any foreknowledge of the matter; so that it was a wickedness in his heart, not to be warranted upon any false pretence whatsoever, as will appear manifestly from the thing itself. Now the difference is much greater betwixt our laws and the Egyptians, and those of several other nations, than betwixt us and the Greeks; or where is the country, in fine, that has not people of all religions some time or other to pass thro' it? and how comes it now at last, that this fantastical barbarity should be exercis'd only upon the Greeks? or how is it possible that the Jews should all join in the solemnizing of these sacrifices; and so many thousands, as Apion numbers them, have every one a morsel out of the carcass of one miserable wretch? and then how comes it that we have not the name of this persecuted Greek,

whoever he was; and that Antiochus did not send him back again in pomp and state, into his own country, which would have given him the reputation of a prince of piety and a true lover of his people, besides procuring him the alliance of all other nations, who wou'd have readily join'd him against the power and hatred of the Jews?

BUT there's no working upon fools by argument, without the demonstrative evidence of sense and fact. Now there is not any man that ever saw this temple of ours; but can witness the care that was taken, by inviolable laws and provisions, to order every thing in purity and perfection. It was divided into four partitions, and a guard appointed for each of them apart. The first division was open to all comers, strangers and all, without any reserve; only women excepted in their monthly courses; Jews and their wives (that is to say, clean and purify'd) were admitted into the second; and male Jews purify'd in like manner, into the third. The fourth was only for the priests in their sacerdotal habits: and none but the high-priest, in his pontifical robes peculiar to his dignity, to enter the holy sanctuary: nay, so strict and punctual were they in all the niceties of form and decorum, that the very priests themselves could not have admittance but at such certain hours.

UPON the opening of the temple in the morning, the priests that were to officiate, attended and enter'd; and so at noon, upon the shutting of it up again. There was in the temple an altar, a table, a censer and a candlestick, according to the direction of the law; neither was it lawful to carry into it any other vessel. There was no eating or feasting, nor any thing at all done in mystery, but in the face of the whole congregation; and all things in such method too, that tho' there were four tribes of priests, and in every tribe upward of five thousand persons, they took their turns yet of attendance upon their set and certain days; and so successively, as one went off, another came on: and then about noon, meeting all together in the temple, they deliver'd up their respective trusts one to another: some discharging themselves of the keys, others of the vessels, and without bringing any thing at all into that holy place that belongs to meat or drink: for it is not lawful to offer any thing upon our altars, but what is provided for the sacrifice. What then can we call Apion's writings but an heap of inconsistencies and improbabilities, put together at a venture without any regard to truth or falsehood; which is certainly the foulest thing that can be said of any man who sets up for an historian, or a lover of letters? beside that at the same time, when Apion publishes his spiteful invectives against us without any foundation, on the one hand, he suppresses all the good things of us, that he certainly knows to be true, on the other. Now for the fancy of his Greek prisoner, his luxurious entertainment, and the people's passing thro' the temple as a thoroughfare, where it is notoriously known that none but priests durst presume to shew their heads; this is all a forgery and a contrivance of malice prepense, to seduce those who are unwilling to give themselves the trouble of searching out the truth. These are the evil practices he has made use of to vilify and traduce us.

APION pursues the humour still, with one fable.

No convincing of a fool but by demonstration.

A description, and a division of the temple.

The rules and methods of the Jewish worship and discipline.

Nothing so foul as partiality in an historian.

Apion
eth a
and c
it upo
Jews.

A ridiculous
fiction of one
Zabidus.

fable upon the back of another, to make us yet more and more odious; and so furnishes another foppish story out of the mouth of the Grecian, in these words. "While the Jews and the Idumeans, (says he) were engaged in a long and an obstinate war, there came a man over to the Jews out of some city or other of Idumea, where they worshipped Apollo, and this man's name was Zabidus; who promis'd them to put Apollo, the God of the Dorians, into their hands, if they could but get the Jews to gather all together into the temple in a body. Zabidus, upon this, contriv'd a certain machine of boards, and, conveying himself into it, set up three rows of lights upon it, which appear'd at a distance like a comet upon the ground.*

Reflections
upon Apion's
fooleries.

"This apparition was so great a surprize to the Jews, that they stood gazing at it a far off, without so much as one word speaking. Zabidus, in the mean while, stole into the temple, and without any difficulty, seiz'd the ass's golden head (as he pleasantly renders it) and carry'd it away to Dora." The filliness of this invention speaks Apion the greater ass of the two; together with an incomparable impudence, over and above the folly of it; for there are no such places to be found as several that he mentions. He does not so much as know where Idumea lies; or that there is no such city in it as Dora. There is a place indeed of that name in Phenicia, not far from mount Carmel; but this is four days journey from Judea, and none of Apion's Dora.

He is much in the right sure to condemn us for not worshipping other people's gods, if, as he says, our forefathers were so credulous as to believe that Apollo would come over to them, and that he look'd like a walking comet. It was a wonder again that the Jews should not know a lamp or a torch, when they saw it, from a star, that had so many of their own: and the miracle was little less, that Apollo should go off clear with his ass's head thorough so many thousands of people, without so much as being question'd about it, and no guards to stop him, either in town or country; and this in the heat of the war too.

HERE are more words already about a ridiculous history than the thing is worth; and yet I cannot but wonder again, over and over, how the temple gates of sixty † cubits in height, ‡ twenty in breadth, plated all over, and within a little of massy gold; two hundred men every day to shut them, and a crime unpardonable to leave them open: — How these gates, I say, should be manag'd by one single man, and Zabidus, according to the story, to keep the ass's head to himself. Wherefore it may be a question, whether Zabidus brought the head back again, or else gave it to Apion, to be laid in the temple on purpose for Antiochus to find it, and so to furnish matter for another lying story.

Apion forgerh
an oath,
and chargerh
it upon the
Jews.

It is as false again, what he says of the oath: That is to say, that the Jews do solemnly swear by the Maker of heaven, earth and the seas, That they will never do good to any

strangers, and above all others, not to the Greeks. Now if this falsifier had said, (especially not to the Egyptians) he might better have consisted with himself; at least if our predecessors were driven out of Egypt, not for their ill manners, but for their misfortunes. As to the Jews and Greeks, they were at so great a distance one from the other, that there was not the least colour for envy or hatred betwixt them. Nay, on the contrary, several of them came over to our religion; some persistered in it, others went off again: but for this pretended oath, Apion is the only man that ever heard of it; and no otherwise neither, than as a fiction of his own contriving.

BUT the next is a most admirable contrivance. He brings it as an argument against the justice of our laws, or manner of worship, and the truth of our religion, that we are under the burden of servitude, and oppression, not only in our persons, but in our capital city itself; a city, that how free and powerful soever it hath been formerly, is at present no better than a tributary to the Romans; and where are the people now that are to contend with them? or who but Apion would reason the case at this foppish rate, as if dominion were an entail? Whereas government and subjection take their fortunes in the world by turns. Only the Egyptians pretend an immunity from all services to the rulers of Asia and Europe; which they ground upon the gratitude of the strange gods, that fled from abroad into their country for sanctuary, and there secur'd themselves in the shape of beasts. Was ever so senseless a vanity as this heard of, from the mouth of a sort of people who never enjoy'd one day of liberty in an age, either at home or abroad? How often have the Persians had the Egyptians at their feet; razing their cities, ravaging their temples, destroying their idol deities, and vilifying their worship? But I am not for writing after Apion's copy, and turning a misfortune into a reproach. Where was there ever a braver people than the Lacedemonians, or a nation of more exemplary piety than the Athenians? And yet neither the virtue of the one, nor the courage of the other was sufficient to secure them against the chances of war, and the common fate of kingdoms and states. To say nothing of the miserable disasters that have attended the best of kings, as Cresus for one; the laying of the tower of Athens, the temples of Ephesus and Delphi, and several other illustrious places and palaces, all in ashes. Now the scandal in such instances as these, falls in course upon the actors of these tragical devastations, not upon the sufferers of them; however our accuser Apion has found out a new way of crimination, without so much as dreaming how far Egypt itself is concern'd in the parity of the case. But he was so taken up with the fabulous exploits of Sesostris king of Egypt, that he knew not what he did. Now if we were given to be vain on the other hand, we might find kings of our own to boast of, as David and Solomon, with the history of the princes and nations that were subdu'd by their victorious arms. But we shall rather keep to our text. What were the Egyptians, but first,

The Jews
misfortunes
turn'd to
their re-
proach.

A discourse
upon govern-
ment and sub-
jection.

The Lacede-
monians and
the Atheni-
ans, brave but
unfortunate.
No fence a-
gainst the
chances of
war.

* Here ends the chasm in the Greek copy supply'd by the Latin.

† Sixty cubits were upwards of one hundred and nine English feet, that is thirty six yards and one foot.

‡ Twenty cubits were something more than thirty six English feet, that is, twelve yards.

slaves to the Persians, with other princes of Asia, and so to the Macedonians; while we all this while liv'd in a state of freedom, with the command of all the neighbouring cities, for the space of a hundred and twenty years, that is to say, to the time of Pompey the great? And then at last, when the Romans had over-run all the other kings they had to do withal, our forefathers were the only people they treated like friends and allies for their faith and valour. But Apion, it seems, knew nothing of all this, and makes himself a stranger to things as clear as the sun to all the world beside.

The Jews the only favourites of the Romans.

The calumnies of Apion laid open.

His vanity and self-conceit.

APION has now another throw at us, for an obscure ignorant sort of people. "The Jews (he says) have no famous men among them for arts and sciences, or for the political wisdom of managing governments and states; such, I mean, as Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and the like." Nay, he does not forget to place himself in the list of his famous men; but blesses Alexandria in the honour of having Apion for a citizen. As to this character of Apion, all people have so mean an opinion of him, for the extravagant corruption of his life and manners, that it would never have been believ'd but from his own mouth: So that Alexandria is rather to be pity'd than envy'd for valuing itself upon such a supporter. As to the point in competition betwixt the two nations, which of them should have the preference for men of art and learning, the reader has no more to do but to consult our Antiquities for his satisfaction. And then for that part of the scandal that remains unanswer'd, we cannot do better than to refer him to his own contradictions, wherein he accuses himself and other Egyptians.

HE takes great offence at our sacrificing ordinary beasts, the scruple we make at the eating of swine's flesh; and then for the ceremony of our circumcision, he makes a downright mock of it. As to our killing of beasts, it is no more than what all the world does as well as we; and then for our sacrifices, he discovers himself before he's aware to be an Egyptian, by speaking against them; for a Greek or a Macedonian, that makes a profession of offering whole hecatombs to the Gods themselves without any difficulty, would never have stumbled upon that block. They share also with their priests in the flesh of their oblations, and no danger all this while of destroying the species of those animals, as Apion seems to apprehend; whereas if all other people were of the Egyptians humour, the world would come quickly rather to want men, and there would be a stock of ravenous wild beasts to fill their places; for those are the Gods they train up and worship.

The precepts of the Egyptian priests.

If the question were now put to Apion, what sort of Egyptians he takes to be the holiest and the wisest men, his answer undoubtedly would be the priests; for they have these two precepts transmitted down to them in a tradition from their first kings, i. e. to worship the Gods, and to apply themselves to the study of wisdom. And this they all make profession to do; they are all of them circumcised over and above, forbear swine's flesh, and join with no other sort of Egyptians in their sacrifices; so that Apion did wonderfully mistake his measures, when, instead of

gratifying the Egyptians with invectives against us, he advanced a direct accusation against those he pretended to favour, in charging the same ceremonies upon them that he blames us for; and likewise advising and encouraging circumcision in others, as we have it upon the credit of Herodotus. It seems to me now that Apion's punishment (as it follows here) was very just upon him, for speaking such bitter things against the laws of his country. He was forced, by advice, upon a circumcision; the wound fester'd, and the part ulcerating upon it, the distemper carry'd him off in miserable torments. This may serve for a warning to those that, like Apion, abandon all the rules and duties of life and good manners themselves, and then employ their wits in defaming of their neighbours. This was Apion's case: He apostatiz'd from the laws of his own country, and he bely'd ours. We are now come to the end of Apion's life, and it is time to put an end to this book too.

The miserable death of Apion.

BUT since so it is, that Apollonius Molon, Lyfimachus, and several others, have cast out some words, like fools or madmen, to the dishonour of Moses, our excellent law-giver, aspersing him for an impostor and a magician, and representing his laws as pestilent and dangerous, it will not be amiss to give the world some short account, as well particular as general, of our conversation and government; and I doubt not but to make it appear that there was never such a body of laws fram'd for the common good of mankind, as these of Moses; either for the advancing of piety, justice, charity, industry, the regulation of human society, resignation, and patience, to the very contempt of death itself; never the like, I say, if people would but impartially consider them; for I am not here upon a panegyrick to the honour of our ancestors, but doing a necessary right to the cause, against calumny and detraction.

Moses defended against Apollonius and others.

The excellency of Moses's laws.

NOW Apollonius does not carry on his malice, like Apion, in a continu'd set discourse, but now and then by intervals as the humour takes him: One while he makes atheists of us, and a hateful sort of people both to God and man; another he will have us to be cowards; and then our fault is at the next word that we are too forward and fool-hardy, and arranter fots than the most stupid of barbarians; for the Jews never invented any thing (he says) that mankind was the better for. Now there needs no more to the confuting of these spiteful suggestions, than to examine the constitution of the laws by which we are govern'd, and the strict conformity of our lives and practices to those precepts. But now if we shall be forc'd, in our own justification, to rip up the imperfections of other politics, they may thank themselves for provoking us to it by an opprobrious comparison, and making the reproach we cast upon them necessary to our own defence.

Apollonius his way of defaming the Jews.

THERE are, in short, but two points in the case. First, are the laws we pretend to good and profitable, or not? Secondly, are we strict observers, or not, of our own laws? If they should deny the former, we are ready to make it out from an undeniable abstract of the very laws themselves. And then the second part is so clear, that it will not bear so much as a question. But to carry it a little farther yet;

Two main points in the case.

It is without dispute, that the first founders of laws for the establishment of order and discipline, out of a good will to the publick, are to be prefer'd infinitely before those that live without any rule or method at all; for they all appeal to antiquity, and take it for a greater honour to teach others what they ought to do, than barely to imitate what they see done before them. Now this being given for granted, it is the law-giver's part in the first place, to make such a provision of laws, as may serve to promote the good of the community, by the very convenience and reason of them; while the people, on the other side, stand firm to the establishment, in despite of all trials and temptations.

Moses undoubtedly the first law-giver.

Homer himself wanted a word for a law.

The history of Moses.

Moses was the peoples guide and God himself was Moses's.

As to the antiquity of our law-giver, he has undoubtedly a right to a precedence before all others: For Lycurgus, Solon, and Zeleucus of Locris, with the rest of the eminent Greeks they so much boast of, were all but novices and upstarts compar'd with Moses. The very name of law was not as yet so much as heard of, and Homer himself wanted a word for it. The people in those days were not govern'd by written precepts, but by the absolute will and pleasure of kings, and so it held a long time by authoritative orders and provisions to answer the occasion. But our law-giver, having his claim of priority granted him by his very enemies, acquitted himself likewise to admiration, in all the offices of administration and council. First in composing such a body of laws as might answer all the necessities of human life; and after that, in getting them receiv'd among the people, with a declaration that they would maintain and obey them. But we shall the better judge of the man by his works.

WHEN our fore-fathers, under his conduct, to the number of many thousands, march'd out of the land of Egypt into the country that God had had appointed for them, thorough a barren, sandy desert without water, and had several encounters with the enemy by the way, in defence of themselves, their wives, and their children; who was their guide all this while to carry them off through these almost insuperable difficulties, but our careful law-giver still, in the quality both of a valiant general, a wise counsellor, and their common protector? A person of so exemplary a modesty, that, tho' the people were every man of them at his command, to do what he would with them, he never took upon himself to act any thing by his own power; but in cases where other men pretended to tyrannize and domineer, and to indulge a general licence and debauch, Moses, on the contrary, walk'd in the fear of God, and by his example encourag'd the people in the exercise of piety and justice, as their best security, together with the improvement of all accidents.

MOSES was much in the right to look upon God as his oracle and adviser; and then, being satisfy'd in himself that he could not do amiss, so long as he committed himself to the conduct of divine Providence, he did his uttermost to possess the common people also with the same thing; for nothing puts such a check upon us in all our iniquities, as to consider that God sees us; so that, in fine, our law-giver was not a seducer or a magician, as he is falsely represented, but such another as Mi-

nos and others after him were reputed among the Greeks; some ascribing the original of their laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the oracle at Delphi. But whether these men believed this themselves, or only gave it out to have the people believe it, may be a question; but we shall best judge of the excellency and sacredness of these laws by comparing them, which is the next thing we are to do.

The original of the Grecian laws.

SEVERAL nations have their several forms of government, and their diversities of laws. Some governments are committed to a single person, others to the people: But our law-giver was neither for the one nor the other, but, betwixt both, for that which he calls a holy common-wealth; assigning God himself

Several forms of government.

Moses's holy common-wealth.

for the head of it, with a respect both to worship and power, as the fountain and the author of all good. To him it is that we fly for succour in our distresses, who hears our prayers, and searches the very secrets of our hearts. He inculcates to us the doctrine of one God, one uncreated, unchangeable, and eternal being, infinitely glorious and incomprehensible, any further than what we know of him by his works. Now this is no more than what

What thoughts the Greek philosophers had of a deity, by the light of nature.

we have in a great measure from the wisdom of the Greek philosophers themselves, even by the light of nature; for they do all unanimously agree, upon the congruity of these principles, to the majesty and excellence of God; as Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and after them the Stoicks, who are almost wholly of the same mind as to this subject. But the multitude, being engag'd in a violent and a superstitious prepossession against these opinions, the philosophers durst not venture too far in the promoting of them. But our law-giver was the only man that liv'd as he taught, both to the satisfaction of the present age, and to the establishing and confirming of posterity in the truths that he deliver'd, governing himself also by this constant rule, that he made the publick good the end still of all his laws. He gave to understand, that God's worship was but one part of a holy man's duty, and so cast in the other branches of it, as fortitude, justice, and a constant interchange of good offices toward mankind over and above; insomuch that all his precepts and prescriptions terminated in the advancement of piety, to the honour and glory of God; this being a point that he had thoroughly study'd and examin'd.

The difference betwixt Moses and other law-givers.

As to what concerns religion and good manners, it was his way to join the theory with the practice; whereas other law-givers commonly took one part of the division, and left the other. As for example; the people of Lacedemon and Crete were nevertheless instructed in morals, tho' not by rule and precept; but the Athenians, and well nigh all the other Greeks, had their laws for every thing, tho' they fell short in the practice; whereas our law-giver provided for both in one, attending at the same time to the cultivating and perfecting of our morals, with the adapting of proper provisions in writing to answer all occasions. He begins upon the subject of meats and diet, what we may be allow'd to eat, and what not, and with whom, and reducing all people indifferently to the order of that method. He takes the same care also for a regulation in the matter

Of morality and religion. The Jews are all train'd up to the same laws and government.

They keep one day of the week holy according to the law.

A wonderful agreement in life and manners.

Antiquities sacred and of divine authority.

of labour and rest, to the end that no man may be ignorant of his duty; for what the law bids us to do, is the dictate and command of our master, and it punishes only wilful offenders: But to leave us wholly without excuse now, in case of transgressing any of these holy laws; it is not enough to hear them read over and over (once, twice, or perhaps oft'ner) but we are positively commanded (all other work or business apart) to meet constantly once a week in a full congregation expressly to attend the reading of the law, and the getting of it by heart, which was never practis'd by any other law-givers. Nay, so far are the generality of the world from living in a conformity to their own laws, that they do not so much as understand what they are; but upon committing a fault, they are oblig'd to ask other people what law they have broken. This is, in short, the very case even amongst men of the first quality too; who are not ashamed tacitly to confess their ignorance, in the taking of men learned in the law to their counsel and assistance; whereas our people have the laws at their fingers ends, as ready as their own names; having been train'd up to them from their very cradle, till they are imprinted in their hearts. And this makes men the more wary of offending, when they find themselves sure to be detected and punish'd.

THIS is the foundation now of that admirable agreement we find among ourselves. We have all of us the same thoughts of God, the same forms of discipline and worship, our way of life and manners, the very same too. It is not with us, as it is with other people that entertain various opinions of one and the same God; and those, not only the common sort of men, who utter their own wild and extravagant notions, and bolt out whatever comes next, but the philosophers themselves. Some of them deny the very divinity of God, others his providence, upon an impious suggestion that all men are equal, and that all things are in common. Now we say, on the contrary, that God sees and disposes of all things, (nay our very wives and servants are of the same persuasion) and that all the actions of our lives ought to be directed to the honour and service of God.

To speak now to that reflection upon us, as men of no industry or invention, either in arts or letters, for keeping still (as they say) to the dull plodding train of acting the same over and over again: Whereas men of wit and spirit value themselves rather upon making of old things look new, and refining upon the wisdom and customs of their fore-fathers. Now for our parts, we make it a point of conscience not to depart, either in word, thought, or deed, from the establishments of former times: The very antiquity itself being an infallible mark of a good and well grounded law, which neither time nor argument, will be ever able to destroy. But for us now, who firmly believe these laws of ours to be of divine institution, we have nothing more to do than to preserve them sacred and inviolate. For who shall dare to offer at the removing of those foundations which God himself hath laid? Or but to think of mending them; tho' by transferring the most beneficial provisions out of the best of other governments, to the service of our commonwealth? Can any constitution be more agreeable, firm, or just, than that whereof the king

of kings hath vouchsafed to be the author?

As to the priests, they are qualify'd in common for several special services, and the high-priest in an order of power and superiority above all the rest. And they are not promoted by the law-giver to that dignity, for ambition, wealth, or any corrupt interest, but for the signal testimony they have given of their piety, temperance and wisdom; and to them is committed the care of religion, and God's holy worship. They serve also as judges in controversies betwixt man and man, with a power to punish those that do amiss. What government now, or what form of government, can be more sacred or venerable than this; or what greater honour can we do to almighty God, than to spend our lives in a daily attendance upon his service, and under the inspection of the priests, to see that all things be done with order and reverence? The solemnity of this devotion makes every day look like a festival: And, whereas other people have much ado to hold out, tho' but for some few days, in the continu'd celebration of their mysteries or sacrifices, as they call them, we are yet as firm, chearful and vigorous in the discharge of our duties at this hour, as we were so many ages since, upon the very first institution of them.

AMONG other known precepts of our religion, we are taught in the first place, That God is all in all, perfect, happy, and self-sufficient; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things, glorious in all his actions and works; nothing so manifest as his power and greatness, or at the same time so incomprehensible. It is not for the tongue of man to express, or for the heart of man so much as to conceive any resemblance of that divine majesty. He is, in fine, incomparable in all his excellencies and attributes, infinitely beyond art or imitation: so that it is impossible to see, or to imagine any thing like him; for, being a spirit, he is also invisible. But we are allow'd to read him however in his works; as in the light, the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, the rivers, the sea, several sorts of animals, various plants, &c. which were all the work of God, and created without either labour or hands, or any second to his assistance: But his will, and his word gave them their being. He made every thing by the word of his power, and in the same instant looking upon it, he pronounc'd it to be good. This is the almighty Sovereign that we are all bound to love and adore, in the study and exercise of virtue, which is the only way to please him.

As there is but one God, and one world, in common to all mankind, it holds in the analogy that there should be but one temple too; for God takes delight in the congruities of order and proportion. In this temple, the priests offer up their daily devotions; the first in quality, is the first that sacrifices. He takes care that the laws be duly observ'd, hears causes, and punishes those that the law condemns; and it is in effect as penal to dispute the authority of the priest, as to appeal from the judgment of God himself.

IN eating the flesh of our sacrifices, we must have a care not to extend that liberty to the degree of gluttony and excess; for God, who is a lover of sobriety, and all manner of temperance, can never be pleas'd with the extravagances of violence and profusion.

Qualifications for the priesthood.

Of God's power and providence. Of God and his works.

One God, one world, and one temple.

The office and authority of the priests.

An abstract of Moses's laws and precepts. The sacrifices are to be temperate and sober.

THE

THE priest begins his office with prayers for the general good of mankind, and after that, every man for himself, as a part of the whole; being well assur'd, that nothing is so acceptable in the sight of God as a mutual charity and tenderness among men, one for another.

What to pray for.

WHEN we offer up our prayers and vows to Almighty God, we are not to petition for wealth, honour, and the good things of this world; for these are blessings which he is pleas'd to bestow in common upon mankind; but our prayer must be for a good disposition of mind, to make a proper and right use of what we have.

Of purifications.

THE law hath also prescribed us certain formal purifications, in the case of women, and under other sorts of limitation and restriction, too many and too tedious to be inserted in this place. This is what the law says of God, and of the ways of pleasing him, and he himself all this while is effectually that very law.

Of marriages.

BUT now to the point of marriage: If it be purely for the sake of children, without any by-regard to the fortune, and not to gratify any loose appetite; if there be no force or fraud in the case, and, provided it be done with the consent of parents, and not within the degrees forbidden, our laws approve of it. But as for the sin of unnatural lusts, the very attempt is punish'd with death.

The wife to be subject to her husband.

THE law says further, that the woman shall be subject in all things to her husband; which must not be taken for a dispensation to abuse her under that cover, but as a provision for the upholding of decency and good order; for God hath given the man power over his wife. The woman is to have no carnal knowledge of any other man, upon pain of death without mercy; and he that abuses a betrothed virgin, incurs the same penalty. It is the same thing also in case of corrupting a married woman, or a mother of children. This is all according to our law, which is likewise no less severe upon those women who either conceal their children when they are brought into the world, or otherwise destroy them: for the soul suffers with the body, beside that it is in some degree an unpeopling of the world. Whoever accompanies with a woman, is look'd upon by our law to be unclean; and the woman also is obliged to wash and purify herself after that congress with her husband; to which end there is purifying water still at hand for such an occasion: so near is the communication in this case betwixt soul and body.

Penalties in cases of incontinence.

Corporal purifications.

As to the custom of feasting, or merry-making at the birth of children, our law doth not upon any terms approve of it; partly, to train them up to sobriety betimes, and in part, for fear it might prove a temptation to intemperance and debauch. It is also provided that children should be brought up to the knowledge of letters, both in law and history; for an encouragement to them on the one hand, to do great things in imitation of great examples, and to fortify them on the other side, in a perfect understanding of their duty.

Care taken to moderate the pomp of funerals.

THERE was care taken also for moderating the vain pomp and expense of burials, in monuments, and funeral solemnities. But yet for the decency of an office so human and necessary, it was committed to the domesticks to see

right done to the memory of their masters; and all people were permitted upon the death of any man, to come in, and lament, and condole over the deceased; but the house was still to be purify'd so soon as the funeral was over, and the family to keep at a distance, as men reputed unclean.

NEITHER is the law silent in cases either of wilful murder, or of chance-medley; but it directs a distinguishing punishment according to the quality of the crime.

WE are enjoined reverence to parents, next to the veneration we pay to God himself; and the law appoints the ungrateful and the disobedient to be ston'd to death. The younger sort are commanded to pay a respect to their elders; for God was before all things. There must be no such thing as a secret among friends; for friendship implies an entire confidence without any reserve. Nay, where a friendship is dissolv'd, we must not yet be false to a former trust.

The duty of children to parents, and of the younger to the elder. Of friendship

THE judge that takes a bribe is to be punish'd with death, for siding with the guilty, and oppressing the righteous. Every man is restrain'd from touching any thing wrongfully of his neighbour's, from taking away what does not belong to him, or lending his money upon usury. And so let this suffice as to the regulation of our dealings one with another.

Severe laws against bribes, fraud, extortion, &c.

IT will be worth our while, in the next place, to see how we are to behave ourselves toward strangers, and to shew that our law-giver hath not been wanting in any thing toward the advancing of the publick good; either by keeping us firm to our own laws, or by communicating the benefit of them to others that have a mind to partake of them. For he receives with open arms all that come over to us, of what nation soever, indifferently; provided they agree in the same common principles of life and manners. But for those who come to us only by the bye, and without any intent to join with us, those people are not suffer'd to intermix with us in our solemnities: But we are obliged, however, to do them the best offices we can to all other purposes. As for example: If they should want fire, water, food, or the like, we are commanded to supply them, or to set any of them right that are out of the way; and so to give a dead body a decent burial. Now these are all duties of humanity abstracted from religion.

How to treat strangers.

HE prescribes rules of moderation also to be observ'd toward enemies, without forcing war to the extremities of fire and sword. Nay, our law-giver's charity extends to the very easing of prisoners, women especially; and so for the dead bodies that fell in battle, he would not suffer them to be stripp'd.

How to behave our selves towards our enemies.

SUCH, in fine, was the passion he had for the encouraging of tenderness and good nature among men, that he recommended the practice of it, even towards unreasonable creatures, in allowing us no other power over them, than for the lawful and the necessary use and service of mankind. As for domestick creatures that are brought up tame in our houses, they are to be spar'd; neither in other cases are the dam and the young to be destroy'd together. Beasts of labour and common use, are likewise to be forborn, tho' in some respects mischievous.

Duties of humanity apart from those of religion.

THESE were the constitutions and provisions of our law-giver upon this topick, both for the pro-

promoting of tender inclinations by instructive doctrines, (as aforesaid) upon that subject; and likewise for the deterring of transgressors by an exemplary and an inexorable rigour. For the punishment in many cases is no less than death; for instance, in adultery, rape, and unnatural practices, as well in the agent as in the patient, and the penalty reaches all conditions too, whether bond or free.

Duties of
common justice
between
man and man.

WE have our laws also concerning weights and measures, and all sorts of frauds in buying or selling, taking away another man's goods, or appropriating to ourselves what is not our own. Now offenders of this kind, are punish'd with much more severity under our laws, than elsewhere.

The reward
of well doing.

HE that blasphemes God, or but attempts any kind of indignity upon his divine Majesty, and he that behaves himself contumaciously toward his father or his mother, they are all doom'd to death upon the place. And the reward at last promised to these people for what they do and suffer, in the observance of these laws, is not gold and silver, imperial crowns, and precious stones, but the comfort and testimony of a good conscience, with an assurance of an eternal happiness; an assurance grounded not only upon the predictions of the law-giver, but upon the promise also of the God of truth to those that keep his laws. And in this trust and confidence, they look upon death itself only as the blessed means of transporting them from this life to a better.

The Jews
firm in all
extremities.

I should have made a conscience of saying thus much, if the matter of fact were not as clear as the sun in the history of our fore-fathers, what torments they have undergone, and with what resolution they have borne them, rather than let fall one word to the dishonour of their profession. But let us make it the case now, that the Jews were a people never so much as heard of upon the face of the earth, and no witnesses to the veneration we have constantly paid to our laws: What would the Grecians think of it, if any body should but tell them a story of what they had heard, or read, of a people in some imaginary unknown land, that had stood true and firm for so many ages, to the religion, laws, and customs of their predecessors? Would they not all wonder at it, especially when there are such continual changes among themselves?

Plato a great
man, and yet
ridicul'd for
his politicks.

As for their modern writers that treat of state and government, how are they ridicul'd for relating incredibilities? To say nothing of several other philosophers, that have handled the same subject, there is Plato himself, the very oracle of the Greeks, and a man in singular esteem for his wisdom, piety and manners, and a philosopher of the first rate over and above; how is this great man banter'd and buffoon'd upon a publick theatre, by some self-conceited pretenders, for his wild notions of government, as they call them! When yet upon a strict examination of his writings, they will be found agreeable both to reason and nature. But to take him upon his own confession:

Lycurgus famous
for the
reputation
and continu-
ance of his
laws.

"It is not safe (he says) for a wise man to tell what he thinks of God, for fear of the impetuous ignorance of the common people." But Plato (they say) writes like a man of vanity and license. Lycurgus indeed was a man celebrated for a law-giver in perfection, out of a reverence they had to the duration of his

laws under the same administration. Now if so it be, that antiquity and long continuance of laws adds to their sanction, and is an argument of their goodness, with what face shall the Lacedemonians set up for competitors with us, in the point of antiquity, who have been now upward of two thousand years in possession of our claim? To which I must add this over and above, that the Lacedemonians themselves kept up their laws to the height, no longer than while they were free and enjoy'd their liberty: But so soon as fortune abandon'd them, they fell off, and abandon'd their laws.

BUT for our parts, after all the broils and changes in Asia, and ourselves reduc'd to the last extremity, it cannot be said that we ever departed from the customs and ceremonies of our fore-fathers; neither can it be objected against us, that we ever consulted either our ease or our pleasure, in preserving them as we did. For whoever compares the condition of both parties, will find the Jews to have been upon much harder duty than the Lacedemonians. For they were put to no offices of drudgery, in digging and delving, or to any other handicraft-labour; but liv'd in the city, at their ease, fat and fair, and all manner of necessities provided them to their hand; so that they had nothing more to do, but now and then upon occasion, to encounter the publick enemy. And what if I should say now that they fail'd in that too? For they went over in frequent desertions, not only here and there one, but in whole troops together sometimes; who contrary to law and duty, and the common obligation of citizens and soldiers, deliver'd themselves up with their arms tamely to the enemy. Can any body say the same thing of us now? I cannot call to mind above two or three at most of our people, that ever betray'd their cause for fear of death. I do not speak of a soldier's death with his sword in his hand, and in the field of battle, but of a death of exquisite cruelty and torment; a misery that many of our people have been expos'd to; not out of a bloody malice, as I verily persuade myself, but to try the experiment of so heroical a constancy, and to see if there be any such men in the world, as will rather be torn to pieces, than be guilty of any one word or action derogatory to the dignity of their laws.

The Jews
stand all
trials.

Now this constancy of the Jews above all other nations is no great wonder neither; for the very ordinary way of our living would be a kind of severity to any other sort of people: That is to say, in the fatigues of labour, hard fare, days of indispensable abstinence and rest, coarse lodging, cloathing, and the like. I would fain know now how these people, in the heat and freedom of a military life, would behave themselves at the same time in the forbearance of forbidden meats, and in the case of other restrictions? Whereas the thing that we glory in is, the giving of ourselves up to an unchangeable constancy and resignation, in obedience to our laws and duties.

The severity
of the Jewish
discipline.

WHEREFORE let the Lyfimachus's, and the Molons, and all that scribbling crew of censorious pretenders, and perverters of youth; let them all go on, I say, in their uncharitable way of representing us for the worst of men.

It is not our business to traduce other people's laws, but to keep steady to our own. Nay, such was the tenderness of our gentle law-

Moses makes
a conscience
of irreve-
rence, even
towards false
gods.

The Greeks
fabulous dei-
ties.

law-giver, that he would not suffer so much as the least indignity or contempt to be put upon the reputed gods of other nations: and this he did, out of a reverence to the very name of a deity. But it will not become us yet to be altogether silent, in a case where it is both so easy, and so necessary, to stop the mouths of our adversaries; and where, in truth, the work is done by other authorities ready to our hands. As for instance. Where is that wise man among the Greeks, that does not heartily exclaim even against the most celebrated of their poets, and especially their law-givers, for poisoning the common people with the impious doctrine of a plurality of Gods, and advancing the account to what number they think fit, and deriving their original from what age and country they please: nay, and allotting them their proper stations and places like other creatures? as they have their subterranean gods, their sea-gods, and some of the eldest of the race, or family, they keep up chain'd in hell. As for their celestial gods, they give Jupiter ('tis true) the name of father, but with the heart and practice of a tyrant: infomuch that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his own brain, enter'd into a conspiracy, according to the fiction, to destroy him, as he himself had serv'd his father. This was the value, in fine, that all wise men had of these fabulous deities; the fancy being so ridiculous, that they could not so much as think of it without scorn and derision. Some of their gods they make to be striplings, others in the prime of their youth and strength, and others again they represent to be grave seniors with long beards. They have their gods likewise (or patrons) of mechanical arts and trades; as smiths, weavers, &c. pilgrims, champions, harpers, archers. They have their feuds and factions also among themselves, and side with mortals against one another. They receive wounds in the quarrel, grieve and pine away under the anguish of them. Nay, these pretended gods and goddesses go farther yet still, even to the horrible licence of amours, and embraces, indifferently with men and women. And what's the case of their almighty Jupiter himself, the father, as they call him, and the prince of their whole train of gods! but after the whoring and corrupting of his mistresses, he has not the power at last to save either them or their bastards; but, with an aking heart, he sees them all ruin'd before his face, because the Fates will have it so?

WHAT a train have we here of lewd and execrable debauches, and of worse consequences in probability yet to come! adulterers in heaven, open and barefac'd; and not only committed by the gods, but by them also celebrated and proclaim'd, to the degree of envying the prostitutes. Now if their sovereign lord of heaven and earth, Jupiter himself, could not hold out against the charms of a lascivious strumpet, what are we to expect from the passions and weaknesses of other subordinate and inferior deities? and what shall we say again of god's turn'd into shepherds, and masons, and made close prisoners in hell? of gods in liveries, and serving-men for wages? can any man endued with common sense and reason, do less than abhor and despise the inventors, the encouragers, and the believers of

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these blasphemous stories? in some cases again, they make gods of their passions, as frights, fears, and the like; and then worship them in the worst of forms; so that there can be nothing so scandalous among men, but may do well enough in the character of one of their gods. And yet all this is not sufficient to deter the people from sacrificing to the more tolerable sort of these monsters. But they look upon their gods as the authors of good and evil, and consequently as their friends, or their enemies, in proportion to the one or the other. Upon this consideration they do by their deities as with ill-natur'd men; they worship and endeavour to appease them with presents, for fear they should hurt them.

BUT how comes mankind all this while to labour under so many desperate and dangerous mistakes concerning God? unless either from the law-giver's ignorance of the divine nature from the beginning, or else for want of communicating to the world the notions they had of things, as matters of little moment perhaps in their opinions; and so left the poets and the orators betwixt them to make gods after their own wild and extravagant imaginations; and by this means confounding their politicks, with idle tales and amusements of uncouth deities and strange worship.

PAINTERS and statuaries contributed also in a great measure to this abuse, by the liberty the Greeks took in dressing up their gods in what shape and figure the workman pleas'd, every man according to his particular fancy. And they had their varieties for matter also as well as for form; some working in plaister, others (of the better sort) in gold and ivory, some in sculpture, others in colours: and the last piece, for novelty's sake, was still reputed the best. As the old gods fell off, and went out of fashion, they were succeeded insensibly by new; and upon the failing of one religion, another started up. It was the same thing with their temples too; as one was laid in rubbish, another was rais'd out of the ruins of it, according to the humour of the present age; whereas the worship of God ought to be as unchangeable as God himself.

WE may reckon Apollonius Molon in the number of the overweening fools. But for those among the Greeks that deserve the name of philosophers, they are no strangers to the truth of what I have deliver'd; but entertain the same reverent thoughts of God that we do, and with as sensible a contempt for the fables and fooleries on the other hand, as they ought to have. It was not for nothing that Plato would suffer no poets in his commonwealth: nay, he discharg'd Homer himself too, tho' with all the honours of a poet laureat, for fear the fabulous religion should destroy the true. This great man of all others comes the nearest to the example of Moses, in the model of his common-wealth; where he charges all his subjects to study their laws, and to get them by heart, and not to intermingle customs with strangers; but to preserve their government in its original purity, and to pay a strict obedience to their ordinances and decrees.

APOLLONIUS Molon never thought of this, when he fell so heavily upon the Jews, for not admitting men to a participation in the mysteries of their religion, who were of a differing

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way

The ground
of so many
gross mis-
takes con-
cerning God.

Painters and
statuaries
create dei-
ties.

A divine
worship is as
unchange-
able as God
himself.

The Greek
sages had
the same ve-
neration for
a deity with
the Jews
themselves.

Plato's com-
mon-wealth
in some sort
after the mo-
del of Mo-
ses's.

way and persuasion, as if this were our case alone; whereas all people (generally speaking) do the same thing; the Greeks themselves, and the soberest men of the party too.

The Lacedæmonians admit no strangers.

THE Lacedæmonians, we see, would neither suffer a mixture of strangers among them, nor so much as their own citizens to travel abroad, for fear of contracting ill habits either way, and degenerating into a liking of ill customs and manners. Now this was a severity liable enough to a censure, to debar them the common privileges of society and commerce: but so far are we from this unmerciful rigour, that, tho' we do not thrust ourselves into other people's matters, we are yet ready and open to entertain all proselytes, and to receive those that have a mind to join with us; which must not be deny'd to be a generous and a charitable disposition.

The Athenians open to all proselytes. The Athenians made it death to act or speak against their religion.

BUT to pass now from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians; they, on the other hand, make it their glory to give admittance to all strangers: but this was more, I suppose, than Apollonius was aware of. The Athenians were so inexorably zealous for the honour of their gods, that it was made capital to let fall so much as one irreverent word upon that subject. What was it that Socrates dy'd for? not for betraying the common-wealth, or burning their temples; not for treason or sacrilege; but for framing new oaths by the direction, as he suggested, of a divine spirit. Whether this was jest or earnest, it remains a secret to this day: but for this it was however that Socrates was try'd, condemn'd, and put to death by poison. He was likewise charg'd for infusing false doctrines into the heads of the people, and endeavouring to supplant the religion and the laws of his country. This was the end, in fine, of Socrates, a citizen of Athens.

I SHALL now produce another instance of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who was put to death for affirming the Athenians god, the sun, to be only a red-hot stone. And then there was a * talent offer'd by proclamation to any man that should bring in the head of Diagoras the Melian for ridiculing the mysteries of their religion. And they would have gone the same way to work with Protagoras too, if he had not gotten away in time. His pretended crime was the writing of a tract, wherein he delivers himself doubtfully of the Athenian gods. But what wonder is it to see men treated at this barbarous rate, where even the women themselves found no better quarter. As for example; did they not put a priestess to death, upon an accusation of worshipping strange gods? and was it not made death also for any man to introduce a foreign religion? what can be more evident now, than that, so far as these laws were in credit, the people thought the gods of other nations false, and unfit to be believed: for if they had not, they would never have barr'd themselves the comfort and benefit of their favour.

NAY, the Scythians themselves, tho' the

most blood-thirsty people upon the face of the earth, and scarce one degree above brutes, made so great a scruple yet of preserving the mysteries of their profession, that they butcher'd the famous Anacharsis, only for speaking too reverently of the Grecian gods. We read likewise of several of the Persians that suffer'd death upon the same account. Now for Apollonius Molon, he was a known friend to the Persian laws, and one that had them in admiration as well as the Greeks, for their firmness and agreement in the matter of worship (I speak of their constancy upon the burning of their temples,) yet Molon had not only a good opinion of their ways, but was also in some sort an imitator of them, in the extravagant liberties he took of abusing other men's wives, and putting out the eyes of their children: inhumanities that are declar'd death without mercy by our laws, tho' committed but upon irrational creatures.

The barbarous Scythians themselves have a tenderness for laws and customs.

SUCH is the veneration we have, in short, for the observance of these laws, that neither power, profit, fear, or any other consideration under the Sun, can ever divert, or deter us from the conscientious discharge of our duty. And we do not put ourselves upon these hazards and experiments, in a prospect of picking a quarrel, and making an advantage of it, but for the support and maintenance of our lawful rights. We have submitted to all other sorts of outrage, with patience and resignation; but whoever offers to force us to a transgression of our laws, touches us to the quick: in which case the sense of that oppression hath made us daring and obstinate to the last degree. But what have we to do to envy the laws of other nations, which we see abandon'd by the very founders of them? What have the Lacedæmonians to say for themselves in excuse of their hard-hearted inhospitality, and the liberties they take in an unmarried life? and so for the people of Elis, and Thebes, in the impudence of their preposterous and unnatural lusts? a practice that a shameless connivance hath almost turn'd into a legal allowance: and it hath so far prevail'd among the Greeks also, that they have intitled their very gods to the abuse; who, in the heat of an unbridled appetite, married, and coupled with their own sisters, and compounded for the transgression.

The constancy of the Jews, and the grounds of it.

WHAT shall we think of those law-givers now, that take more pains to save the criminals than to punish them; by commuting for a pecuniary mulct in the case of adultery, and atoning for fornication by marrying the abused virgin? It would be endless to sum up all the desperate temptations, to the renouncing of piety and virtue, that are thrown out to unwary people, in these compositions and expedients, even to the total subversion of their laws: nay, the resolution is often taken beforehand of trampling all that is sacred under foot. But this can never be said of us, whom neither distance, absence, tyranny, nor death

The practices of Jewish law-givers.

* As there were two Attick talents, which was here meant is not very certain: the less weighed fifty seven pounds seven penny weight and twelve grains, and its value in silver amounted to one hundred seventy one pounds one shilling and tenpence halfpenny, and in gold to two thousand seven hundred thirty seven pounds ten shillings. The greater weighed seventy six pounds ten penny weight, and its value in silver amounted to two hundred twenty eight pounds two shillings and sixpence, and in gold to three thousand six hundred and fifty pounds of English money. Was to be indulged the liberty of guessing, I shou'd think it most probable to suppose that the greater silver talent is here understood.

itself, the saving of life, liberty, or fortune could ever remove from the rule of our obligation. Now if it be for the intrinsic excellency of our laws, that our hearts are so set upon them, it must be granted, that our affections are well plac'd, and that the laws themselves answer the end they were made for: but if it shall be said, that they are void of all goodness, how much more to blame are they who pretend to have better laws of their own, and will not maintain them?

The antiquity of a law proves the goodness of it.

BUT time tries all things, and no such proof of the goodness of a law as the antiquity of it. So that we shall cast the cause upon that issue, for the honour both of our law-giver, and of the laws themselves, with a regard to God's holy worship. It will be granted us beyond all controversy, that Moses was the first law-giver we read of, by many ages; and that as our laws were deliver'd from heaven by him, so they were follow'd and imitated, more or less, by all other nations. The ancient Greeks, as to the generality of them, had in appearance, I must confess, laws peculiar to themselves; but their philosophers had all this while the very same persuasion of God that we have, and inculcated the same doctrines of life and manners.

All nations imitate the Jews, more or less.

NAY, such is the reputation we have a long time had in the world, for our piety and good government, that there is hardly any nation, either Greek, or Barbarian, that does not live in some sort of conformity to our example; either in the observance of our seventh day's sabbath, the use of lamps, the celebration of fasts, abstinence from such and such certain meats; and so in matter of humanity, charitable agreement and society, indefatigable labour and industry, and an invincible constancy in suffering for the truth. In all these observations, I say, they do but write after our copy.

BUT the most wonderful thing of all is yet to come: that is to say, how this single body of laws should of itself work so powerfully upon all mankind, without any other authority for the putting of it in execution, and influencing mens minds, in some proportion, as the Almighty influences the universe. Now whosoever looks but into his own country, or into his own family, will find all this to be true that I have said.

WILL any man, that does not hate us, advise us now to change our old laws for new ones; and the better for the worse too? or if it be otherwise, let the people give over reproaching us. We do not espouse this cause out of ill-will to any man, but out of the veneration we have for the memory of our prophet, and in a full persuasion that God himself speaks to us by the mouth of Moses. Or make it the case now, that we did not sufficiently understand the value of our own laws, purely upon their own account; the mighty number of professors and admirers, would be enough to give us a high esteem of them. I have handled this subject more at large in my antiquities, being forc'd upon what I have said

at present, by a kind of necessity, for the vindication of truth against calumny and injustice, without any design of advancing our own credit upon the disparagement of others.

To draw towards a conclusion, I reckon now that I have been as good as my word to every point of my undertaking; for I have abundantly prov'd the antiquity of a people that were calumniated for upstarts, and I have likewise produc'd several eminent authorities, that make honourable mention of us in their annals. They will have it that our ancestors came originally out of Egypt, which I have undeniably disprov'd. They have trump'd up another story of our being expell'd Egypt for corporal maladies and contagious distempers: whereas I have made it evident, on the other hand, that they cut out their way through the troops of their enemies into their own country. There are others again, who represent Moses for one of the worst of men, in contradiction to the concurrent testimonies of several ages to his immortal honour.

The Jews no upstarts.

Several malicious scandals disprov'd.

As to the vindication of our laws from scandalous tongues, there needs no more to convince any man of the piety and wisdom of them, than barely to read and understand them. These laws are in the first place declared enemies to iniquity and luxury, and promoters of peace, charity, industry and justice. They allow of no war, either to satisfy ambition or avarice: neither do they approve of returning evil for evil. They encourage boldness and resolution in the common defence. They precaution people against being circumvented with fair and false pretences; and teach men to make their actions speak more than their words.

The design and intent of the Jewish laws.

UPON these considerations, I may with confidence affirm, that we have the best laws under the sun. For what is there in nature preferable to an inviolable piety? what more agreeable and beneficial than union in prosperity, and a true friendship in adversity? an intrepid bravery in the hazards of war, a sedulous application to arts and husbandry in times of peace; and finally, whatever we do, or wheresoever we are, to have it constantly in our minds that an all-seeing God overlooks us, and a divine Providence governs all things? Now if these things were either written elsewhere, or lodg'd in other hands before they came to us, we are to acknowledge the same obligation to them, who had them first in possession, that the pupil owes to his tutor. But if they were never seen or heard of any where else before, and if from generation to generation, for a long series of ages, we have made them constantly the precise rule of our practice and profession (as we have most certainly done) let the Apions and the Molons, and all such as delight in the inventing and spreading of lies and detraction, say and do their worst; I have my end in the account I have given to you, generous Epaphroditus, and other curious inquisitors into the truth of our story, for whose satisfaction chiefly these books in defence of our antiquity were written.

The original of the Jewish laws.

The Jews make their laws the rule of their lives and manners.

itself, the having of life, liberty, or property, could ever remove from the rule of our obligation. Now it is to be let the same obligation of our laws, that our hearts are to let upon them, it must be granted, that our affections are well placed, and that the laws themselves are well made, and that they were made for: but all this be said, that they are void of all goodness, how much more to blame are they who pretend to have better laws of their own, and will not maintain them?

But there are all things, and no such good of the grounds of a law as the antipathy to it. So that we shall call the cause upon that ill for the honor of our law-giver, and of the laws themselves, with a regard to God's holy worship. It will be granted, that beyond all controversy, that Moses was the first law-giver, and that many ages, and that as our laws were derived from heaven by him, so they were followed and imitated by him, by all other nations. The ancient Greeks, to the generality of them, had in appearance, I must confess, laws peculiar to themselves, but their philosophers had all this while the very same perception of God that we have, and imitated the same doctrines of his and manners.

Now, this is the reputation we have a long time had in the world, for our duty and good government, that there is hardly any nation, either Greek, or Barbarian, that does not live in honor, and conformity to our example; either in the observance of our Jewish day's tabernacle, the use of laws, the celebration of feasts, abundance of rich and such customs; and in a manner of humanity, charitable agreement and society, inestimable labor and industry, and an invincible constancy in suffering for the truth. Shall these observations, I say, they do not win after our copy?

But the most wonderful thing of all is yet to come: that is to say, how this tangible body of laws should of itself work so powerfully upon all mankind, without any other authority, for the putting of it in execution, and influencing men's minds; to make prophecies, as the Almighty influences the universe. Now whoever looks but into his own country, or into his own family, will find all this to be true that I have said.

What, say you, that have not laws as yet, who are now changing out old laws for new ones; and the better for the worse too? or if it be otherwise, let the people give over to themselves. We do not choose this same out of ill-will to any man, but out of the respect we have for the memory of our progenitor, and in a full persuasion that God himself speaks to us by the spirit of Moses. Or make it the case now, that we did not lately only understand the value of our own laws, but upon their own account; the number of preceptors and advisers, would be enough to give us a high esteem of them. I have handled this subject more at large in my pamphlet, being forced upon what I have said.

The author of the book of laws, proves the goodness of it.

All nations imitate the Jewish laws.

at present, it is a kind of a blessing, for the situation of things against us, and in justice, without any design of a standing our own side upon the improvement of others.

To this towards a conclusion, I took now that I have said as good as my word, every part of my reasoning, for I have abundantly proved the necessity of a people that were constituted for justice, and I have likewise proved, that several ancient nations, that make honorable mention of us in their annals, they will have it that our ancestors were originally out of Egypt, which I have abundantly proved. I say, that though we are another way of our being expelled Egypt, for corporal mistreatment, and cruel persecutions, whereas I have made it clear, on the other hand, that they are our true ancestors, and the troops of their posterity, and that they are the same as the Jews, who were the first law-givers, and that the same laws were given to them, and that the same laws were followed and imitated by them, by all other nations. The ancient Greeks, to the generality of them, had in appearance, I must confess, laws peculiar to themselves, but their philosophers had all this while the very same perception of God that we have, and imitated the same doctrines of his and manners.

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The Jews are the first law-givers.

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The Jews are the first law-givers.



THE
PREFACE
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO THE
Wars of the JEWS.

IF all the wars that were ever seen or heard of in this or former ages, whether national or civil, that of the Jews with the Romans, was undoubtedly the most considerable; and there are several pretenders to the writing of the story. Some take up their materials barely upon trust, and hear-say, without any knowledge at all of the matter in question. And there are some again, who were eye-witnesses, that stifle and disguise the evident truth of things with partial reports and false glosses, more like orators than historians, in favour of the one side, or the other, as the faction stands affected, without any regard to the good faith or reputation of the work.

UPON this consideration, I Joseph the son of Matthias, an Hebrew born, and a priest of Jerusalem, have now enter'd into a design of turning that narration into Greek, for the common benefit of the subjects of the Roman empire, which I formerly communicated in my mother-tongue to Barbarians, for their better information: And I shall give farther to understand, that, in the beginning of the war, I first bore arms for the Jews against the Romans, and during the whole of it, was constrained of necessity to be present as eye-witness, being detained prisoner in the Roman camp, while all the remaining part of it was transacted.

No war like that of the Jews with the Romans. Several men write with several ends.

THIS terrible war broke out at a juncture, when the Romans were all embroil'd among themselves: And the Jews, being strong, rich, and seditious, wanted neither men, money, nor resolution, to improve the opportunity; which they inflam'd into so desperate a tumult, that they did not only flatter themselves with the hope of carrying all before them, but at the same time struck whole nations in the east with an apprehension of being totally over-run: For the Jews, as well those beyond Euphrates, as the rest, were all determined unanimously to rise as one man. The Gauls were also in motion upon the borders of Italy, the Germans unquiet; and in one word, every place in commotion, and things in confusion every where upon the death of Nero: Some setting up for the empire itself, others for making their fortunes by a change of government, the soldiery as well as the rest, and all bent upon innovations.

This work originally in Hebrew. Josephus a party in the war.

The state of things when the war broke out.

Josephus
bound in ho-
nour and
conscience to
write the his-
tory.

I N this state of affairs, I thought it a duty necessary and incumbent upon me to vindicate so many important truths from imposture and mistake; and after having instructed the Parthians, the Babylonians, the most remote of the Arabians, the Jews on the other side of the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, in a just account of the rise, progress, and event of the war, not to suffer the Greeks, and so many of the Romans, who were unconcerned in the action, to be imposed upon, by flatteries and fictions, and to continue wholly ignorant upon the main.

The partiali-
ty of histori-
ans.

B U T with what face shall people cry up that for history, which has neither sense nor connexion in it, nor so much as one syllable, (in my opinion) that makes for their purpose? As if they could not do honour sufficient to the Romans, without vilifying the Jews. Now I do not understand how glory can be attained by triumphing over a weak adversary. Why were they not ashamed rather of being so long about it, considering the mighty power of the Romans, with the fame and conduct of their generals? Which is all lessened, if, upon the gaining of their point, they derogate from the bravery and resolution of those they have overcome.

The braver
the enemy,
the more glo-
rious is the
victory.

F A R be it from me at last to enlarge upon the exploits of the Jews, as others do upon the Romans; for the thing I pretend, is to do right indifferently to both parties, without adding or diminishing; to give a true and faithful narrative of what I know and can prove to be facts, and to content myself in the indulgence now and then of an affectionate and tender affliction for the deplorable calamities and destruction of my country: But we were ruined by our own divisions; and then for the burning of the holy temple, it was the tyranny of our own governors which forced the Romans, very much against their wills, upon that extremity. Witness Titus Cesar himself, under whose command it was

The genero-
sity of Titus
toward the
Jews.

destroy'd: How did he compassionate us all along, when he saw how we were torn to pieces by intestine factions! Even to the degree of suspending the final destruction of the city, when he had it in his power to have laid it in ashes out of hand: And all this on purpose to give the authors of the war time to bethink themselves better, and repent of the folly of their undertakings. If it shall be objected, that, in this passion and bitterness of mine against the oppressors and spoilers of my country, I have transgress'd the laws and bounds of an historian, I have nothing to offer, but the impotency of an ungovernable sorrow in my excuse. For of all the places that ever fell under the dominion of the Roman empire, Jerusalem was undoubtedly the city that had the greatest share in both ex-

The glory
and misery of
Jerusalem by
turns.

trems, by turns, of glory and misery: From the creation of the world, in fine, to this very instant, never were any people reduced to such a transcendent pitch of misery as the Jews were. And, for a farther aggravation of the calamity, we ourselves were our own executioners, which makes the case yet more inconsolable. Now if any man shall think me too sensibly affected in so deplorable a state of things, let him distinguish betwixt the tragical circumstances of the story, and the good-natur'd infirmities of the author.

The Greeks
no friends
to the Jews.

U P O N this occasion, I cannot but blame and wonder at several eloquent men among the Greeks, to see them only by-standers and eye-witnesses of so remarkable a revolution for war and military actions, in comparison of which the wars of former ages were but mere trifles, without concerning themselves in any memorials of the history: Nay, (which is worse) and derogating at the same time from the ability of others, who were willing to perform that office, whom, tho' they may excel in capacity and talent, they abundantly fall short of in choice of a subject and laudable design. And yet these censorious criticks can take upon them at the same time to compile histories of the Medes and Assyrians, though done already to their hands by ancient writers, to whom they are as much inferior for stile and matter, as for design. But their way of writing was to relate what they had seen, speak upon knowledge, and to be as good

as their words, without laying themselves open to the scandal of a contradiction, by any disguise or false suggestion whatsoever. It is the part of a faithful and a judicious historian, to furnish himself with materials that are new and not common, and so to transmit the memorials of his own time down to posterity. Now that man cannot properly be said to be a man of skill and industry, who only transposes like a plagiarist the order and disposition of another man's writings; but he rather who obliges the world with an entire body of history, that's all new, and his own. It has cost me (being a stranger) a great deal of money and labour, to furnish both Greeks and Romans with a memorial of transactions worthy to be known. But for the Greeks themselves, tho' their mouths are open enough either upon the subject of controversy or profit, yet in the matter of history, which requires truth and pains, they are all as mute as fishes; leaving it to a company of pitiful scriblers, who understand nothing at all, to manage the province of historians, and communicate to the world the lives and actions of princes. But the good faith of history is never the less venerable with us, tho' the Greeks undervalue it.

The duty of a faithful historian.

I MIGHT give you an account here of the original of the Jews; who they were, how they came to leave Egypt, what countries they pass'd thorough in their wanderings, where they inhabited, how long and how often, and when and whither they went from thence: But at this time, and in this place, it would be both superfluous and unseasonable; in regard that the story has been so faithfully deliver'd over and over already, by several of our own people, and as candidly translated by some of the Greeks into their own tongue. I shall begin my history where their writers and our prophets left off. As to the conduct of the war, which I was an eye-witness of, I shall be as copious and particular as is possible; but for what pass'd before my time, I shall be more short and general.

Josephus's method and design.

THE method I propose to myself, shall be to set forth how Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, after the conquering of Jerusalem, and keeping possession of it for three years and an half, came to be driven out by the sons of Asamoneus; and afterwards, upon a contest betwixt the successors who should govern, how the Romans, under the command of Pompey, made their advantage of that division; and how Herod, the son of Antipater, by the help of Sosius the general, put an end to the power of the Asamonean line.

An historical abstract of the war.

IN the next place, how after the death of Herod, and under the reign of Augustus, there happen'd a popular revolt of the Jews from the Romans; Quintilius Varus being at that time governour of Judea. I shall likewise treat of the war that broke out in the twelfth of Nero, and what pass'd under the command of Cestius, with the notable exploits of the Jews upon their first entering into arms.

THEIR fortifying the borders upon the disasters of Cestius, and Nero's putting Vespasian at the head of the army for fear of the main chance; how this general, with his eldest son, enter'd into Judea with a powerful army of Romans; the defeat of a body of auxiliaries that were scatter'd all over Galilee, with the number of the slain; how he took some of their towns by force, while others surrender'd. I shall deliver nothing, in fine, but what I know to be true upon fight, and certain knowledge: With a respect to the Roman management of the war, their government and discipline, the bounds and content of both Galilees, the condition and limits of Judea, the particular quality of the soil, the lakes and fountains, what towns were taken, and the miseries they endur'd by fire and sword. I shall do all this, without suppressing any part of my own misfortunes; wherein I doubt not of being believ'd, for I write to those who know I speak the truth.

MY next point will be, to shew how the tidings of Nero's death coming to Vespasian, just as he was ready to take Jerusalem by storm (the Jews at that time being reduced to a very weak condition) the affairs of the empire diverted him, and call'd him away to Rome. I shall take notice also of the presages he had of his future greatness, the changes he found there, and the soldiery declaring him emperor, even against his will.

How

How upon his going into Egypt, to give necessary orders for settling of the commonwealth there, the Jews broke out into intestine feuds; the slavery they endur'd under tyrannical oppressors, and the fierce animosities one amongst another; how Titus, upon his return out of Egypt, made two inroads into Judea; how he levy'd an army, where he drew them up, and in what form of battle.

How many desperate commotions he saw in Jerusalem with his own eyes; the number of his approaches, the strength and vast bigness of his works, the compass and the thickness of the three walls, the fortifications of the city, as also of the temple, the figure and the dimensions of the altar: All this shall be exactly and faithfully related. And so for our solemn festivals, and the ceremonies which attend them; the seven sorts of purification, the offices of the priestly function, the sacerdotal robes, and all that is sacred belonging to the holy temple. Nothing of this shall be either alter'd or omitted; but an exact and punctual account of it given, without making it either more or less.

I SHALL then come to the cruelty of our own governours towards those of their own tribe and profession, and the humanity of the Romans, even towards strangers; and shew how often, and how generously Titus, out of an honourable desire to save both the temple and the city, press'd and invited the Jews to come to an agreement among themselves. I shall enlarge also upon the sufferings and calamities of the people, and the variety of afflictions they labour'd under; one while by war, another while by sedition, and then again by famine, till in the end they were made prisoners: Neither shall I pass over the destruction of the fugitives, or the torments inflicted upon those who were taken prisoners.

Jerusalem
taken, and
the temple
burnt.

NOR shall I forget the conflagration of the temple, against the very will and liking of Cesar himself: The sacred treasure of all sorts that was there consum'd, the remainder of the city laid wholly in ashes, the prodigies and portents that preceded the captivating of our tyrannical masters, and the slavery of the people that were carry'd away, with an account of their respective adventures; the eager pursuit of the Romans after those who escap'd the dint of the war; and the razing of the retreats and habitations of the conquer'd down to the very ground. I shall say somewhat likewise of Titus's progress through the country, to put things in some sort of order again; and then of his return into Italy, and of his triumph.

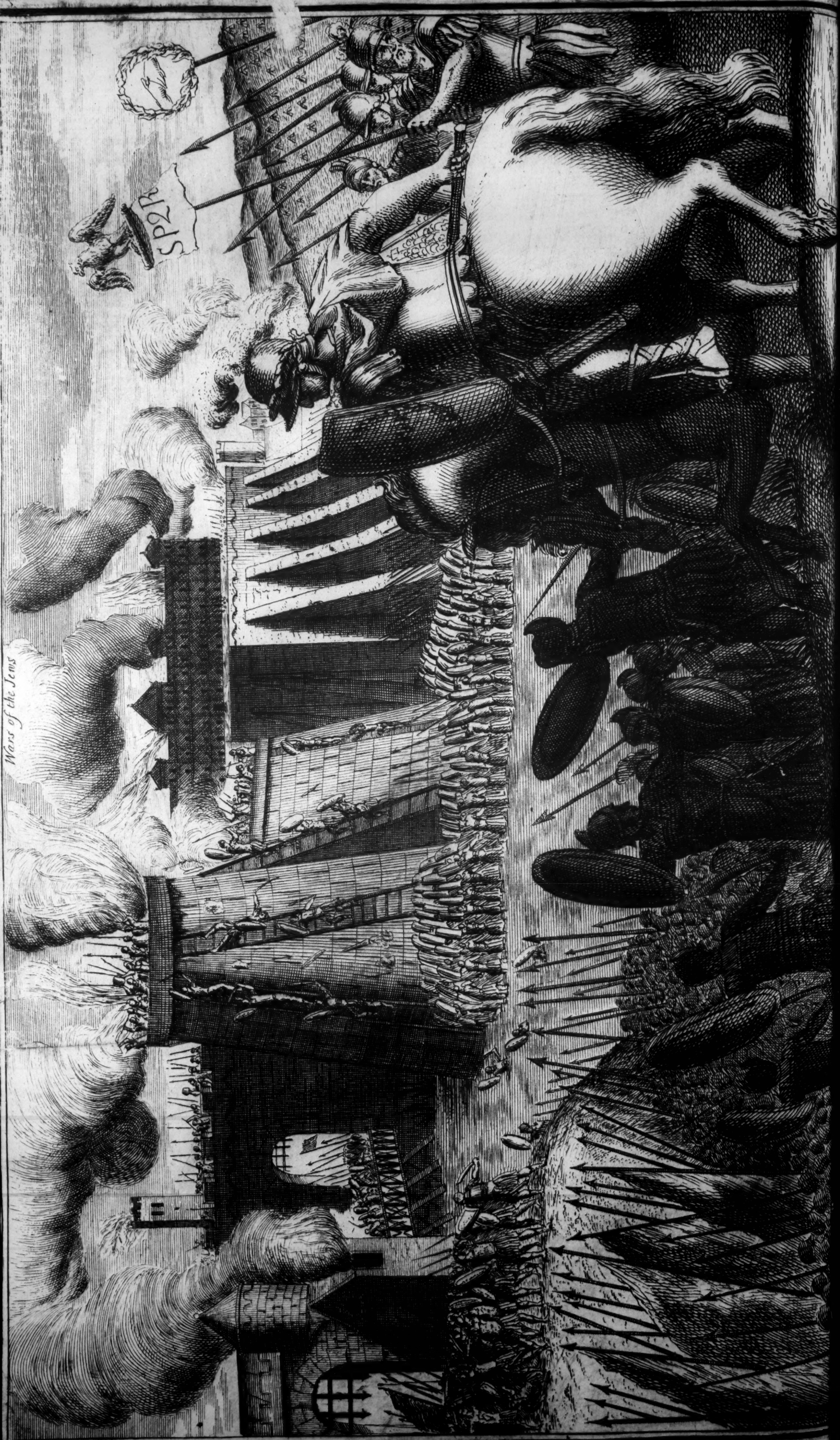
THESE are the heads of the seven following books, which I have written for the sake of truth, not diversion; in confidence, that no man who knows any thing of the matter, or was present at the war, will blame me for it: And for the order of the work, I shall only refer the reader to the chapters.



FLAVIUS



Wars of the Jews





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Antiochus and Ptolemy contend for the sovereignty of Syria. Antiochus enters Judea, and takes Jerusalem. A cruel persecutor of the Jews, and Bacchides as bad. Matthias kills Bacchides. Judas gets the temple, and restores God's worship. Antiochus dies. Eleazar kill'd by the fall of an elephant. Judas slain by the troops of Antiochus.

See Antiquities, lib. 12. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19.

Antiochus and Ptolemy competitors. Onias too hard for Tobias.

Antiochus enters Judea, and takes Jerusalem.

THE great men of the Jews being divided into factions among themselves, upon an impulse of honour, (for men of dignity and power do not naturally love to be subjected to their equals) and this happening at a time when there was a contest betwixt Antiochus Epiphanes, and Ptolemy the sixth, concerning the sovereignty of Syria, Onias, one of the high-priests, got the better of it, and drove the sons of Tobias out of the city; who flying to Antiochus for refuge, earnestly besought him with supplications, that he would break into Judea, and make use of them for guides. The king was easily prevailed upon to do the thing his heart was set upon before; and so he march'd into Judea with a very powerful army, took Jerusalem itself by assault, and put a prodigious number of people to the sword, who were suspected to be favourites of Ptolemy. The pillage in general he gave to the soldiers, rifled the temple itself, and for three years and a half discontinu'd the prayers and sacrifices which were wont to be offer'd up daily there to Almighty God. The high-priest Onias fled to Ptolemy, who gave him leave to build a temple and a city near Heliopolis, after the model of that at Jerusalem; which we shall have occasion to speak of elsewhere.

ANTIOCHUS, notwithstanding he was now become master of a strong and wealthy city, of which he had got the possession beyond all thought or expectation; his enemies slaughtered and humbled at his feet, and their country ravaged and laid desolate before him; yet all this was not sufficient to put a stop to the course of an insatiable cruelty and ambition:

Beside, the malice he carry'd in his heart for the difficulties he suffer'd in the siege, prompted him to force the Jews to renounce their laws, rites, and religion of their country. They were no longer to circumcise their children, nor to offer any sacrifices upon their altars, but hogs, which the law has expressly forbidden. This was a barbarity that all good men had a horror for, and whoever discover'd but the least resentment of it, was sure to die for it. Bacchides had at that time the command of Judea under Antiochus, and the world could not have found him out a fitter instrument for his purpose; he being a man naturally merciless and fierce, and as ready to execute mischief, as the other could be to command it. It was his common practice to treat men of quality with blows, like slaves; and Jerusalem, in fine, was no other than the image of a city that was taken every day over again. This was his way of proceeding, till the insupportable insolence provok'd some of the sufferers to meditate a revenge.

MATTHIAS the son of Asamoneus, (of Modin) and one of the priests, drew out a troop of his own domesticks, (having five sons) and arming them with daggers, kill'd Bacchides, and so withdrew immediately to the mountains for their security, out of reach of the garisons. Great numbers of the people join'd Matthias, till he found himself strong enough to venture down into the plain; where he gave Antiochus's generals battle, and beat them out of the country. This success gave him such a reputation, that the people, in acknowledgment of their deliverance, chose him for their general: In which command he dy'd,

Antiochus a cruel persecutor of the Jews.

Bacchides as bad.

Matthias makes a party, and kills Bacchides.

leaving the government to his eldest son Judas.

Now Judas (upon a presumption that Antiochus would not give it over thus) got a considerable body of an army together of his own countrymen; and in the first place struck up an alliance with the Romans. Antiochus, upon this, made another incursion into Judea, where he received a terrible repulse and defeat. Judas ply'd his advantage, and gave an assault to the city-garrison, being as yet untouched. In this action, the soldiers were beaten out of the upper city (commonly call'd the holy place) into the lower. Judas being now possess'd of the temple, purify'd it all over, run a wall about it, and furnish'd it anew with all sorts of vessels for the service of God's worship; the other being look'd upon as polluted and prophan'd. He caus'd to be erected also another altar, and sacrifices to be offer'd upon it; but as soon as ever religion was restor'd, Antiochus dy'd.

THIS Antiochus was followed by another of the same name, the successor of his father's enmity to the Jews, as well as of his crown. He put himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand foot, near five thousand horse, and eighty elephants; and so fell in upon Judea by the way of the mountains. He took the town of Bethsura; and passing through a narrow defile, in a place called Beth-zacharias, Judas engag'd him in the pass, and before the armies could join, his brother Eleazar taking notice of one elephant taller than the rest, with a great castle upon his back, and rich golden trappings, he took it for granted that Antiochus must needs be there upon it. In this confidence, he advanc'd upon the enemy, and made his way into their body, up to the elephant; but finding that the person upon him, whom he took for the king, was out of his reach, he stabb'd the beast into the guts, and was crush'd to death under the weight of him upon his fall; giving only to understand how much a brave man valu'd his honour above his life. But he, it seems, that rode this elephant, was only a private man; and if it had been Antiochus himself, Eleazar could have got no more by it than the reputation of preferring the glory of an heroical exploit above life. This disappointment was look'd upon by his brother, as a presage to the fate of the battle; for though the Jews maintain'd a long and an obstinate fight, they were yet in the end over-borne by numbers; and after a great loss of men, Judas with the remainder, retir'd into the Toparchy of Gophnis; but Antiochus march'd directly to Jerusalem, and, after a few days stay, was forc'd to withdraw again for want of necessaries, leaving behind him a competent garrison, and sending the rest to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

THE king being now out of the way, Judas was not idle; but taking heart upon the recourse to him of several of his own nation, together with those who had escap'd out of the late battle, he encounter'd some of the troops of Antiochus at a place call'd Adasa; where he made himself so signal by his conduct and valour, that, being known in the battle, he was oppress'd by multitudes, and fell in the

action. His brother John did not live many days after him, being inveigled into an ambush, and slain by the friends of Antiochus.

CHAP. II.

Jonathan betray'd, and put to death by Tryphon. Simon recovers Judea, and is murder'd by the treachery of Ptolemy. A plot upon John, alias Hyrcanus, but disappointed. The barbarous cruelty of Ptolemy to the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus. Antiochus lays siege to Jerusalem. Sebaste destroy'd by Aristobulus and Antigonus.

JONATHAN succeeded his brother as prince of the Jews, and behav'd himself with great caution and prudence towards those of his own nation; strengthening his interest also by making friends of the Romans, and coming to a better understanding with the son of Antiochus. Nevertheless all this was not sufficient to secure him from danger. For the tyrant Tryphon, the tutor of young Antiochus, had recourse to treachery, and how he might deprive Jonathan of the assistance of his friends ever and above: So that upon Jonathan's coming to Antiochus at Ptolemais, with a slender train, Tryphon seiz'd him by surprize; and when he had him prisoner, march'd with his army against Judea, where Simon, the brother of Jonathan, beat him off, and routed him; upon which he went away in a rage, and put Jonathan to death.

SIMON went on at the same rate of conduct and courage; he took * Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, made himself master also of † Accaron, and demolish'd it, assisted Antiochus against Tryphon, who, before his expedition into Media, laid siege to Dora. But such was the avarice of this king, that though Simon had contributed to the death of Tryphon, by the aid he had given him, it was not long after yet, that Antiochus sent Cendebeus with an army, to lay waste Judea, and to enslave Simon himself. This prince of the Jews was somewhat in years, but manag'd the war however with a spirit of youth and vigour. He sent his sons before with the best of his troops, and went another way with the rest; and having planted several ambushes up and down about the mountains, he succeeded every where, and gain'd a mighty victory: After which, he was declar'd high-priest. Thus was Judea deliver'd out of the hands of the Macedonians, after a subjection to them of an hundred and seventy years.

THIS great man was murder'd afterward at a feast, by the treason of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who, having at the same time his wife and two of his sons prisoners, ordered certain of his servants, whom he sent for that purpose, to dispatch John the Third, called also by the name of Hyrcanus. The young man, having notice of this design upon his person, hastened away to the city, where he had a great many friends; partly out of the reverence they bore to his father's memory, and partly out of the hatred they had to Ptolemy,

See Ant. I. 13. c. 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Jonathan betray'd by Tryphon, and put to death.

Simon overthrows Cendebeus, and recovers Judea.

Simon murder'd by the treachery of Ptolemy his son-in-law.

A plot upon John, or Hyrcanus, but disappointed.

Judas gets the temple, and restores God's worship. Antiochus dies, and his son Antiochus succeeds him.

Eleazar crush'd to death by the fall of an elephant.

Judas slain by the troops of Antiochus.

* So it should be read, and not Zera.

† In the Gr. *Antig.* Lat. *Arceem evertit subactis presidis.*

for his ill conditions. Now Ptolemy would fain have gotten into the city at another gate; but the people, having already taken Hyrcanus into the town, would not admit him. Upon this repulse, Ptolemy betook himself to the castle of Dagon beyond Jericho; and Hyrcanus, being at this time possess'd of the sacerdotal dignity, in succession to his father, so soon as ever he had sacrific'd, and discharged the duties of his function, he marched away presently to besiege Ptolemy in the castle, and to set his mother and his brothers at liberty.

HYRCANUS advanced up to the place, and had certainly carry'd it, if his tenderness and good nature had not hindred him: For still as Ptolemy found himself press'd, his mother and his brothers were brought out and expos'd upon the wall for a spectacle, with menaces to cast them down headlong from the battlements, unless Hyrcanus drew off that very moment; and those menaces were accompany'd with blows too. Hyrcanus must needs be transported with rage and indignation at so barbarous a treatment; but still the tenderness of piety and duty soften'd him again, on the other hand: The mother all this while, without any dread either of torments or death, adjuring the son to do justice upon that monster, without any regard to what she suffered; for to die by the hand of Ptolemy, she said, would be more welcome to her than immortality itself; provided only, that she and her family might have justice done them upon that inhuman wretch. Hyrcanus, in fine, betwixt the resolution and the authority of his mother, was prevail'd upon to resume his courage, and to prosecute the assault. But finding that still as he repeated the attack on the one side, Ptolemy repeated the blows and indignities on the other, his courage failed him, and his very heart was drown'd in sorrow. These expostulatory deliberations continued the siege so long, that they were now overtaken by the seventh year; which with the Jews is a year of rest, as the seventh day is a day of rest. Ptolemy finding that upon this revolution the siege was respited, he put both the mother and brothers to death, and then fled to Zeno, otherwise called Cotylas, the governor of Philadelphia.

ANTIOCHUS bearing an old grudge in his mind, for a defeat Simon had formerly given him, carry'd an army into Judea, with a resolution to be revenged upon the son for the father's sake; and there sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus in it. Hyrcanus in this distress, open'd the sepulchre of David; (the richest prince that ever was,) took upwards of three thousand talents out of it, and came to a composition with Antiochus for * three thousand talents to raise the siege. This was the first prince of the Jews that ever entertained foreign mercenaries.

ANTIOCHUS having now quitted Jerusalem, and being upon the march with all his troops into Media, Hyrcanus took his time, and presently moved towards Syria, upon intelligence that their towns were neither mann'd nor fortified; which he found accordingly to be true. So he took Medaba, and † Samea, Sichem

and Garizim, with divers other places thereabouts: He over-ran the country of the Chuthites; a people bordering upon a famous temple erected there, in imitation of that at Jerusalem. He took likewise ‡ Dorion, and Marissa, and a great many other towns in Idumea.

He went afterwards to Samaria, a city rebuilt by king Herod, and now call'd Sebaste. He begirt the place on all hands, and committed the care of the siege to his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus; who brought them to such distress for want of food, that the people were forced to make shift with that which, in truth, was not man's meat. In this extremity, they address'd themselves to Antiochus (otherwise called ** Aspendius) for succour, who come readily to their assistance, but to his own undoing; for the two brothers gave him a total overthrow, following him upon the pursuit as far as Scythopolis; but in the end he got clear of them. Aristobulus and Antigonus returned after this to Samaria, shut them up again, took the city, and laid it in rubbish, carrying away the inhabitants captives. Every thing succeeding thus to their wish, the soldiers well dispos'd and chearful, they would not suffer the briskness of their tempers to abate; but in that heat marched as far as Scythopolis; where they divided among them the lands about mount Carmel.

CHAP. III.

The death and character of Hyrcanus king of the Jews, &c. Aristobulus starves his mother, and puts his brother Antigonus to death, &c. He falls into a judicial distemper upon his brother's death. His last words. Alexander set at liberty and declared king. Theodore defeats Alexander. Alexander takes Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. A dangerous mutiny. He subdues the Galaadites and Moabites; razes Amathus, and is routed by Obodas. A battle betwixt Demetrius and Alexander. Eight hundred prisoners crucify'd for a spectacle. The miserable end of Aristobulus.

JOHN and his sons were so prosperous in all they undertook, that out of pure spite and envy, the nations entered into a conspiracy against them, and would never let them be quiet, till they themselves were brought to reason by an open war. After that decision, the remainder of John's life and government was easy and happy; and at the end of three and thirty years, he died, leaving five sons behind him. He was so good a man, that never any person living had reason to complain of him. A singular felicity! and he was in possession likewise, of three other advantages almost peculiar to himself. He was at the same time, a prince, a high-priest, and a prophet, receiving his revelations from God himself, and seldom or never failing in his predictions. As to his two eldest sons, he foresaw and foretold, that their dominion would not last long. It will be worth the while to write the history of their lives, and

Sebaste destroyed by Aristobulus and Antigonus.

See Ant. l. XIII. c. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

The death and character of Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus succeeds his father in the pontificate.

The barbarity of Ptolemy to the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus, whom he afterwards put to death.

Antiochus lays siege to Jerusalem.

And compounds for three thousand talents to raise the siege.

* The composition was for five hundred talents, three hundred of which were paid in hand. See Antiquities, B. XIII. C. XVI. P. 334. and our notes upon the place.

† Samea, Antiq. l. XIII. c. XVII.

‡ Al. Adora.

** Spondius Ruf. perhaps it should be Cyzicenus. See Valian. Num. Seleucidarum, p. 350.

to shew how short they fell of the reputation and happiness of their father.

Aristobulus starves his mother, and puts his brother Antigonus to death.

AFTER the death of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, the eldest son, translated the principality into a monarchy, and, in the first place, set the crown upon his own head. This was four hundred and eighty one years and three months after the return of the people into Judea from the captivity of Babylon. Aristobulus had so great a kindness for his brother Antigonus, that he made him co-partner with him in the royal dignity; but the rest of his brethren were taken into custody, and he caused his mother to be clap'd up too, for pretending some sort of right to the government, upon a suggestion that John had left the regency in her hand: Proceeding, in short, to that excess of cruelty that he starved her in the very prison.

BUT Aristobulus was effectually punish'd for these unnatural violences, in the loss of Antigonus, whom he caused to be put to death, upon the calumnies of a faction, whose business it was to make him odious. Now Aristobulus had so great a tenderness for his brother, (having made him, as I said, his companion in the government) and so good an opinion of him, that it was a considerable while before he would believe these spiteful stories, to be any other than forgery and slander. But there fell out one time an unlucky accident: Aristobulus happen'd to fall sick during the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and Antigonus, in the mean time, came back from the camp to Jerusalem in a very splendid manner. Toward the end of the solemnity, he marched up to the temple in an extraordinary pomp and dress, attended with a train of armed men; and the more glorious he appeared, the greater honour (as he intended it) he did his brother; but all this upon an impulse principally of devotion. The court-parasites and tale-bearers, went presently to instil evil notions into the king upon this occasion. "They did not understand this appearance of arms and soldiers (they said) nor was it for a private man to march with troops and guards; neither could Antigonus have any honest end in this parade. But the honour of a share in the government would not serve his turn, they saw, without the whole and absolute possession of it, which he intended to gain by cutting him off."

ARISTOBULUS was so far prevailed upon by little and little, though with some difficulty, that he bethought himself of providing against all hazards, without discovering any sort of jealousy. He lodged at that time in the castle of Baris, afterwards call'd Antonia; where he sent for his guards, and ordered them to wait for Antigonus in a certain dark passage under ground there. If he came without arms, they should let him go; but if otherwise, they were to kill him upon the place. Aristobulus upon this sends for Antigonus to come to him, but to bring no arms along with him. The queen concerted the plot with the conspirators artfully enough, by engaging the king's messenger not to deliver the right message: but rather to tell Antigonus, that the king heard of a very fine suit of armour he had got in Galilee, and being at present a

little indisposed, he had a great mind to see him as soon as he could, and that he should come accoutred in those arms. Antigonus (without the least suspicion of his brother's good faith and kindness) dress'd himself in his armour, and made all the haste he could to shew himself. But in the blind passage before spoken of (known by the name of Straton's Tower) the guards fell upon him, and killed him. This instance may serve for a lesson to us, that the bonds of nature, equity, and friendship, are all cancelled, where the ear is once open'd to pick-thanks and tale-bearers; and that there is no confidence to be put in the profess'd affection of court-favourites.

IN this place I must not forget a memorable story of one Judas, by sect an Essene; a man famous for divination, and one that was never charged in the way of his profession, either with a falsity or a mistake. It was his chance to be passing by as Antigonus went through the temple, and he cry'd out aloud (upon the sight of him to some of his acquaintance there within hearing, as he had followers and disciples in abundance.) "Nay then (says he) the Lord bless us! 'tis e'en time for me to leave the world. What should we do living any longer when truth itself is dead? My prediction is false, I perceive, and I have foretold a lye: For that very Antigonus who was to have been slain this day, is yet living. The fatal place where he was to have been kill'd is Straton's Tower; which is no less than six hundred * furlongs from hence, and the day is, at this present, within four hours of being spent." After these reflections upon the presage, the old man, with a sadness in his countenance that betray'd the anxiety of his heart, stood a while musing and thoughtful; and by and by comes the news of Antigonus's death, in a subterranean passage, bearing the same name also of Straton's Tower, with that of Cesarea upon the sea coast; and this was it that misled the prophet.

A strange prediction of one Judas, an Essene.

THE horrid fact was no sooner committed, but the conscience of Aristobulus flew in his face, and enflamed his distemper: So that betwixt horror of thought, a troubled mind, and the torments of his disease, his guts burst, and he fell into a vomiting of blood. One of the servants who carry'd it out to throw it away, cast it, by a most remarkable providence, upon the very place where Antigonus was slain, and the blood of the murderer fell upon the very stains of the blood of the murdered. Some who saw and observed it, took it to be done on purpose; as if it had been intended only for an oblation to the ghost of Antigonus. The by-standers gave such a shriek upon it, that the king, over hearing it, sent presently out to enquire what was the matter; and the more afraid they were of telling it, the more eager was the king to know it: So that in the end, betwixt force and menace, they told him the whole truth of the story. This surprize brought tears into the king's eyes; and then fetching a deep sigh. "Well (says he) it was not to be expected, that my secret sins should escape the eye of an all-seeing God, or that divine vengeance should not quickly

Aristobulus sickens upon the news of his brother's death.

A judicial distemper.

The last words and death of Aristobulus.

* Six hundred furlongs, or stadia, amounted to almost seventy six English miles. This same story is recited, Antiquities. B. XIII. about the middle of C. XIX. p. 337.

"overtake so horrid a wickedness. Ah! thou miserable body of mine, how long wilt thou keep my soul from doing the justice that I owe, to my murdered mother and brother! Why do I not rather sacrifice my blood all at once, than drain it out thus drop by drop, to go off at last in the bitterness of my pains and agonies, the sport of fortune?" With these words, he expired, having reigned but one year.

Alexander set at liberty, and declared king; but rules tyrannically.

THE widow-queen, after the death of Aristobulus, set Alexander at liberty, and declared him king. He was the eldest son, and reputed a prince of moderation: But yet, so soon as ever he came to the crown, he put one of his brothers to death for aspiring to the sovereignty; but the other submitting to live in a private condition, he took him home to himself.

THEodore defeats Alexander. Alexander takes Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon.

AFTER the taking of Aschois by Ptolemy Lathur the king of Egypt, Alexander gave him battle, and killed a great many of his men; but Ptolemy however got the better of it. Cleopatra, the mother of this prince, forcing him away into Egypt, Alexander took Gadara by siege, and Amathus, the fairest castle by much of all beyond Jordan, and the place where Theodore, the son of Zeno, had deposited his treasure, and all he had that was precious. But Theodore coming upon him before he was aware, did not only recover his own, but took the king's baggage, and cut off near ten thousand Jews in the battle. Alexander, by the help of some enforcements, after this blow, carry'd the war towards the sea-coasts, took Raphia, Gaza, and Athedon; which Herod afterwards called Agrippias.

The Jews in a mutiny against him.

IT is no new thing, where there are great numbers of people, to have great seditions; as at publick meetings, feasting, and the like. This was the case of the Jews against Alexander, in one of their solemn festivals; and it came to such a height, that it fell little short of a general revolt: So that, in his own defence, he was forced to take strangers into pay; as Pisidians and Cilicians; but for Syrian mercenaries, their natural aversion to the Jews was so great, that he durst not meddle with them. In short, he cut to pieces upwards of eight thousand of the mutineers, and then made war upon Arabia; where he subdued the Galaadites and the Moabites, made them his tributaries, and so returned back again to Amathus. By this time, Theodore being frightened away with the reputation of Alexander's successes, quitted the place; and the other, finding it without a garison, raz'd it to the ground.

Alexander subdued the Galaadites and the Moabites. Amathus razed to the ground.

Alexander routed by Obodas.

HIS next adventure was against Obodas the king of the Arabians; who lay posted in the province of Gaulan, the fittest place in the world for an ambuscade. Alexander was there surprized, and driven into a deep valley; where his people were crushed to death in the defiles by the multitude of camels, to the ruin, in fine, of the whole army; Alexander himself escaping with much difficulty to Jerusalem, where he found his old enemies more violent and implacable now than ever, since his last disaster. They gave him a great deal of trouble; but upon all encounters he was still too hard for them: insomuch, that within the compass of six years, he destroy'd at least

fifty thousand Jews; but he had little joy of these victories, where he himself was the worse for them. He betook himself, in the end, from arms to reasoning, and to attempt the ingratiating of himself with the people some gentler way: But this vanity and inconstancy of his humour, instead of gaining them over, rendered him so odious and contemptible, that, upon asking them what he could do in the world to please them, they told him he must die, and try what that would do; for they could hardly pardon him in his grave, for the injuries he had done them in his life-time.

THEY called to their assistance king Demetrius Eucerus; who finding it his interest to come over to them, readily comply'd, and advancing with an army, joined the Jews near Siehem. They reckoned in all three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot: And Alexander, with only a thousand horse, six thousand mercenary foot, and about ten thousand well affected Jews, encountred them. The two kings, before they engaged, made a trial what deserters they could gain over from either party; Demetrius applied himself to Alexander's mercenaries, and Alexander, to the Jews that followed Demetrius; in hope of succeeding on both sides, back and forward. But when they saw that neither the Jews nor the Greeks were to be wrought upon, they put it to a battle, and Demetrius carried it: Not but that Alexander's mercenaries shew'd themselves men of honour and courage. This did not hinder, however, but that, upon the final event of this action, they seem'd beyond all expectation to have both the better of it: For some of those troops that had solicited Demetrius's assistance, deserted him, and the compassion that several of the Jews had for their unfortunate king, transported six thousand even of those that had fought against him, to seek him out and join him in the mountains, where he had taken sanctuary. This turn of humour and fortune, gave Demetrius such a surprize, for fear the rest of the army should follow their example, that he quitted his design and withdrew. But these desertions of the auxiliaries had no effect yet upon the multitude; for they maintain'd the war still against Alexander, till they were all lost: One part of them cut off, and the remainder driven in * Bemezel; where they were all made prisoners, and carried to Jerusalem. But we shall now see how far the ungovernable rage of an imperious passion will transport people, when they come once to abandon the measures of honour and virtue. Alexander made a treat for his concubines; and one part of the entertainment, was the spectacle of eight hundred prisoners upon the cross, in the middle of the city; having first cut the throats of their wives and children, before their faces. This execrable frightful tragedy was presented for a diversion to Alexander and his women, in the height of the debauch: But then it struck the party with so astonishing a terror, that eight thousand of the inhabitants fled their country next night, and never came back again till after the death of this prince. By these sanguinary methods, he came at last, with much ado, to settle himself and his people in some sort of quiet.

Demetrius assists the Jews.

A battle betwixt Demetrius and Alexander.

Eight hundred prisoners crucify'd for a spectacle.

C H A P. IV.

See Ant. b. 13.
c. 23, 24. b.
14. c. 1.

Antiochus surpriz'd by Aretas, &c. Alexander's wars, exploits, sickness, and death. He leaves the regency to his wife Alexandra, and two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Hyrcanus is advanced to the pontificate, &c. Alexandra governs the people, and the Pharisees Alexandra. Alexandra falls sick and dies, leaving the command to Hyrcanus: But Aristobulus takes the government upon him, and his wife and sons are made prisoners in Antonia. The two brothers come to a battle, and Aristobulus carries it. They compound afterwards, and agree.

THIS peace of Alexander was not so well settled, but Antiochus (otherwise called Dionysius) the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of Seleucus, brought him into fresh troubles. This prince, having overcome the Arabians, put Alexander into some apprehensions for himself: so that he ran a line, with a deep ditch, with a high wall before it, strengthened with wooden towers of some tolerable defence. This line, or retrenchment, was carried all along the mountains near Antipatris to the borders of Joppa. But all this was no obstruction to the progress of Antiochus; for he set fire to the towers, filled the ditches, and so passing over with his army, marched straight away against the Arabians; postponing his revenge upon Alexander, who would have hindered him, to some other more convenient opportunity. Aretas, the Arabian prince, upon the approach of Antiochus, drew his men into strong holds; and then, all on a sudden, when Antiochus thought himself safe out of danger, the Arabian fell upon him at unawares with ten thousand horse. The fight was obstinate and bloody; but yet so long as Antiochus lived, his men stood bravely by him, though the Arabians made a very great slaughter. But when Antiochus fell (as he was always the hottest in the action) his men turned their backs and fled: so that upon the issue, betwixt those that were cut off in the fight and upon the pursuit, the army was totally destroy'd. Some fled into Cana; where the greater part of them perished for want of bread.

Antiochus surpriz'd by Aretas. A bloody battle.

Antiochus slain, and his army totally routed.

Aretas and Damascus join.

Alexander's exploits.

His sickness.

THE people of Damascus had such a dread and hatred for Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, that they entered into a league with Aretas, and made him king of Cele-Syria; who carried the war into Judea, defeated Alexander, and so went off again upon conditions.

THE king of the Jews, having taken Pella, went and assaulted Gerasa and carry'd it, though fortify'd with a triple circumvallation; making himself master, not only of the place, but of all Theodore's treasure that was laid up there, both at once. After this, he demolished Gaulan, Seleucia, and a city known by the name of Antiochus's Phalanx; with the strong castle of Gamara, over and above. In this place he took prisoner Demetrius the governor, (a man of a most infamous character) and so return'd to Jerusalem, where he was receiv'd with joy and acclamations, after a three years prosperous success. At the end of the war, he fell into an indisposition by a quartan ague;

and, being possess'd with an opinion that action and stirring would do him good, he enter'd into a new and an unseasonable war, and struggling beyond his strength, he tir'd himself out with the fatigue, and so ended his days in a hurry, dying in the twenty seventh year of his reign.

THE king left the government to his wife Alexandra, as one that had made herself very popular by her moderation and virtue: a woman far from the rigour and hardness of her husband, and therefore he made no doubt of the people's ready submission and resignation to her authority. Neither was Alexander deceiv'd in his opinion, for the reputation of her piety atton'd for the disadvantages of her sex: being a woman perfectly well instructed in the Jewish rites and customs, and one that had ever given constant proof of her zeal for the observance of those holy laws. She had, by Alexander, two Sons: the elder, Hyrcanus, and him for his age she advanced to the pontificate. And then, finding him also of an unactive temper, and thereby the more manageable, she reckon'd there would be no danger in declaring him king too. But then for Aristobulus the younger, being of a more sprightly and enterprising spirit, she thought it more advisable to keep him in a private state of life.

He leaves the regency to Alexandra.

And two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Hyrcanus advanced to the pontificate.

The character of the Pharisees.

THERE was among the Jews a certain sect call'd Pharisees, that valued themselves upon being thought holier than their neighbours, and better skill'd in the law. Alexandra, who was bigotted in her religion, even to the degree of superstition, had a mighty reverence for these holy men, upon the pure account of their pretensions; and they play'd their game so well on the other hand too, by fair appearances and insinuations, that the powers and privileges of the government were effectually engross'd into their hands. If any body was to be put in, or put out; laid in chains, or set at liberty; it was to be all as they pleas'd. The honorable and the profitable commissions of the government, they reserved to themselves; but the cares, the expences, and the difficulties were left to Alexandra. No creature better understood the art of publick management and administration than herself; she made it her business to advance the militia of the nation to the height; she kept two armies, and a great number of foreign auxiliaries, in pay; which made her strong at home, and formidable abroad. But still, as she had all this while the command of others, she herself was yet under the dominion of the Pharisees.

Alexandra govern'd the people, and the Pharisees Alexandra. The envy and tyranny of the Pharisees.

THERE was one Diogenes, a man of quality, and a most particular friend to the late king. The Pharisees caus'd him to be put to death, upon suggestion that he had a hand in the crucifying the eight hundred prisoners before mention'd, who were put to death by the king's command. Nay, they pressed the queen further yet, not to let any one man escape that was an adviser in that horrible action. The queen was so captivated, that she had not the power to deny them any thing; so that under that colour they destroy'd whom they pleas'd, and carry'd it on so far, that no good man was safe: insomuch that several persons of condition were forced to fly for sanctuary to Aristobulus; who presently mov'd his mother on the behalf of those persons, for their dignity's sake, and for the future to turn those out of the town that

that she should suspect to be guilty. This being granted, instead of being put to death, they were only banish'd. Alexandra, about this time, sent an army to Damascus, upon a pretext that Ptolemy press'd very hard upon the town: She took the place, without any thing remarkable that pass'd at the taking of it. Cleopatra was now besieg'd in Ptolemais, by Tigranes the king of Armenia, and Alexandra, at the same time, plying him with presents and proposals. But Lucullus being already enter'd into Armenia with the Roman army, Tigranes march'd presently away, to prevent mischief that threatned his affairs at home.

Cleopatra besieg'd by Tigranes in Ptolemais.

Alexandra falls sick. Aristobulus takes the government upon him.

The wife and sons of Aristobulus made prisoners in Antonia.

Sebastus and Agrippas. The death of Alexandra.

She leaves the command to Hyrcanus.

The two brothers came to a battle, and Aristobulus carries it.

They compound and agree.

SOME short time after this, Alexandra fell dangerously ill; whereupon her younger son Aristobulus, with a train of his servants, (as he had a great many, and all in the flower of their youth, faithful and brave) got possession of the castles, took what money he could find, engag'd a body of auxiliary troops, and declar'd himself king. Hyrcanus, upon this turn, made complaints to his mother, who so far commiserated his case, that she caus'd the wife and sons of Aristobulus to be shut up in the castle, on the north-side of the temple, formerly call'd Baris, (as I said before) and afterwards Antonia in the government of Anthony; as Sebastus and Agrippas drew their names from Augustus and Agrippa. Alexandra, after a nine years reign, was taken off by this sickness, before she could revenge herself upon Aristobulus, for endeavouring to depose his brother.

ALEXANDRA left Hyrcanus all she had in the world, and transmitted the government into his hands, while she was yet living; but Aristobulus was much his superior yet, both in force and credit. The dispute betwixt the two brothers came to a battle near Jericho; where the greater part of Hyrcanus's men went over to Aristobulus; Hyrcanus, and the wretched remainder of his people, escaping with much difficulty into Antonia, where they had good hostages for their security; the wife and sons of Aristobulus (as we have said before) being therein custody. These brothers, before matters proceeded to farther extremities, came to this agreement; That Hyrcanus should yield up the kingdom to Aristobulus, and content himself with such honours and privileges as properly belong to the dignity of the king's brother. The reconciliation being interchangeably declared in the temple, and in the sight of the people, with mutual embraces, the two brothers changed houses; Aristobulus went to the palace, and Hyrcanus to the house of Aristobulus.

CHAP. V.

Hyrcanus, by the advice of Antipater, makes a friend of Aretas the king of Arabia, against Aristobulus. Aretas enters Judea with fifty thousand men, forces Aristobulus into Jerusalem, and besieges him there. Scaurus takes a bribe, and raises the siege. The two brothers implore Pompey's assistance one against another. The vanity of Aristobulus, and Pompey's con-

tempt of him. Aristobulus takes sanctuary in Alexandria. The two brothers plead their cause before Pompey. Aristobulus makes his way for Jerusalem; humbles himself, and Pompey makes him a prisoner. Jerusalem besieged, and the temple taken by assault. Twelve thousand Jews slain. Pompey's piety and moderation. Aristobulus and his family carry'd away prisoners: But Aristobulus makes his escape upon the way.

THIS unexpected advancement of Aristobulus to the crown, was a terrible mortification to all his enemies, but especially to Antipater, upon the score of an old grudge betwixt them. Now this Antipater was by extraction an Idumean; and, for his birth and estate, one of the first rank of the country. Hyrcanus being now depos'd, and driven out of his dominions, Antipater advis'd him by all means to apply himself to Aretas, the king of Arabia, for assistance towards the recovery of his kingdom; employing his own interest also with Aretas, towards the gaining of his point, and reflecting all the while upon Aristobulus, as a very ill man; and at the same time elevating Hyrcanus up to the skies. He made use also of arguments drawn from the honour of the undertaking, and the generosity of the office; minding him that it was a thing worthy of himself, and well becoming the character of a great prince, for one crowned head to vindicate another: And more especially in the case of an injurious oppression and distress. When they were both thus instructed and prepar'd (Hyrcanus to be gone, and Aretas to receive him) Antipater convey'd Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and posting away with him, brought him safe to Petra, the royal palace of Arabia; and there, with fair words and presents, he deliver'd him up to the care and goodness of Aretas, who promis'd him he would use his utmost efforts toward the restoring him to his crown. Aretas, upon this, enter'd Judea with an army of fifty thousand men, horse and foot; but Aristobulus, not being in a condition to oppose him, was broken all to pieces at the first charge, and forc'd to take sanctuary in Jerusalem; where he was besieged by Aretas, and had certainly been taken, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not at this juncture deliver'd him. Pompey the Great, who was then in war with Tigranes, sent Scaurus with an army out of Armenia into Syria: But coming to Damascus, he found the place taken by Metellus and Lollius, and their troops drawn off. Scaurus, coming by this time to understand how matters went in Judea, could not do better, he thought, than to bend his course that way.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Antipater advises Hyrcanus to seek to Aretas for succour.

They steal out of Jerusalem by night, and post away to Petra.

Aretas enters Judea with fifty thousand men. Aristobulus beaten, and besieged in Jerusalem.

He was no sooner upon the borders, but he was there met upon the way by ambassadors from the two brothers, to the same purpose. Their instructions were to implore the assistance of the Romans for each of the two, one against the other. But Aristobulus's three hundred talents (for that was the sum) weigh'd down the justice of Hyrcanus's pretensions; as appear'd by Scaurus's sending away ambassadors to the Arabians and Hyrcanus, in the

The two brothers implore Pompey's assistance, one against the other. Scaurus the Roman general brib'd.

* Three hundred Jewish talents (as has been before observed) weigh'd thirty four thousand two hundred eighty nine pounds nine ounces, and their value in silver amount'd to one hundred and two thousand six hundred fifty six pounds five shillings of our money.

Scaurus commands Hyrcanus and the Arabians to quit the siege.

Aristobulus falls upon the Arabians rear.

The vanity of Aristobulus, and Pompey's contempt of him.

Aristobulus takes sanctuary in Alexandrion.

The two brothers plead their cause before Pompey.

name of Pompey the Great and the senate of Rome, charging them immediately to quit the siege, and be gone at their uttermost peril. Aretas presently withdraws in a fright, out of Judea to Philadelphia, and Scaurus returns to Damascus. Now Aristobulus did not think it enough to escape being taken, but got all the force together he was able to make, and closely pursued the enemy. He came up with them at last at a place call'd Papyron; where he fought and cut off betwixt six and seven thousand of their men, in which number was Cephalon the brother of Antipater.

HYRCANUS and Antipater, being now disappointed of the succour they expected from the Arabians, applied themselves for relief to their very enemies; and upon Pompey's entering Syria, and coming to Damascus, they cast themselves upon his honour for protection, with an introduction of large presents, and the same arguments over again that had been us'd to Aretas; desiring Pompey upon the main, to consider the violence of Aristobulus, and the right of Hyrcanus, as well in respect of his age, as of his manners. But Aristobulus depended so much upon his interest in Scaurus, that he dress'd himself in his royal robes, and, with the train and equipage of a king, went and made his compliment to Pompey. When he had waited a while; that is to say, so long as he thought consistent with his honour, (for he look'd upon it as a thing below his dignity to subject himself to an attendance) he returned back again to Diospolis.

THIS behaviour of Aristobulus gave Pompey great offence, which was but what Hyrcanus and his companions wish'd for. He draws out presently his Roman troops, and some Syrian auxiliaries, and marches after him. When he was pass'd Pella and Scythopolis, coming to Corede, upon the borders of Judea, in the Mediterranean, he was inform'd that Aristobulus had taken sanctuary in Alexandrion, (a stately castle upon a very high mountain) thither he sent messengers, commanding Aristobulus to come down to him. This was so imperious a message, that he resolv'd to run any hazard rather than comply with it; but, what with the murmuring of the people, and the advice of his friends, to consider the strength of the Romans, and the necessity of the case, he was prevail'd upon in the conclusion to go down to Pompey; which he did; and after many things said there, in defence of his pretensions to the crown, he went up again. After this, at the instance of Hyrcanus, he came down the second time; and, when the two brothers had disputed a while who had the justest title, Aristobulus return'd as before, without any let or interruption from Pompey. He was so divided within himself, betwixt hope and fear, that one while he was in a mind to humble himself, and to do whatever Pompey would have him: but when he was gone half way sometimes in that resolution, he repented, and so return'd up to the castle again, for fear of doing any thing derogatory to his royal state. Pompey had now a good mind to get possession of the castles; but being told that Aristobulus had charg'd all the governors, to take no notice of any orders but under his own hand, he appointed Aristobulus to write to the several respective commanders, immediately upon the sight of those letters, to

deliver them up. Aristobulus did as he was commanded; but went away immediately to Jerusalem in wrath and indignation, meditating all the way he went a war with Pompey.

POMPEY gave him no time to provide himself, but hasten'd after him immediately; and he went on the more cheerfully for the news he met with about Jericho, of the death of Mithridates. This is the fruitfulest province of all Judea; there is a plenty of palm-trees in it, and much of the famous balsam that drops from that plant, upon cutting the bark with a sharp stone. He staid there that night, and dispatch'd away the next morning for Jerusalem. Aristobulus was so surpriz'd at this expedition, that he went and cast himself at Pompey's feet, with supplications and tears, promises of money, and proposals of giving up both the city and his person into Pompey's hands. This soften'd him a little for the present; but Aristobulus, it seems, could not make good what he had offer'd; for when Gabinius was sent to receive the money, the friends and companions of Aristobulus, who kept the town for him in his name, would not so much as let him in.

THIS affronted Pompey to such a degree, that he kept Aristobulus a prisoner, and so advanc'd to the city, to take a view of the fortifications and defences, and to consider upon what quarter to attack it. The walls were strong and impregnable; a hideous precipice at the foot of them, and the temple so invincibly secure, that if the city itself were taken, the work were but half done.

WHILE Pompey was upon this deliberation, and casting within himself where to begin, and what to do, there broke out a violent sedition in the town, betwixt the two parties of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus; the former were for pushing it to a war, and rescuing their king by arms, upon a point of honour and duty; the other, for taking Pompey into the town, without any opposition. This was the sense of the majority, out of a dread they had for the Romans. The friends of Aristobulus, upon this, retir'd into the temple, and cut down the bridge of communication betwixt that and the city, in a final resolution of maintaining it to the last. Others there were that took several Romans into the town, and put them into the palace royal; whereupon Pompey sent Piso (one of his general officers) with a strong detachment to take possession of it. When Pompey saw the obstinacy of the Jews in the temple, and that there was now no longer any hope of an accommodation, he posted his guards, and put all things in order for an attack; Hyrcanus and his people contributing the best they could, both in action and counsel, to his assistance.

THEIR first business was to fill up that monstrous ditch and valley upon the northside of the wall; and this they attempted with what rubbish and materials the soldiers could get together, toward the bringing of it up to a level: a work of infinite difficulty, both in regard of the prodigious depth, and the advantage the Jews had of galling them from above: a work, in fine, insuperable, if it had not been for a remark of Pompey's, upon the Jews' superstitious observance of their seventh day, or sabbath. This great and understand-

Aristobulus makes away for Jerusalem.

Pompey follows him.

Aristobulus humbles himself to Pompey.

Pompey makes Aristobulus a prisoner, and takes a view of the place.

A violent sedition in the town, betwixt the parties of the two brothers.

Pompey prepares for an attack.

ing that the Jews made a conscience of doing any manner of work upon that day, but what was of absolute necessity, either for the support of life, or the defence of it, in case of immediate danger; he commanded his soldiers only to ply their entrenchments upon that day, without doing any other act of hostility. When the ground was now levell'd, the bulwarks advanc'd with strong and large turrets planted upon them and mann'd, the Romans, with certain Tyrian engines they had got, began the battery: the soldiers at the same time, out of the towers above, beating the defendants with stones from the walls, 'till in the end they were quite tir'd out with the labour.

POMPEY could not but admire the constancy and resolution of the Jews, and more especially in this particular; that in the middle of all extremities and dangers, they never discontinued the worship and ceremonies of their religion, but offer'd up their daily prayers and sacrifices, as orderly, as if it had been in a profound peace: and in this temper of soul they continued to the very last, even when they came to be finally destroy'd, and to have their throats cut at the very altar. In short, after a three months siege, and the loss only of one tower, the temple was taken by assault. The first that enter'd the breach was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla, and, after him, Furius and Fabius, two centurions with their companies; who beset the temple, and put to the sword all who offer'd to fly, or make resistance. There were several priests at that time in the very exercise of their holy function, that, with the sword's point at their breasts, continued in their oblations and incense, without any regard to the safety of their lives, out of a veneration they had for the duties of their profession. The Pompeian Jews press'd so hard upon their fellow tribes-men of the other party, that they forc'd some of them down precipices: others, in a rage of desperation, set fire to what they could come at about the walls, and then cast themselves into the flames. There perish'd in this outrage twelve thousand Jews, not many Romans, but more wounded.

THIS was a dismal desolation and calamity in several respects; but nothing so sensibly afflicted the Jews, as to see the holy of holies expos'd to prophane eyes: a thing that never happen'd before. Pompey, with a train of his people, entring into this place, where only the high-priest was to be admitted, * saw within it the candlesticks, lamps and tables for incense, with other vessels all of gold; a mass of perfumes, and of sacred treasure to the value of † thousand talents: but would not suffer any thing of all this to be touch'd that was consecrated to the service of God. On the next day after this destruction of the temple, he commanded the proper officers to take care for the purification of it, and to go on with the celebration of their holy worship as before. He did also declare Hyrcanus high-priest, as a consideration for the good offices he had render'd him, both in the siege and otherwise, in drawing off great numbers of the faction from Aristobulus. By this way of

proceeding, like a wise and good man, he secur'd himself the affections of the people. Among the prisoners, there was the father-in-law, and uncle of Aristobulus, both in one. Pompey struck off the heads of all the principal authors of the revolt; but for Faustus, and other brave men who acted along with him, he conferr'd upon them signal marks of his esteem, and glorious rewards. He impos'd a tribute upon Jerusalem and Judea. He took away from the Jews the cities they had possess'd themselves of in Cele-Syria; and annexing them to the jurisdiction of the present Roman governor, he reduced the Jews to their own bounds. He rebuilt Gadara, which they had destroy'd, in favour of Demetrius one of his freemen, and a native of the place. As for the inland cities of Hippion, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, and Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia and Arethusa; and so for the coast-towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that which pass'd formerly by the name of Straton's tower, and was afterwards call'd Cesarea by Herod, who beautify'd it with illustrious buildings; he took them all from the Jews, to restore them to their native inhabitants, and so join'd them to the province of Syria. After the passing of these orders, and the settling Scaurus in the government of Judea and Cele-Syria, and of all the country of Egypt to the borders of Euphrates, with the command of two legions, Pompey hasten'd to Rome by the way of Cilicia, carrying Aristobulus prisoner with him and his family: that is to say, two daughters and two sons, Alexander and Antigonus; the former of them made his escape in his passage, the other was carry'd to Rome, with his sisters.

Aristobulus and his family carry'd prisoners to Rome.

Alexander gives Pompey the slip.

CHAP. VI.

Aretas and Scaurus reconciled. Alexander arms against Hyrcanus. Scaurus compounds for a sum of money. Alexander worsted by Antipater, withdraws to Alexandrion, and Gabinius pursues him. An indemnity offer'd and rejected. The bravery of Mark Anthony. Several cities taken from the Jews, and restor'd to the right owners. Macherus and Hyrcanion given up, and Alexandrion levell'd to the ground. Gabinius gives Hyrcanus the charge of the temple, and settles the government. Aristobulus defeated by the Romans, but cuts out his way to Macherus. The Romans take the castle, and send Aristobulus and his son Antigonus both bound to Rome. Alexander defeated by Gabinius. Crassus succeeds Gabinius in the government of Syria; rifles the temple, and loses both life and army. Cypris had four sons by Antipater.

SCAURUS advancing with an army into Arabia towards Petra, found the ways so craggy and difficult to pass, that he had much ado to march. He laid waste however all the country about Pella, where he had many difficulties to encounter; being put to a pinch also for want of provisions, tho' Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, made a shift to fur-

See Ant. b. 14. c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Scaurus makes war upon the king of Arabia.

* See Fortunatus Scacchus's Myrothecium II. c. 43. p. 418.

† Two thousand Jewish talents weigh'd two hundred twenty eight thousand one hundred twenty four pounds, and their value in silver amounted to six hundred eighty four thousand four hundred fifteen pounds, and in gold to ten millions nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds English money.

nish him with necessaries. Scaurus, well knowing that there was a good understanding betwixt Antipater and Aretas, (the king of Arabia) dealt with Antipater to go to him in a way of friendship, and try if he could work him to compound the war for a sum of money. Antipater undertook the commission, and managed the matter so dexterously, that the Arabian was content to give three * hundred talents for his peace; and so Scaurus withdrew his army.

Scaurus compounds for a sum of money.

Now Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who had given Pompey the slip, was by this time at the head of a considerable body of men ravaging Judea, and pressing upon Hyrcanus, to the degree of endangering Jerusalem itself, upon a presumption, that the walls which Pompey had beaten down, were not as yet repair'd. But Gabinius the successor of Scaurus, and a person of eminent courage and conduct, being sent into Syria, and marching against him, it concern'd Alexander to look about him, having so considerable an enemy to deal withal, and to put himself into the best posture he could to receive him. He had now a marching body of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, beside several strong holds and defensible places, that he had fortify'd; as Alexandrion, Hyrcanion and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia.

Alexander encounters Antipater, and loses six thousand men. He withdraws to Alexandrion, and Gabinius pursues him. An indemnity offer'd and rejected. The bravery of Mark Anthony.

GABINIUS, in the mean time, sends Mark Anthony before him with a detachment of some choice troops of Antipater's, and a great number of Jews under Malichus and Pitholaus to join him: Gabinius himself following with the main body, and advancing toward Alexander; who, finding himself so much inferior in numbers, was forc'd to retire: But Gabinius pressing upon him in his retreat, came up with him, and engag'd him not far from Jerusalem, where he lost six thousand men: one half kill'd upon the spot, and the other half taken alive: himself escaping with the remainder to Alexandrion, closely pursued by the enemy. When Gabinius came up to the castle, he offer'd an act of indemnity to all deserters that would come over to him, and join him before the battle: but their stomachs were too big to accept of it; so that he fell upon them, and cutting off a great many of them, shut up the rest in the fort. Mark Anthony signaliz'd himself to a high degree in this action; and tho' he never fail'd of doing bravely at any time or place, he seem'd in a manner yet even to outdo himself upon this occasion. Gabinius now leaving a sufficient strength before the castle, took a view of all the towns and cities of the province, making it his business to settle the minds of the people in those places that were intire and untouch'd, and to repair others that were laid in rubbish and ruin. He gave peremptory orders for there peopling of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus, and several other places, where the citizens came thronging in with all possible joy to resume their ancient habitations.

When every thing here was put into good order, Gabinius went back to the siege of

Alexandrion, and push'd it forward with more vigour than before. Alexander was so affrighten'd at the desperate state of his affairs, that he sent his embassadors with an absolute resignation of himself, to acknowledge the ill things he had done, and to beg pardon; with a tender, not only of Macherus and Hyrcanion, but of Alexandrion itself also at his devotion. This being done, and accepted, Gabinius levell'd Alexandrion with the ground, at the instance of Alexander's mother, for fear it should prove the occasion of another war: such was the tenderness, in fine, she had for her husband and children that were carry'd prisoners to Rome, that she omitted nothing of application and address that might ingratiate her with the general.

Macherus, Hyrcanion and Alexandrion delivered up; and the last levell'd with the ground.

GABINIUS after this, carry'd Hyrcanus to Jerusalem; committed the temple to his care and charge, appointed officers for the civil administration, and divided the whole province of Judea into five jurisdictions: the first Jerusalem, the second, † Gadara the third, Amathus the fourth, Jericho and the fifth Sepphoris, a city of Galilee; the people all this while overjoy'd to see themselves deliver'd from a monarchy to an aristocracy.

Gabinius gives Hyrcanus the charge of the temple, and settles the government.

It was not long after this, that Aristobulus made his escape from Rome; which prov'd an occasion of new troubles. He got together a great body of Jews, partly for the love of change, and partly for the sake of an old kindness they had for him. His first attempt was the repairing of Alexandrion; but upon information that Sisenna, Anthony and Servilius were marching toward him with an army from Gabinius, he withdrew to Macherus; where he discharg'd himself of the burden of a loose and an unprofitable multitude, and took only a body of eight thousand men well arm'd along with him; reckoning a thousand fugitive Jews that Pitholaus had brought out of Jerusalem into the number.

THE Romans follow'd them close, and brought it to an encouragement. Aristobulus and his people did all that was possible for gallant men to do; but in the end, when they were tir'd out, and run down with numbers, the Romans had a clear victory of it; five thousand being kill'd, two thousand withdrew to a hill, and made a little stand, and the other thousand, with Aristobulus himself, cut their way quite thro' the Roman army, and so gain'd Macherus. They got thither about evening, and found it all in ruins; but Aristobulus would not yet despair of gaining time enough by a truce, to repair the castle, and reinforce his army. The Romans in the mean while ply'd the attack, but at the end of two days, and after a very brave resistance, they took the place, with Aristobulus, and his son Antigonus that fled from Rome with him; who were both bound and sent to Gabinius, and so to Rome again. The senate made the father a prisoner, but sent the son back to Judea, at the instance of Gabinius; who had promis'd as much to the wife of Aristobulus upon the delivery of the castles.

Aristobulus defeated by the Romans; and makes his way to Macherus.

The Romans take the castle. Aristobulus and his son Antigonus sent bound to Rome.

GABINIUS was now preparing for a war upon the Parthians; but Ptolemy having quit-

* Three hundred Syrian talents, (for such we suppose to be here meant) weigh'd four thousand two hundred seventy seven pounds four ounces two penny-weight twelve grains, and their value in silver amounted to twelve thousand eight hundred thirty two pounds sevenpence farthing, and in gold to two hundred and five thousand three hundred twelve pounds ten shillings of our money. *Doris Rufina.*

ted the Euphrates, and being on his return from Egypt, gave him a diversion. Hyrcanus and Antipater were his friends to all manner of purposes; for they supplied him with men, money, arms, corn, and, in fine, all provisions and necessaries for a war; prevailing with the Jews also that guarded the ways to Pelusium, to let Gabinius pass over at his return. This departure of Gabinius occasioned great commotions in the other parts of Syria, and created such a revolt among the Jews, that Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having gotten a vast multitude of the people together, he took up a resolution to put every Roman to death that he could lay his hand on in that quarter. Gabinius was not insensible of the danger; and the sedition increasing, he made use of his interest with Antipater to bring matters to a better understanding. But Alexander being a warlike prince, and having an army of thirty thousand men to trust to, nothing would serve him but the bringing of it to a battle, which was fought near the mountain of Itabyr. There fell ten thousand upon the place, and the rest shifted every man for himself, and so dispers'd. Gabinius, after this defeat, returned to Jerusalem by the advice of Antipater, to settle the people there under the form of a republic. He march'd from hence after the Nabatheans, secretly discharging two Parthian deserters that came over to him, Mithridates and Orsanes, pretending that they had made their escapes.

Alexander defeated by Gabinius.

Crassus succeeds Gabinius, rifies the temple, and loses both life and army.

CRASSUS succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria, and rifled the temple, not only of the two * thousand talents which Pompey refrain'd from meddling with; but of all the gold that was there besides, toward the charge of the Parthian war. Upon this he pass'd the Euphrates, where he himself and his army were both lost; but of this in another place.

Cypris had four sons by Antipater; Phasaël, Herod, Joseph, and Pheroras.

AFTER Crassus came Cassius into Syria, who put a stop to the Parthians when they were just ready to break into the country. He was no sooner in possession of his government, but he march'd into Judea; took Tarichea, and carried off near three thousand Jews into bondage. Pitholaus, one of the number, Cassius put to death, at the instigation of Antipater, for tampering the faction of Aristobulus into a sedition. † Cypris, the wife of Antipater, was a noble Arabian, by whom he had four sons, Phasaël, king Herod, Joseph, and Pheroras; and one daughter, whose name was Salome. He was a person belov'd for his generosity and conduct, by all men of honour and quality; but the most particular friend he had in the world, was the king of the Arabians, to whom he recommended the care of his children, when he undertook the war against Aristobulus. But Cassius having made a truce with Alexander, returned to his post at Euphrates, to take possession of the pass, and hinder the inroad of the Parthians; of which more hereafter.

CHAP. VII.

Aristobulus set at liberty by Cesar, and poison'd afterwards by the Pompeians, and his body sent to Judea. Alexander beheaded at Antioch. Philippion marries Alexandra. Antipater assists Mithridates, and takes Pelusium. Memphis deliver'd up to Mithridates. Antipater upon a pinch, rescues Mithridates, and routs the Egyptians. Hyrcanus confirm'd in the pontificate.

IT so happen'd a while after, upon Pompey's and the senate's quitting Rome, and crossing the Ionian sea in a fright, that Cesar being left absolute master of the place, and all that was in it, he order'd Aristobulus immediately to be set at liberty, and dispatch'd him out of hand into Syria with two companies; taking for granted that the country would quickly be his own, if he did but shew himself upon the borders. But that conjecture was too good to be true; for the hopes of Cesar, and the confidence of Aristobulus, were both disappointed, the latter being taken off by poison by some of Pompey's people. The body was embalm'd, and lay for some time unburied, till Anthony transported it to Judea, to be there deposited in the royal sepulchres. Neither did Alexander, the son, escape any better than his father; for Scipio cut off his head at Antioch, according to Pompey's direction, who had pass'd sentence himself against him upon the bench, for seditious practices against the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Minneus, and the prince of Chalcis, upon mount Libanus, sent his son Philippion to Ascalon, to the widow of Aristobulus, and order'd the bringing home of his son Antigonus and his daughters to their father. Philippion fell in love with the younger, whose name was Alexandra, and married her, which his father put him to death for afterwards, and took her to wife himself. This alliance created in him a greater tenderness for his brother Antigonus, and for his sisters.

See Ant. b. xiv. c. 13, 14, 15.

Aristobulus set at liberty by Cesar,

But poison'd afterwards by the Pompeians, and his body transmitted to Judea.

Alexander beheaded at Antioch.

Philippion marries Alexandra.

ANTIPATER, after the death of Pompey, made his court to Cesar; and Mithridates, a Pergamenian, finding a stop put to his expedition into Egypt, by prohibiting a passage to his ships at Pelusium, he stay'd with his army at Ascalon, and did not only prevail with the Arabians for assistance, though a stranger, but rais'd a body of about three thousand Jews, well-arm'd, upon his own account. He brought also several of the leading men of Syria into the party; as ‡ Ptolemy of Libanus, Jamblichus, and another Ptolemy, men of such reputation, that their interest and example drew the whole country after them. Mithridates finding himself now in condition, by the help of Antipater, to enter upon action, advances to Pelusium; and the inhabitants opposing his passage, he lays siege to the city. Antipater at this siege distinguish'd himself in a very signal manner; for at the first onset, pressing

Antipater assists Mithridates, and takes Pelusium.

* We have adjust'd the value of these talents to our money, in Chap. v. p. 543; which see.

† Cypris in the Antiquities.

‡ Or rather Tholomeus of Libanus, Jamblichus, and Ptolemy.

from his quarter, he himself was the first man who broke down the walls, mounted the breach, and enter'd the town with his people after him.

THUS was Pelusium taken, but the Egyptian Jews (of the province of Onias) would not suffer them to go any further; and yet Antipater prevail'd with them, not only to be quiet without making any resistance, but over and above to furnish necessaries for the soldiers. This example wrought so far upon the people of Memphis, that of their own accord, they deliver'd themselves up to Mithridates. Upon the arrival of Mithridates at Delta, they gave battle to a body of other Egyptians, at a place called the camp of the Jews, where Mithridates, with the whole right wing, was in extream danger of being totally cut off; but Antipater, having already broken the enemy's other wing, where he was engag'd, fetch'd a compass along the bank of the river, and came up so seasonably to the rescue of Mithridates, that he fell upon his pursuers, destroy'd several of them, and follow'd the chace up to the enemy's camp, where he made himself master of the pillage; and all this with the loss only of fourscore men on his side. There were near eight hundred of Mithridates's men slain upon the pursuit, but he himself preserv'd at last beyond all expectation. Mithridates, after this, did him all imaginable right to Cesar, in the report he made of so signal a service; and the emperor was so frank and generous in his professions and acknowledgments to this great man, that he became more and more zealous and ambitious of any occasion to lay down his life for so illustrious a master. He needed no other proofs, in fine, of his faith and courage, than the wounds he bore upon his body as the marks of his virtue. So soon as the war was over in Egypt, Cesar return'd into Syria, and made Antipater a free citizen of Rome, conferring also other honours upon him, enough to render him envied, and, in token of a singular respect and esteem, confirming Hyrcanus in the pontificate for his sake.

Memphis deliver'd up to Mithridates.

Antipater rescues Mithridates, and routs the Egyptians.

Hyrcanus confirm'd in the pontificate.

CHAP. VIII.

Antigonus charges the death of Aristobulus upon the Pompeians. Hyrcanus and Antipater wrongfully accused. Cesar makes Hyrcanus high-priest, Antipater governor of Judea, and orders the rebuilding of the walls that Pompey had thrown down. Antipater rebuilds them, and commands obedience to Hyrcanus. He prefers Phasaël and Herod. Hezekias the captain of the robbers taken. Hyrcanus incensed by evil counsel. Herod summon'd to attend the council; His manner of appearing. Herod declared general of the troops in Syria and Samaria upon the march to depose Hyrcanus, but his father and brother divert him. Sextus Cesar basely murder'd by Cecilius Bassus, and Marcus order'd to succeed in the government.

See Ant. b. xiv. c. 15, 16, 17.

AT this very time, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, address'd himself to Cesar; and so order'd the matter, that he did Antipater a far greater service than he intended him. His business was to complain of the death of his father, to tell Cesar the story of his being

poison'd by Pompey's instruments, (as it was generally presum'd) and to charge Scipio with cruelty to his brother, &c. But, instead of keeping within this compass, he lash'd out into extravagant invectives against Hyrcanus and Antipater, for driving himself and his brethren most injuriously out of their native country, and for oppressing the public, only to gratify their own private passions. As for the aids they sent Cesar into Egypt, there was more of fear in it than good-will, in hope to atone, in some measure, for the services they had formerly render'd to Pompey. Antipater, upon these reproaches, only uncover'd some parts of his body, and expos'd his wounds as testimonies of his loyalty to Cesar, and so left it to his body to do the office of his tongue. "But," (says he) "I cannot sufficiently admire the confidence of Antigonus, the son of an enemy to the Romans, and a fugitive, and, at last, as seditious an incendiary as ever his father was. Now for this man to exhibit accusations to Cesar, against the most faithful and dutiful of his subjects, and to insist upon pretensions of merit, when he ought rather to be thankful that he is suffer'd to live; what an unaccountable confidence is this! Neither does he desire any thing because he wants it, but with a design rather to employ it to the ruin of his benefactor."

CESAR, immediately upon this, created Hyrcanus high-priest, as a man perfectly well qualified for the function. He gave Antipater, at the same time also, the choice of any commission he would desire, who remitted himself dutifully to his master's good pleasure; whereupon he was pleas'd to pronounce him governor of Judea; and he obtained likewise this further grace, that he might repair the walls of his country, which Pompey had thrown down. These decrees he order'd to be engraven in brass, and the tables to be hung up in the capitol, as a memorial of Antipater's services, and of Cesar's justice.

WHEN Antipater had brought Cesar to the borders of Syria, he returned to Judea, where the first thing he did was to rebuild the walls that Pompey had broken down; and then to inspect the province, and, either by menaces, or persuasions, to prevent disorder, and keep the country quiet; giving the people to understand, that if they behav'd themselves as they ought to do toward Hyrcanus, they should live happily and easily in peace and plenty; but if they should ever think of fishing in troubled waters, and of advancing their own fortunes upon the ruin of the public, they should find Antipater, instead of a gentle governor, a severe master, Hyrcanus an unmerciful tyrant, instead of a gracious prince, and Cesar and the Romans, instead of friends, the worst of enemies, who would be sure to punish any injuries and insults, that should be offer'd against the authority of that prince, whom they had constituted.

THIS deference to Hyrcanus did not yet hinder but that Antipater settled the state of the province himself, to supply the defects and incapacities of Hyrcanus for the offices of a political administration. He gave Phasaël, his eldest son and the captain of the guards, the government of Jerusalem, and all that province; that of Galilee, to Herod, his second son, though

Antigonus charges the Pompeians with the death of Aristobulus. Hyrcanus and Antipater wrongfully accused.

Antipater shews his scars in his justification.

He reproaches Antigonus.

Cesar makes Hyrcanus high-priest, Antipater governor of Judea, and gives him leave to rebuild the walls Pompey had thrown down. These decrees deposited in the capitol.

Antipater rebuilds the walls, and commands obedience to Hyrcanus.

He prefers Phasaël and Herod.

though very young, with the same powers; who being naturally bold and active, was not long without an honourable occasion of shewing the greatness of his mind. Syria was terribly infested, and over-run with troops of robbers, till he took Ezekias, the head of them, and put to death the captain himself, and several of his followers. This exploit was so acceptable a service to the Syrians, that all the towns and villages were full of panegyrics and acclamations, to the honour of Herod, as the restorer of them to their liberties and possessions. The glory of this achievement made Herod known to Sextus Cesar, the kinsman of Cesar the Great, who was then governor of Syria. The fame of this action inspir'd Phasaël with an honest and a generous emulation to out-do his brother, and to gain more and more upon the hearts of the people of Jerusalem, where he exercised his power with such a tenderness of moderation and justice, that no person had reason to complain. The wisdom and conduct of this administration gave the people as great a reverence for Antipater, as if he had been their absolute sovereign; and he behaved himself all this while with a great exactness of faith and kindness toward Hyrcanus.

Herod takes Ezekias, the captain of the robbers.

Hyrcanus bears a secret grudge to the two brothers.

Hyrcanus irritated by evil counsel.

Herod summon'd to attend the council. His manner of appearing.

BUT to shew now that it is a thing utterly impossible to secure great men and glorious actions from the stroke of envy, we find it evidently in this instance of Hyrcanus. He had borne a kind of a secret grudge for some time already, toward these illustrious young men (and to Herod especially) for the honour they had acquir'd in the world, all mouths being full of the history of their virtues and adventures. Now this envious disposition was further wrought upon by a parcel of invidious parasites, and court-earwigs, to whom the exemplary integrity of Antipater's sons was an eye-fore. "What! (said they) is the authority of the government to be divided betwixt Antipater and his sons, and Hyrcanus to stand like a property, with only the empty name of it? How long will you go on at this rate, of setting up kings against yourself? It is now come to that pass, that they do not so much as pretend to act any longer as deputies or subjects; but, in one word, bare-fac'd as sovereigns; witness Herod's putting so many men to death, in a flat contradiction to the Jewish law, and without any mandate or direction of yours. Is Herod a private man, or a king? If the former, why is he not call'd to an account for this, and to answer both to the king himself, and to the law, which does not allow of any man's being put to death without a formal condemnation?"

HYRCANUS was mov'd at this by little and little, till at last he broke out into a fit of wrath and indignation, commanding Herod to be summon'd to make his appearance. Herod thought himself so safe in his own innocency, that with the advice of his father, he secured his garisons in galilee, and without any more ado went forthwith to the king, taking only such a guard along with him, out of a respect

to Hyrcanus, as might be competent for the securing of his person, without an affront to the prince. Sextus Cesar had so great a kindness for the young man, that for fear of mischief when they had him among them, he sent to Hyrcanus to acquit him of the charge, who seemed willing enough to do it, out of an inclination he had to oblige him. But Herod was yet a little doubtful how far he might depend upon fair words, and so repair'd to Sextus at Damascus, with a resolution not to appear any more in case of a second summons. Hyrcanus was ply'd over and over to the same purpose, as before, and by the same sort of people. They told him that Herod was gone away in a rage, and with a design of some desperate attempt. Hyrcanus was easily impos'd upon, and which way to turn himself he knew not; for he found his enemy too hard for him. But when Sextus came afterwards to declare Herod general of all his troops in Syria and Samaria, it struck such a terror into Hyrcanus, betwixt the consideration of his own strength, and the affections of the people, that he fancied him marching at the head of an army against him already.

Herod declared general in Syria and Samaria.

NOR was he at all mistaken; for Herod in a transport of indignation to see himself treated as a criminal, gathered an army together, and march'd toward Jerusalem, with a full determination to depose Hyrcanus from the government, which he had certainly done, if his father and his brother had not put a stop to the violence of his passion; "Desiring him to confine his revenge to menaces and hard words, rather than offer any indignity to the king, under whose countenance he had advanced himself to this dignity. If it troubled him, they said, that he was arraign'd, it might pass for some sort of atonement that he was acquitted; and then it was but setting the conservation of his life against the hazard of it. If he valued himself upon his arms, let him at the same time bethink himself of the iniquity of his cause, and that no subject can ever hope for a blessing from heaven, who draws his sword against his prince; and not only his prince neither, but his familiar friend, benefactor, and patron; and a prince who never dealt unkindly by him, but when he was provok'd and seduc'd by calumny and evil counsel." Upon this expostulation, Herod let the contest fall, and contented himself with giving the whole nation this instance of his interest and power.

Herod upon the march to depose Hyrcanus.

His father and brother divert him.

AT this time the Romans fell into a civil war near Apamia. Cecilius Bassus caus'd Sextus Cesar to be basely murder'd, and then took his command to himself. This he did as a service to Pompey. The officers of Julius Cesar, in revenge for the death of Sextus, fell with all the power they had upon Bassus; and Antipater, out of the honour he had for both the Cesars, the dead as well as the living, Sextus and Julius, sent his sons to join them with succours. But the war being protracted, * Marcus was order'd out of Italy to succeed Sextus in the government.

Sextus Cesar basely murder'd by Cecilius Bassus.

* Casaubon reads *Murcus*, Exercit. i. An. DCCVI.

CHAP. IX.

The murder of Julius Cesar in the capitol, and the horrible factions and confusions that follow'd it. Cassius, a great oppressor; and Herod insinuates himself into his friendship. The base ingratitude of Malichus, who ingratiates himself with Phasaël and Herod. Cesar and Anthony in war with Brutus and Cassius. Herod made governor of Syria. Antipater poison'd in his drink by the contrivance of Malichus, who was afterwards cut to pieces by Herod's officers.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 17, 18, 19, 20. Julius Cesar murder'd in the capitol.

Marcus lays horrible taxes

Herod makes a friend of Cassius.

Cassius in a rage at Malichus, but pacify'd by Antipater. The ingratitude of Malichus.

Malichus makes fair with Phasaël and Herod.

THERE fell out at the same time among the Romans, a more violent war than the former. Cesar being now murder'd by the treachery of Cassius and Brutus, after he had govern'd three years and seven months, his death was follow'd with a horrible confusion of factions in the empire. The great men were all divided into parties, every man acting as his humour and interest led him, without any regard to the publick. Cassius took his way into Syria to get possession of the troops that were then before Apamia; where he made † Marcus and Bassus, with some malecontented cohorts, friends, raising the siege of Apamia at the same time. He laid the cities under the most unreasonable and excessive contributions; a tax of seven ** hundred talents upon the Jews, which Antipater provided for in time by an equal distribution of the charge, and appointing his sons and his friends to take a seasonable care of the levy; reckoning Malichus, his profess'd enemy, into the number of his friends, upon that pinch. The first that wrought himself into the good graces of Cassius was Herod; who presented him with an hundred †† talents for the quota of Galilee; and for that reason was esteemed one of his best friends. But for the rest that were not so ready with their proportions, Cassius was so transported at the delay, that he raz'd Gophna, Ammaus, and two other cities of less note, to the ground: And when this was done, he took up a resolution of killing Malichus for being so dilatory. But Antipater having first appeased Cassius with an hundred talents, prevented the execution of his displeasure upon other places.

BUT so soon as Cassius was gone, all Malichus's obligations to Antipater were not only forgotten, but on the contrary, he enter'd into a practice upon the life of that man, whom he had so often over and over own'd for his favour, who was to be remov'd out of the way as an obstruction to his designs. Antipater kept an eye upon him, as a man both of power and cunning; and so pass'd the Jordan to put himself in condition to stand upon his own guard, and take his revenge. Malichus finding himself suspected, had no way to come off but by wheedling, and out-facing the sons of Antipater into a better opinion of him. Phasaël being governor of Jerusalem, and Herod captain of the guards, he deceiv'd them so art-

fully with excuses, oaths, and protestations of his plain-dealing and integrity, that he engag'd the sons themselves in a mediation to the father for a reconciliation; and by the same instrument he made his peace also with Marcus the governor of Syria, who was otherwise resolv'd to put him to death as a mutineer. Cesar and Anthony being now in war with Brutus and Cassius, Marcus and Cassius having had ample proofs of the bravery of Herod, made him governor of the whole province of Syria, with a considerable body of horse and foot for his guard; nay, Cassius went so far as to promise him the kingdom of the Jews at the end of the war. But it so fell out, that the hope and bravery of the son occasioned the death of the father; for Malichus was in such a dread of him, that he could never think himself safe while the other was living; and so he corrupted Hyrcanus's butler to poison Antipater in his drink. This was the requital that great man receiv'd from this ungrateful wretch. He was indeed a person of wisdom and courage; and one, in fine, to whom Hyrcanus stood indebted for the possession of his kingdom. The people were so enrag'd at Malichus, upon a suspicion of this execrable practice, that they were ready to tear him to pieces; but upon his renouncing and abjuring any knowledge of the matter, the multitude soften'd a little, and suspended their rage; and Malichus in the mean time, by way of prevention, put himself into a condition and posture of defence; for it could not be expected that this horrid murder should ever go off thus. He knew Herod was absolutely for taking his revenge at the head of an army; but his brother Phasaël dissuaded him by all means from making any publick disturbance about it, for fear of raising a tumult. The brothers, upon this, gave him the hearing with a semblance of allowing his defence, and a countenance, as if they thought him innocent, and then proceeded to the funeral rites and duties for their father; which were very splendid and magnificent.

SAMARIA being at this time torn with factions, Herod went down to quiet them; but so as to return upon all solemn days, to keep his festival still at Jerusalem, accompany'd with his guards backwards and forwards. Malichus did not like this face of things, and therefore put Hyrcanus upon telling Herod plainly, "That it was a profanation of the sacredness of the holy religion and profession, to intermix strangers with natives." Hyrcanus did as he was directed; but Herod in contempt both of the cause itself, and of the authority, enter'd by night into the city. Malichus went presently to him all in tears, lamenting and condoling the death of Antipater; and Herod, tho' ready to burst with rage and indignation, to outward appearance carried it as if he believed his grief real, and every word he said to be true. But yet at the same time he wrote to Cassius for justice upon Malichus, for the death of his father, which was easily obtain'd upon several accounts. Malichus be-

Cesar and Anthony in war with Brutus and Cassius. Herod made governor of Syria.

Antipater poison'd in his drink.

Malichus cut to pieces by Herod's officers.

Herod demands justice upon Malichus for the death of his father.

† Al. Murcus.

** Seven hundred talents weigh'd seventy nine thousand eight hundred and forty three pounds and nine ounces; and their value in silver amounted to two hundred thirty nine thousand five hundred and thirty one pounds and five shillings; and in gold to three millions eight hundred thirty two thousand and five hundred pounds of our money.*

†† An hundred talents weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds and three ounces; and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred eighteen pounds and fifteen shillings; and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand and five hundred pounds English money.

See Ant. b. 20, 21, 23.

Malichus cut to pieces by Herod's officers.

ing a person that was odious to Cassius already; so that Cassius did not only leave Herod to his course at law against Malichus, but sent also private orders to his tribunes to be assisting to Herod, if there should be occasion.

LAODICEA was just now taken, and men of quality came thronging in from all parts to Herod, with their gratulations and presents. He look'd upon this as the fairest opportunity in the world for the execution of his purpose; but Malichus, suspecting a design against himself, contriv'd to give him the slip, by getting away his son from Tyre, who was then a hostage there; and so steal away with him into Judea. But then, well considering the desperate state of his affairs, he was afraid that would not secure him neither; and so he set his wits to work upon a nobler exploit; which was to stir up the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans, while Cassius was employ'd in a war against Anthony; in which case he flatter'd himself that it would be no hard matter to depose Hyrcanus, and take possession of the government. But the Fates had otherwise determin'd, it seems; for Herod, having a jealousy of some great mischief projecting, invited both Malichus and Hyrcanus to supper with him; sending a servant out under pretence of having every thing put in order for the entertainment; but in truth, with secret instructions to the tribunes to attend, and act according to the agreement betwixt Cassius and Herod before-mentioned. They march'd out with their arms toward the sea-side of the city; where they met Malichus upon the way, surrounded him, and cut him to pieces. The surprize put Hyrcanus into so dangerous a swoon, that he could hardly be brought to life again; but so soon as ever he was come to himself, he call'd out to Herod to know who it was that had kill'd Malichus? One of the tribunes made answer, That it was Cassius's order. Why then, says Hyrcanus, Cassius has sav'd me and my country at once, in the destruction of so dangerous a traitor to both. Whether this was spoken from his heart or out of fear, no body knows; but this was Herod's revenge, and this the end of Malichus.

CHAP. X.

Felix makes war upon Phasaël and Herod. Herod falls sick at Damascus. Felix routed by Phasaël. The ingratitude of Hyrcanus. Marion, the king of the Tyrians; driven out of Galilee. Marion and Antigonus march against Herod. Antigonus routed. Several embassies with complaints to Anthony against Phasaël and Herod. The plaintiffs discharg'd without a hearing. Repeated complaints against the brothers. Messala and Hyrcanus plead for them. Anthony makes them both tetrarchs of Judea, and treats the insolent deputies very severely.

WHEN Cassius had quitted Syria, there happen'd new troubles in Jerusalem, upon the occasion of Felix's making war against Phasaël and Herod, to revenge the death of Malichus upon the brothers. It so fell out that Herod being then at Damascus with Fabius the governor, he was taken so ill that it put him out of condition to march to the relief of his bro-

ther. But as it happen'd, Phasaël had no need of help; for he routed Felix with his own troops, and did his business without it: but exclaiming bitterly against Hyrcanus for his ingratitude in siding with Felix, and in putting several castles into the hands of the brother of Malichus: as there were many of them, and Massada among the rest, one of the strongest holds in the country. But this avail'd them little against the power of Herod; who was no sooner got abroad again, but he retook all he had lost, and brought Hyrcanus to his knees, even in Massada itself: dismissing him however upon his humiliation. He drove Marion, the king of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, and recover'd from him three castles that he had gotten; not only sparing the lives of the Tyrians that he took, but gratifying divers of them over and above with donatives and bounties: by which means the people became Herod's friends, and Marion's enemies both at once. This Marion was a fit instrument for Cassius, who had set so many tyrants over Syria already; and marching against Herod, he took Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, along with him; and Fabius also, who was in effect no more than Antigonus's mercenary; and all this because they were enemies to Herod; Ptolemy, the father-in-law of Antigonus, supplying them with all necessaries.

HEROD made ready for the engagement, and it came to a battle upon the borders of Judea; Antigonus was routed, Herod carry'd the day, and return'd to Jerusalem, where he was receiv'd with all tenderesses of honour and respect, even by those that had despis'd him before: but this was out of a particular regard to the relation he had to Hyrcanus; for this Herod was formerly marry'd to a woman of his own country; she was nobly born, and her name Doris. By this woman he had Antipater, but he was afterward married to Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus. This was the relation he had to the king. But upon Cesar's coming into Italy, and Anthony into Asia, after the death of Cassius at the battle of Philippi, ambassadors were dispatched from several places to Anthony in Bithynia, and the heads of the Jews appear'd also, with heavy complaints against Phasaël and Herod for usurping arbitrary power to themselves, and allowing Hyrcanus only the bare name of sovereignty. Herod being within distance of over-hearing the accusation, manag'd so well with Anthony, by the mediation of a sum of money, that the complainants were all discharg'd without a hearing.

ANTHONY being after this at Daphnis in the suburbs of Antioch, (about the beginning of his intrigue with Cleopatra) there came to him a hundred of the principal men of the Jews all in a body; select men for quality and ability: and their business was the same complaint over again against the two brothers. They had made choice of the best speakers they had, for the advantage of the plea; and Messala stood up for the brothers, Hyrcanus, for kindred-sake, putting in to second him. Upon the hearing of both parties, Anthony asked Hyrcanus, whom he look'd upon as the fittest man for a character in the government. Hyrcanus reply'd, that for his own part,

Herod falls sick at Damascus. Felix routed by Phasaël. The ingratitude of Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus brought to his knees. Marion driven out of Galilee.

Marion and Antigonus march against Herod.

Antigonus routed.

Doris the wife of Herod, and the mother of Antipater.

Embassadors sent with complaints to Anthony.

Complaints against Phasaël and Herod.

The plaintiffs discharg'd without a hearing.

Repeated complaints against the brothers. Messala and Hyrcanus plead for them.

Anthony makes them tetrarchs of Judea. The deputies seditious and insolent. Anthony treats them severely.

part, he knew not any other comparable to the two brothers. Anthony was overjoy'd at this declaration, having been so highly oblig'd to Antipater of old, for a generous reception and entertainment upon his coming into Judea with Gabinus. So he pronounced them both tetrarchs of Judea, and committed the whole administration to their conduct.

THE deputies discover'd such displeasure and disgust at this proceeding, that Anthony committed fifteen of the hundred to prison; and they escap'd narrowly with their lives too. The rest he treated coarsely, and so let them go. This did but inflame the mutineers at Jerusalem to a higher degree, so that instead of a hundred, they sent now a thousand deputies to Anthony at Tyre; who was at that time making ready to fall upon Jerusalem. They were so clamorous, that the magistrates of Tyre were order'd to disperse them; and in case of resistance, to put all to death that they took: Anthony giving them further in charge to maintain the authority of the tetrarchs which he had set up. Herod and Hyrcanus, being inform'd of this disorder, went out to the deputies as they were walking before the port, and advis'd them civilly to have a care how they engag'd themselves and their country, by such intemperances, in one common ruin. But the better they were us'd, the worse they were: insomuch, that Anthony was fain to bring them to reason by armed troops, whereby a great many of them were kill'd and wounded. Hyrcanus was pleas'd however to take care of the wounded, and to provide for the burying of the dead. But all this wrought nothing at all upon those that escap'd; for they still went on embroiling the city, and irritating Anthony, till they provok'd him to put all his prisoners to death.

CHAP. XI.

Lysanias treats with Barzapharnes to depose Hyrcanus, and set up Antigonus. The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus; rout and pursue the enemy to Jerusalem. Hyrcanus and Phasaël force them into the temple. A peace proposed by Antigonus, and Pacorus for the umpire. Herod jealous of him. Barzapharnes false and perfidious. The whole story of the contrivance. Phasaël caution'd to look to himself. He charges Barzapharnes to his face. Phasaël and Hyrcanus seiz'd by the Parthians. Pacorus's plot upon Herod. Herod steals away, and withdraws to Massada. Herod gets a great victory. He lessens his train, and advances to Petra. The Parthians at Jerusalem ravage town and country. Marissa laid waste; Antigonus declar'd king. Phasaël and Hyrcanus deliver'd up to him in chains. Antigonus bites off Hyrcanus's ears. Phasaël dashes out his own brains. Herod order'd by Malichus to depart Arabia. Herod nobly treated by Cleopatra. He passes to Brundisium, and so to Rome. The generosity

of Augustus and Anthony to Herod. Herod declar'd king of the Jews in the senate.

ABOUT two years after this, when Barzapharnes, a noble Parthian, held the government of Syria, with Pacorus the king's son; Lysanias the successor of Ptolemy, the son of Minneus, struck up an agreement, and confirm'd it with articles, to deliver up to them a thousand * talents, and five hundred women, upon the dethroning of Hyrcanus, and settling Antigonus in his place. They fell to work upon the project immediately; Pacorus took the way of the sea-coast, and Barzapharnes was to march over the Midland: Ptolemais and Sidon open'd their gates to Pacorus, but the Tyrians absolutely refus'd him entrance. He sent before him a party of horse into Judea, under the command of Pacorus the king's butler (an officer of his own name) with instructions to hearken after the enemy's counsels and motions; and to assist Antigonus upon occasion.

THE Jews of mount Carmel offer'd their service to Antigonus of their own accord, who order'd them forthwith to advance, and possess themselves of that quarter of the country they call Drymos. They brought it to a battle, and got the better of it; and when the enemy was routed and dispers'd, their numbers encreasing, they march'd directly to Jerusalem; where Hyrcanus and Phasaël made a very brave resistance, and after a sharp dispute in the market-place, forc'd them to retire into the temple. Herod, upon this, clapt a guard of sixty men into the adjoining houses; but the people set fire to them out of a mortal hatred they had for the two brothers. These practices transported Herod to such a degree of indignation, that he fell upon the enemy, cutting off great numbers of them; and there pass'd not a day without bloodshed and slaughter. The feast of Pentecost being now at hand, and the city crouding full from one end of it to the other, up to the very temple itself, of people that came up to the solemnity from all quarters, and most of them with their arms, Phasaël took charge of the walls, and Herod, with a small party, of the palace. The latter made so unexpected a sally into the suburbs, that he kill'd several, and routed the whole multitude: some fled into the city, others into the temple, and some again shelter'd themselves behind the rampart.

WHEN things were brought to this pass, Antigonus propos'd a treaty of peace, and offer'd Pacorus (the king's officer before mention'd) for an umpire. Phasaël entertain'd the motion, and took the Parthian with five hundred horse, into the city: his pretence was only the composing of a sedition, but the plain truth of his intention was the assisting of Antigonus. This insinuating perfidious wretch prevail'd afterwards with Phasaël to send an embassy to Barzapharnes upon the same subject. This was intirely against the approbation and

See Ant. b. 14, c. 23, 24, 25, 26. Lysanias the successor of Ptolemy, the son of Minneus. He contracts with Barzapharnes to depose Hyrcanus, and set up Antigonus. Ptolemais and Sidon receive Pacorus, and Tyre denies him entrance.

The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus; rout the enemy, and pursue them to Jerusalem.

Hyrcanus and Phasaël force the enemy into the temple.

Antigonus proposes a peace, and offer'd Pacorus for the umpire. Phasaël entertains the motion, and takes Pacorus into the city. The treachery of Pacorus.

* A thousand Syrian talents weigh'd fourteen thousand two hundred fifty seven pounds nine ounces fifteen pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to forty two thousand seven hundred seventy three pounds eight shillings and nine-pence, and in gold to six hundred eighty four thousand three hundred seventy five pounds English money; but if Jewish ones be here meant, the reader may see their value computed, Antiq. xiv, c. 24. P. 364.

Herod jealous of him. opinion of Herod, who advis'd him to kill him, and caution'd him by all means to have a care how he trusted him; for he was false, and it was but natural for a Barbarian so to be. He was a traitor, he said, and deserv'd to be treated as one. Pacorus, for the better colour of the business, went out with Hyrcanus, and so with the rest of the company follow'd Phasaël, leaving with Herod some of those cavaliers that the Barbarians call'd freemen.

WHEN they came to Galilee, they found the people divided, and in arms; but the governors of places however came out to meet them. Barzapharnes had the wit to cover the falseness of his heart with external civilities, such as soft words and presents; but so soon as they were parted, he had an ambush in readiness to surprize them on their return. They were conducted to a place near the sea, call'd Ecdipon; and there they had the whole story of the treachery, a thousand talents promis'd, and five hundred women to be deliver'd up to the Parthians, and several of their own part of the number; that the Parthians were always false, and they were told farther, that this horrid perfidy had not been put off so long, but that they waited for Herod's coming up to Jerusalem, for fear the plot should take air, and be disappointed. And to shew now that this was more than talk, the ambush was just now at hand to seize them.

OPHELIOUS was the man to whom Samalla (a Syrian, and the richest man of the country) had communicated the minutes of the whole design. This Ophelius used a thousand importunities to persuade Phasaël to shift for himself; but Phasaël's resolution was, whatever he suffer'd, not to abandon Hyrcanus; so that he chose rather to lay it home to Barzapharnes, and to tell him to his teeth what a mercenary perfidious wretch he was. "If money be your business (says he) I can give you more for my life than Antigonus has promis'd you for the kingdom." This put the Parthian upon a violent denial of the whole matter, with execrable oaths and imprecations; and so he went his way to Pacorus. No sooner was he gone, but Phasaël and Hyrcanus were taken into custody by the Parthians that stay'd behind, according to their order, and had only the liberty left them of exclaiming against so horrid a perjury and treason.

Phasaël and Hyrcanus seized by the Parthians.

THE Parthian, all this while, had his lesson given him, to try if he could decoy Herod out of the town, and take him. This he attempted, but Herod was so well acquainted with the treacherous practices of those Barbarians, that he would not so much as stir out of the walls. He made no doubt but Phasaël had written him the whole story at length of the treachery, and that the Parthians had intercepted those letters; but all that Pacorus could do, would not draw him out of his hold, though he was press'd with a pretence plausible enough; which was, that he should meet his letters upon the way; for he'd find no such thing in them as imprisonment or treachery, nor any thing more than the common business of familiar letters.

Pacorus attempts to decoy Herod.

Herod kept himself still upon his guard; for he had been told by others, that his brother Phasaël was under durance; beside, that Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and one of the wisest of women, begg'd of him, upon any terms, not to stir abroad, nor expose himself to the manifest designs of those Barbarians.

HEROD was too wise and wary to be impos'd upon bare-fac'd; so that Pacorus was put to his shifts to contrive how he might trick him out of his life some other way. While this was in agitation, Herod stole away by night, with some of his nearest relations (and when his enemies least thought on it) toward Idumea. The Parthians had no sooner notice of his departure, but they got up and follow'd him. He sent his mother, brother, Mariamne (to whom he was contracted) and Mariamne's younger brother before him; while he and his retinue retarded the pursuit of the Barbarians, and got the better of them in several encounters, retiring at last to the castle of Massada. The Jews were harder upon him in his flight than the Parthians, (though ever so troublesome) and fell upon him about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, where they push'd it to a down-right battle. Herod got the victory with a slaughter of men, and for the eternal honour of the action, he erected a most magnificent palace upon the place, with a strong castle in it, which he call'd Herodion, after his own name.

Herod slips out of the town by night.

He withdraws to Massada. The Jews press him harder than the Parthians. Herodion erected in memory of this action.

A GREAT many people came in to him in his retreat; and at Therssa in Idumea, his brother Joseph advis'd him by all means to lessen his train, which he took to be upward of nine thousand men, a number too large for the castle of Massada to hold. Herod took his counsel, and discharg'd all the unprofitable mouths with a viaticum to Idumea, disposing of his kindred, and the most necessary persons for his service into the castle, with a body of eight hundred men over and above for the guard of the women, and provisions sufficient to hold out a siege, if there should be occasion. This he did, and so went forward to Petra, a city of Arabia.

Herod lessens his train.

And advances to Petra.

THE hearts of the Parthians at Jerusalem were altogether set upon booty; breaking into the houses of those that were gone, and rifling the royal palace itself, but without so much as touching Hyrcanus's treasure, which was not above three hundred talents. But they possess'd themselves of other riches, though not so much as they expected: For Herod had the providence, for fear of the lewd Barbarians, to take out what was most precious, and to transport it long before to Idumea, his companions also taking the same course. But after the Parthians had made themselves masters of the spoil of the town, they were not content with that ravage, but infested the countries also with a bloody and an implacable war. They laid waste the city of Marissa, and not only constituted Antigonus king, but deliver'd up Phasaël and Hyrcanus in chains into his hands. He tore off the ears of Hyrcanus with his teeth, to render him by that maim inca-

The Parthians at Jerusalem ravage town and country.

Marissa laid waste, and Antigonus declar'd king. Phasaël and Hyrcanus deliver'd up to him in chains. Antigonus bites off Hyrcanus's ears.

* Sixty furlongs amounted to seven English miles and an half, and ninety Geometrical paces.

† Al. Ressa. See Antiq. b. 14. c. 25.

** Three hundred Jewish talents (as has been observed before) weigh'd thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds and nine ounces; and their value in silver amounted to one hundred two thousand six hundred fifty six pounds and five shillings, and in gold to one million six hundred forty two thousand and five hundred pounds English money.

pable of the pontificate in case times should turn; for the holy office is not to be administered by any person maim'd or blemish'd.

BUT the cruelty of Antigonus was frustrated by the courage of Phasaël, who without either the help of a sword, or his hands at liberty, dash'd out his brains against a stone, shewing himself the true brother of Herod, and Hyrcanus a degenerate. He dy'd like a man of honour, and his end was suitable to the glory of his life. There goes yet another report of him, that he repented after that violence upon himself, but that a physician was sent him from Antigonus, who poison'd the wound, and so dispatch'd him: But whether the one or the other, we shall not contend. There passes another story, that, before he dy'd, he was told by a woman that Herod had made his escape. "Well! (says he) I shall now die in peace; for I shall leave a friend behind me that will revenge my wrongs."

THIS was the end of Phasaël, and it was now a great mortification to the Parthians, that Antigonus could not make good his promise of the five hundred women to them: but the business was made up at Jerusalem, and Hyrcanus sent bound into Parthia. Herod knew nothing as yet of the death of his brother; but was so sensible of the covetous humour of the Barbarians, that he concluded there was no redeeming of him but by a sum of money; and on that account he resolv'd upon a journey into Arabia, in hope of supplying himself from the king upon that occasion, either as a bounty upon the score of an old friendship betwixt the Arabian and Antipater, or as a loan upon the pawn of his nephew the son of Phasaël, a youth of seven years of age, whom he had at that time with him for his security. The sum he propos'd to give, was three hundred talents, the Tyrians joining with him in the request.

BUT his generous intentions were most unhappily prevented by this fatality in the death of Phasaël; so that Herod could do him no good, over and above that he durst not trust himself among the Arabians. For Malichus, their king, order'd him to depart immediately out of his territories; pretending that the Parthians had demanded, by their ambassadors, that Herod might be driven out of Arabia; but the true reason was his ingratitude to Antipater, and the narrowness of his soul, that he would not shew any respect to the sons (being then in distress) for the obligations he had to the father. He had, in fine, impudent advisers about him, without either faith or honour; and these were the persons that were most in credit with him.

WHEN Herod came to find the Arabians to be his enemies, and for those very reasons that he thought would have made them his friends, he dispatch'd the messengers back again, with such an answer as he was prompted to by the passion of a troubled mind, and so march'd toward Egypt. He came in the evening to a certain temple, where he had left several of his company in his passage. He got next day to Rinocolura; and that was the place where he receiv'd the first news of his brother's death. This surprize undoubtedly transported him; but so soon as ever the first heat of his passion was over, and that he had

done justice to the softnesses of humanity and natural affection, he proceeded on his journey. The Arabian repented himself by this, of what he had done, and with all speed sent after the person he had so barbarously abus'd, to invite him back again, but was now too late; for he was gotten to Pelusium, where the officers made a difficulty of letting him pass, till upon application to the magistrates he was left at liberty to go whether he pleas'd, out of the veneration they had for the fame and worth of the man. He took his passage for Alexandria, where he was receiv'd by Cleopatra, upon his entrance into the city, with all pompous formalities of honour and respect, in hope that he might be prevail'd with to accept of the command of an army, which she was then providing for some great design. But Herod's heart was so set upon his voyage for Rome, that neither the queen's entreaties, the extreme cold of the season, nor the dangers of the seas, could divert him from it. Upon his putting to sea, he took his course by the way of Pamphylia, where there happen'd so violent a tempest that they were forced to cast the greatest part of their goods over-board to save the vessel: But with great difficulty at last he got safe to Rhodes, at that time terribly harass'd by reason of a war with Cassius. He was there receiv'd by two of his friends, Ptolemy and Saphinias; and, notwithstanding his present want of money, he made a shift to provide himself a stout vessel, that carry'd him and his friends to Brundisium, and so to Rome. The person there to whom he made his first application, was Anthony upon the score of an ancient kindness and acquaintance betwixt him and Antipater: and to him he recounted the adventures and misfortunes both of himself and his family, with the story of his friends and relations that were at present shut up and besieged in the castle of Massada, and how he had made a winter voyage of it, to pay his duty to him, and to implore his aid.

ANTHONY was so affectionately mov'd with a generous compassion for Herod's distress, and an honourable deference to the memory of Antipater, together with a virtuous sense of what was due to the character of so excellent a person, that he resolv'd in the very instant to make Herod now king of the Jews, as he had declar'd him tetrarch before; and this not only out of a respect to Herod, but the aversion he bore to Antigonus had likewise some part in the resolution, looking upon him as a man of a turbulent and seditious temper, and an enemy to the Romans. And now after all these gentle dispositions of Anthony in Herod's favour, Augustus was yet rather the forwarder friend of the two; for he was never well and easy but when he was talking of Antipater's services in Egypt, and what Antipater and Cesar had suffer'd together there; the honour and hospitality of the conversation, beside the worthiness of Herod's mind and courage.

UPON this, there was a senate call'd, where Messala, and after him, Atratinus (Herod himself present) enlarg'd upon the merits of Antipater, and his fidelity to the people of Rome; exposing Antigonus at the same time for a publick enemy; not only for falling off so soon, but for receiving a crown from the hands of the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans. The senate was so possess'd with these harangues

Herod nobly receiv'd by Cleopatra at Alexandria.

Herod passes to Brundisium, and so to Rome.

The generosity of Augustus and Anthony to Herod.

Phasaël dashes out his own brains.

Antigonus could not keep touch with the Parthians.

* See the note in the foregoing page.

Herod order'd by Malichus to depart Arabia.

Herod declar'd king of the Jews in the senate.

ranguers, that they gave their voices unanimously for Herod to be king of the Jews, especially Anthony declaring himself that it would be for the advantage of the war with the Parthians to have it so. Upon the rising of the senate, Anthony and Cesar went out with Herod betwixt them the consuls, and other magistrates going before, to give order for the killing of sacrifices, and the depositing of this decree of the senate in the capitol. Herod, on the first day of his reign, supp'd with Anthony.

CHAP. XII.

Antigonus besieges Massada; and Joseph, Herod's brother, defends it. Ventidius and Silo join with Herod against Antigonus. Herod takes Joppa, and relieves Massada and so advances to Jerusalem, and begins the city. The besiegers are repuls'd. The craft and corruption of Silo. A desperate mutiny, but quieted by Herod, who possesses himself of Sepphoris, takes Jericho, and rifles it. The history of his war with the robbers. He goes back to Samaria, and Ptolemy commands in his place. Macheras commits a barbarous massacre upon the Jews. Anthony besieges Samosata, and Antiochus delivers up the place.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 24, 25, 26, 27. Massada besieged by Antigonus, and in extreme want of water

A providential fall of rain.

Ventidius seizes Antigonus's treasure.

ANTIGONUS was at this time before Massada, where, tho' they had plenty of every thing else, they wanted water to extremity, insomuch that Joseph, the brother of Herod, understanding that Malichus the king of Arabia had repented of the injuries he had multiply'd upon Herod, enter'd into a resolution to steal out of the castle by night, with two hundred of his familiar friends, and to betake himself to the Arabians for succour. And he had certainly put his design in execution, and left the castle, if, upon the precise point of time, when he was just about to make the fall, there had not fallen so plentiful a shower of rain, that their pits, cisterns, and other vessels, were all replenish'd with it; so that there was now no need of stirring. After this relief, the garison made frequent sallies; and betwixt surprizes and open force, did considerable execution upon the enemy; not but that they had the fortune to be sometimes worsted themselves.

WHILE this pass, Ventidius, one of the Roman generals, being sent to drive the Parthians out of Syria, enter'd Judea, under colour of a design to relieve Massada, but in effect to make a seizure of Antigonus's treasure. Now when he had advanced almost as far as Jerusalem, and enrich'd himself with plunder, he went off again with the greatest part of the army, but left Silo with a small body behind him, for the better countenance of the cheat; for if he had quite clear'd the country, it would have been said that he came only to satisfy his own private avaritious ends. Antigonus, however, made fair with Silo, having some hope yet that he might again engage the Parthians to his interest; and so long as there was hope, he thought the people would be quiet.

HEROD, being now transported out of Italy to Ptolemais, having raised a considerable army, both of his own nation and strangers, posted away through Galilee toward Antigonus,

with the assistance of Ventidius and Silo, who were prevail'd upon by the solicitation of Delilius, at the instance of Anthony, to help Herod into the possession of his kingdom. But Ventidius was taken up with composing the broils that the Parthians had rais'd in the cities, and Silo was already corrupted by Antigonus in Judea. But Herod wanted no men, for they came in to him every day all the way he march'd; and the Galileans, all but a very few, went along with him entire. The first, and the most necessary thing he had in his thought, was the raising of the siege of Massada, to set his friends and his kindred at liberty: But Joppa was a block in his way, and the first obstacle to be remov'd; for there was no meddling with Jerusalem with that enemy at their backs. Silo took this occasion to withdraw; and the Jews of Antigonus's party pursuing him, Herod, with a handful of men, fought and defeated them, and brought off Silo safe, after a faint and a weak resistance.

JOPPA being now taken, Herod hasten'd away to set Massada free, the country very frankly joining with him; some for his father's sake, some for his own, others in gratitude for the obligations they had to both; but the greater part of them for the hope of honour and reward. He was by this time master of a considerable army; but Antigonus did what he could, however, to obstruct his passage, by planting ambushes in his way, tho' with little or no damage to the adverse party. Herod, in fine, found no great difficulty in raising the siege, and in withdrawing his friends and his goods out of the castle. He advanced from thence to Jerusalem, where divers of Silo's men and of the inhabitants came over to him, out of an awe they had for his power.

HE pitch'd his camp upon the west-side of the town, whence the enemy gall'd him with showers of darts and arrows, and the defendants made several strong sallies upon his vanguard. The first thing Herod did, was the publishing of a proclamation quite round the walls of the city by a herald in form, setting forth that he had no other design in this expedition than the common good of the people, and the safety of the city, with the offer of an universal act of oblivion to all his enemies, of what degree soever, without exception. Antigonus's party, on the other hand, did all they could, with noise and clamour, to keep the people either from hearing the conditions of the declaration, or from being mov'd with the reason of it: and so he commanded his men to fall on; whereupon the besiegers were beaten off with shot from the towers, and forc'd to a retreat.

THE corruption of Silo was now as clear as the sun, by the clamours of the soldiers, that he had tamper'd and suborn'd to put all into a flame. "They were undone, (they cry'd) for want of necessaries: They had neither meat nor money; and as Antigonus had order'd it, the skirts of the city were all eaten up, and they were ruin'd for want of convenient winter-quarters." At this rate were the people animated to a revolt, and Silo would have gone off for company. This was so dangerous a practice, that Herod was glad to apply himself not only to Silo's officers, but to the common soldiery also, to prevent a worse mischief.

Ventidius and Silo join Herod against Antigonus.

Silo deserts.

Herod takes Joppa, and posts away to relieve Massada.

Antigonus lays ambushes for Herod. Massada reliev'd, and Herod advances to Jerusalem.

Herod begins the city, and offers an universal amnesty.

The besiegers repuls'd.

The craft and corruption of Silo.

He stirs up the people to a revolt.

Herod com-
poses the mu-
tiny.

"FELLOW soldiers (says he) you know ve-
ry well, that I have the commission of Ce-
sar, Anthony, and the senate, for what I
do: Do but stay by me one day longer, and
all your wants shall be supply'd." Upon
this assurance, he went away himself to give
orders for provision, and forthwith sent them
so prodigious a quantity, that Silo's mouth
was stop'd, and no room left for any further
complaint: And to secure them likewise for
the future, he wrote to Samaria (which was
then under his protection) to send him all
manner of provisions to Jericho: as corn, wine,
oil, cattle, &c. When Antigonus heard this, he
presently dispatch'd his troops abroad, and laid
ambushes to intercept the convoys. They fol-
low'd their orders, and there was now a great
army gotten together near Jericho, and parties
up and down the mountains to obstruct any
relief.

Herod ad-
vances to
Jericho.

Jericho taken
rifled, and
garison'd.

HEROD was not idle all this while, but
with ten companies, five of which were Ro-
man, and five Jewish, amongst whom were
three hundred mercenaries, and a small body
of horse, advanced to Jericho, where he found
the city abandon'd, not a soul left in it, and on-
ly five hundred of the inhabitants, with their
wives and families, fled to the mountains.
These he took, and so dismiss'd them. The
town had a world of rich pillage in it; which
the Romans rifled and carry'd away: And He-
rod, leaving a garison in the place, went his
way back again. The Roman troops had their
winter-quarters assign'd them in the cities that
came over to Herod; as Idumea, Galilee, and
Samaria. Antigonus also, upon Silo's ac-
count, whom he had brib'd, had part of his
army quarter'd in Lydda, to stand fair with
Anthony. The Romans were now easy and
quiet, and in a full enjoyment of peace and
plenty. But Herod could not yet be at rest;
for he sent his brother Joseph, with four hun-
dred horse and two thousand foot, to fortify
Idumea, for fear Antigonus should enter upon
any new practice; while he went himself, with
his mother and the rest of his kindred, to Sama-
ria, whom he had rescu'd at Massada. After
the securing of his friends, he advanc'd into
Galilee, to reduce certain garisons that Antigo-
nus was possess'd of in that province. He came
up to Sepphoris in a deep snow, and took the
place without any difficulty, for the garison
quitted it before it was invested. When he
had staid there a while, and refresh'd his men
after a winter's fatigue, (as there was great
plenty of provisions) he turn'd his arms against
the free-booters, who shelter'd themselves in
caves, and by sallies and incursions made a
worse ravage in the country than a regular war.
He sent away three companies of foot, and a
wing of horse before him, to Arbela, and fol-
low'd them himself forty days after with the
rest of his army. These robbers were not at
all daunted with this incursion; but, on the
contrary, advanc'd against them in a body, in
the confidence they had of the conduct and
courage of their leader. When the armies
came afterward to an engagement, the thieves

Herod re-
moves his
friends from
Massada to
Samaria, and
possesses him-
self of Sep-
phoris.

He bends his
force against
the free-
booters.

An encounter
betwixt He-
rod and the
robbers.

right wing put Herod's left wing to an abso-
lute rout; but Herod wheeling immediately
upon them with his right, did not only put a
stop to the flight of his own men, but brought
them on again with such a fury, that the rob-
bers were not able to stand before him. He had
the chase of them as far as the Jordan; a
great many of them were cut off in the pursuit,
and the rest got over the river. Galilee was
now deliver'd from this pest, saving only some
stragglers that kept still in their fastnesses, which
was the occasion of Herod's staying a little lon-
ger in the country.

HEROD, after this exploit, as the first fruits
of his soldiers services, gave the common sol-
diers a hundred * and fifty drachma's a man,
and to their officers so much more in pro-
portion, and then dismiss'd them into their
winter-quarters. He gave it in charge to his
youngest brother Pheroras to take care for
provisions, and likewise to run up a wall about
the castle of Alexandrion, which was all done
accordingly.

ANTHONY was now at Athens, and Venti-
dus sent to Silo and Herod, to join him in the
war against the Parthians; but writing to them
in the first place, to settle the affairs of Judea.
Herod was well enough content to send Silo
to Ventidius, while he himself advanc'd against
the thieves again to ferret them out of their
dens. Now these dens or caverns were in the
craggs of the rocks, hardly accessible on any
side, but by narrow turns and windings, and a
direct precipice from top to bottom. The
place was so steep and difficult, that it cost the
king some time before he could resolve what
to do; but he bethought himself at last of an
experiment, bold and desperate enough.
There were strong chests, with soldiers in them,
let down with ropes from the top of the moun-
tain to the mouth of the entrance into the
cave. These soldiers destroy'd the thieves in
their holes, some with their arms, and others that
resisted, with fire. When Herod had a mind to
save any of them, a cryer summon'd them to
come to him: But upon the main, there was
not one man that render'd himself upon his
own accord; and for those that were forced to
it, a great many of them prefer'd death to
captivity.

Herod at-
tacks the
thieves in
their holes.
A description
of their caves
and hiding-
places.

THERE was one very remarkable passage: an
old man, the father of seven sons, the mo-
ther and the children lay begging of him on-
ly for leave to get out, and render themselves
to the enemy. This old man commanded them
to come out one after another, and still as any
of them appear'd, he put them to death. This
spectacle struck Herod to the heart, who saw
it from a place of prospect near at hand, and
besought the poor man, with signs, and words
at length, to spare his children: But no words
or actions of tenderness had the least power to
work upon him. The man went forward in
his resolution, kill'd the children first, and
then the mother, casting their dead bodies
down the rock, and last of all himself; re-
proaching Herod for a man of an abject, mean
spirit.

The wonder-
ful resolution
of an old man.

* According to Calmet's tables, a drachma weighed two pennyweights six grains and three fourths; and its value in silver amounted to six pence three farthings and three eighths; one hundred and fifty silver drachma's therefore must amount to four pounds five shillings and six pence half penny; but this being the lowest valuation put upon it, and other authors valuing it at seven pence three farthings of our money, one hundred and fifty must amount to four pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence halfpenny. This calculation is made from the best authors; and tho' it does not exactly agree with our note at the bottom of pag. 369, the variation is so small, we hope our candid reader will pardon it.

The country clear'd of the thieves. Herod goes back to Samaria, and Ptolemy commands in his absence. Ptolemy surpriz'd, and slain. Herod returns, and disperses the thieves. Ventidius assists Herod against Antigonus.

WHEN Herod hunted the thieves out of their dens, he left only such a force behind him, as he thought sufficient to keep the peace. Ptolemy had the command of it; and so he return'd to Samaria; marching against Antigonus with three thousand foot arm'd with bucklers, and six hundred horse. The troublers of Galilee made advantage of Herod's absence, and fell upon Ptolemy by surprise, and kill'd him: they laid the country waste also, and then fled to bogs and defiles for their retreat. Herod had no sooner notice of this disorder, but he was in with them immediately, and cut off great numbers of their people; set all the castles at liberty that they had as good as block'd up, and fin'd the cities a hundred * talents for the riot.

THE Parthians being now beaten, and Pacorus kill'd, Ventidius, by the order of Anthony, dispatch'd Macheras to Herod with a thousand horse, and two legions, against Antigonus; who sent Macheras a complaining letter of the indignities Herod had put upon him, with the offer of a considerable sum of money to enter into his interest: but Macheras stood off; partly for their sakes to whom he was recommended, and partly because Herod was the franker bidder of the two. But Macheras made fair however with Antigonus, and put on the countenance of a friendly disposition to discourse the matter with him: but his business, in truth, was only to sound him, and learn the state of his affairs, which was a method absolutely against the opinion and advice of Herod. Now Antigonus, suspecting his intention, did not only refuse him entrance upon his approach to the city; but kept him off from the walls with darts and arrows, as an actual enemy. Macheras was so asham'd of himself upon this disappointment, that he returned to Herod at † Ammaus; and in a rage put all the Jews to death that he could meet with, whether friends or foes, and the Herodians as well as the rest: neither did the favourers of Antigonus escape any better than their neighbours.

Macheras goes to Herod to Ammaus, and puts all the Jews there to death without distinction.

Herod meditates a revenge.

HEROD was so transported at this bloody outrage, that he was once thinking to take open revenge upon Macheras, as an open enemy: but upon second thoughts he check'd himself, and chose rather to carry the cause immediately to Anthony. Macheras was so conscious to himself of what he had done, that so soon as ever Herod was gone, he posted, in that instant, after him, and, overtaking him upon the way, after a thousand submissions, protestations, and other humble importunities, with much ado he made his peace. But this did not divert Herod yet from going to Anthony: so he went forward; and hearing upon the way, that Anthony was at that time with a great army before Samosata, (a strong place upon the Euphrates) he made the more haste to be up with him time enough to give some signal proofs of his faith and courage, and at the same time to ingratiate himself with Anthony. The arrival of Herod put a quick

Macheras makes his peace with Herod. Anthony besieges Samosata.

end to the siege: he destroy'd a multitude of the Barbarians, and a great part of the booty fell to his share. Anthony, who had always entertain'd a mighty value for Herod, had a greater esteem for him upon this occasion yet than ever; which contributed exceedingly to his honour, and to the hopes he had of establishing himself in the kingdom. Antiochus, in fine, was forc'd to deliver up Samosata.

Antiochus delivers up the place.

CHAP. XIII.

Joseph commands in Herod's absence. Joseph, Herod's brother, kill'd in a skirmish. Antigonus insults upon the body, and cuts off his head. Strange changes upon his successes. Sosius made general of Syria. A fore-boding dream of Herod's. Three wonderful deliverances. Jerusalem besieged, and taken by assault; and Herod compounds for the pillage. Pappus's head cut off in revenge of Joseph. A mean character of Antigonus. He is sent in chains to Anthony, and loses his head. Cleopatra covetous and ill-natur'd.

WHILE these things pass'd, Herod's affairs met with bad success in Judea; which he left in his absence, under the absolute command of his brother Joseph; upon this express condition, not to attempt any thing against Antigonus before his return: his reason was, that he had a strong jealousy of Macheras, upon an old account, and durst not lay any stress upon his honesty. But Joseph, when his brother was at a distance, forgot that article, and march'd towards Jericho with five companies that Macheras had provided him, to carry off the corn that was then ripe upon the ground. The enemy fell upon him from the mountain, and, betwixt the advantages of the place, and the occasion, gave him an utter defeat; cutting all the Romans to pieces, and the general himself, who left behind him the character of a great and valiant man; these being only new-raisd troops, levy'd in Syria, and no veterans among them, to supply the want of skill and experience in their fellows.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 27, 28. b. 15. c. 1. 5. Joseph commands in Herod's absence.

Joseph Herod's brother, kill'd in a skirmish.

BUT such at last was the brutality of Antigonus, that the victory would not serve his turn, without unmanly insolencies upon the dead; insulting over the body of Joseph himself, with affronts and blows, and then striking off his head; tho' his brother Pheroras, to prevent that last indignity, offer'd fifty talents ransom for his body. ‡ Things were so alter'd in Galilee upon the success of Antigonus, that they took the Herodians of the first quality, and plung'd them into the lake. There was a great change in Idumea too; where Macheras repair'd the walls of the castle of Gath. Herod knew nothing of these matters all this while; for, upon the taking of Samosata, Anthony made Sosius governor of Syria, with a charge to assist Herod against Antigonus, and so he departed into Egypt. Sosius, upon this, sent away two companies into Judea to join

Antigonus strikes off his head. Strange changes upon his successes.

Sosius made general of Syria.

* An hundred Jewish talents weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred six pounds three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred eighteen pounds fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand five hundred pounds English money.

† Al. Emmaus. ‡ Fifty Jewish talents weigh'd five thousand seven hundred three pounds one ounce ten penny weights, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred nine pounds seven shillings sixpence, and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred fifty pounds English money.

join Herod, and he himself follow'd soon after with the rest of the army.

A fore-boding dream of Herod's.

WHILE Herod was at Daphne, (the suburbs of Antioch) he had a manifest presage of the death of his brother, in a dream. He leapt out of his bed upon't, and the messengers that brought the news, came into his chamber at that very instant. The surprize struck him at first; but when his sorrow had vented itself a little, he dispatch'd away with all possible speed, to find out the enemy. Coming to Libanus, he took eight hundred inhabitants of the place, and one Roman cohort to his assistance. With this body he enter'd Galilee before day, charg'd the enemy, and beat them back into the castle whence they came. He sat down before it, and assaulted it day after day; but before he could make himself master of it, the winter came on so fast, that he was fain to draw off his army into the next village. Anthony, some few days after this, sent him an enforcement of another company; which put the garrison into such an apprehension, that they secretly abandon'd the castle by night.

A strange escape of Herod's upon the fall of a dining room.

HEROD'S next remove was in all haste to Jericho, to take his revenge for the death of his brother; where he was preserv'd by a providence so wonderful, that it fell little short of a miracle; but God in his goodness had him under his particular care. Herod had had at supper with him, that night, several persons of the first quality, and so soon as the entertainment was over, the house clear'd, and the company gone, the roof of the eating-room fell flat down to the ground. He took this remarkable escape for so auspicious a presage, with a respect to the war he was engag'd in, that he decamp'd next morning early. The enemy, in a body of about six thousand, came down the mountains, and had a skirmish with his van-guard; but they did not much press to any action with the Romans, only they assaulted them with darts and stones at a distance, and Herod himself, as he pass'd by, receiv'd a wound in his side.

ANTIGONUS, valuing himself upon being thought Herod's superior, both for number and courage, sent Pappus, a familiar friend of his, with a body of men into Samaria, to try an encounter with Macheras. Herod, in the mean time, took five towns, and ravaged the enemy's country, destroy'd two thousand of the inhabitants, lay'd their houses in ashes, and so return'd to the army not far from a village call'd Cana. There came to him every day great numbers of Jews: some from Jericho, some from other places; some out of spite to Antigonius, and some again in respect to Herod: nay, some there were so senseless, that they lov'd change purely for change sake. Now the thing that Herod's heart was most set upon, was to push it to a battle; and Pappus, with his men on the other hand, was as ready to try the event: so that his troops, without any dread, either of force or numbers, march'd fiercely up to the combat. When they came to charge, Pappus's men, upon the main, made a tolerable resistance; but wherever Herod came, he was so transported with the spirit of revenge for his brother's death, that his enemies fled before him. It was his method, wherever he saw them in a body, to break them into a disorder, and by that means he put them all to flight.

A terrible slaughter and confusion.

THERE was a terrible slaughter: some beaten back into the place whence they came, and some running one way some another; Herod still pressing and pursuing them, till at last he fell furiously in with them into the town. The houses were presently crouded with fugitives, and the very roofs cover'd with them. But those were easily destroy'd; and then, upon beating down the buildings, several perish'd under the ruins, and others by the sword; and they that escap'd the one, were destroy'd by the other. The streets, in fine, were so block'd up with piles of carcases, that the conquerors found some difficulty to march over the dead bodies. The spectacle was so frightful, that the people were not able to stand the very sight of it. In the flush of this success, Herod had certainly march'd directly to Jerusalem, if the extream rigour of the season had not made the ways impassable. This was the only thing that hinder'd the perfecting of his victory, and the irreparable ruin of Antigonius; who was now disposing of himself to quit the city.

A providential deliverance.

HEROD, in the evening, having discharg'd his friends to refresh themselves after the fatigue of the day, went to bathe himself, as is usual in such cases, being hot and sweaty, with only one servant to attend him. As he was in his way to the bath, one of Antigonius's soldiers met him with a sword drawn; and after him another, and another, and still more. Now these were men that fled thither with their arms, out of the battle, for sanctuary. Upon the sight of the king, they fell into such a dread and trembling, that they minded nothing but the saving of themselves, and so pass'd by him. It so happen'd, that no body being at hand to seize them, they all got off; and, as providence would have it, Herod escap'd untouch'd. On the day following, he order'd the head of Pappus (Antigonius's general) to be struck off, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, in revenge for the blood of Joseph; for it was Pappus that kill'd him.

Pappus's head struck off in revenge for Joseph.

WHEN the winter was well over, Herod advanc'd to Jerusalem, drew his men to the walls, and, for the advantage of the attack, encamp'd before the temple; being the quarter from whence Ptolemy took it formerly. This was the third year after Herod's being declared king at Rome. He assign'd all his troops their offices and stations, and every man his post in the suburbs; he order'd the casting up of three ramparts, and the building of turrets over them; and, when he had given these commissions in charge, to his friends and officers that he could best confide in, he went himself to Samaria, to consummate a marriage with Mariamne, (the daughter of Aristobulus the son of Alexander) to whom he had been contracted some time before: so that the siege and the match went on together, in contempt of his enemies; as who should say, I have time enough for both.

Herod lays siege to Jerusalem.

UPON his marriage, he came back to Jerusalem, with several additional troops, besides a strong body of horse and foot, under Sosius the Roman general, who was sent to join him: the greater part of them took their march by the way of the midland, and he himself by Phenicia. The whole army, upon the muster, amounted to eleven legions, and six thousand horse; besides a strong enforcement of Syrian auxiliaries. They order'd the assault upon the north

Jeru taken fault

Antig mean wrote

north side. Herod founded his right upon the decree of the senate that made him king; and Sosius pleaded the commission of Anthony, for the assistance of Herod with the troops under his command.

THE Jews within the city were now in a very great confusion and distress; the meaner sort of them gathering together about the temple, and passing their judgments upon the times, in a kind of an enthusiastical way of fore-boding calamities to come. The bolder part of this rabble passed up and down, and pillaged whatever they could come at; especially near the town, where they left no necessaries, neither for horse, nor man. The soldiery, all this while, omitted nothing for the defence of the place. They kept the besiegers off from their walls, and still opposed one instrument and one stratagem to another: but their greatest excellency lay in mining, and breaking in upon the enemy before they were aware. The king, on the other hand, took care to provide against the excursions of the robbers, and for a supply of provisions, by convoys and transportations from abroad, to answer the necessities of the people. The Jews must be allow'd to have been bold and daring in battle, even to the highest degree: but yet, when it came to military skill and address, they were constantly outdone by the Romans; still maintaining the dispute, however, tho' they were in a manner sure to die for't. And in case of any surprizing attempt of the enemy from their trenches, by fall, or attack, they found some way or other in an instant, to make all good: and, in one word, they spar'd for neither art nor labour, in the resolution they had taken to defend it to the last. But, after a five months defence against so vast an army, a select party of Herod's men were so hardy at last as to mount the wall, with some of Sosius's centurions to second them; and so they brake into the city. The first thing they did, after their entrance, was to post themselves round the temple, and as near it as they could get; while the army dispers'd itself, and carry'd death and desolation along with it, in the most hideous forms, wherever it mov'd. The Romans were outrageous, in revenge for the hardships they had endur'd in the siege, and the cruelty of the Herodian Jews was an implacable spite, for fear any of their adversaries should escape. The narrow passages, and the houses, were all fill'd, and pester'd with heaps of dead bodies. They spar'd neither age nor sex, and the temple itself was no longer a sanctuary. Nay, tho' the king himself commanded them every where upon their allegiance to hold their hands, they nevertheless executed their revenge with a most merciless and inhuman fury.

ANTIGONUS, in this hurry and confusion, was so mean and heartless, that, without any regard to his quality, or to his past or present fortune, he came down from Baris, and cast himself at the feet of Sosius; who, without any sort of pity for his calamity, received him with this taunt, that his name should be no longer Antigonus, but Antigona. But tho' he behav'd himself like a woman, he was not us'd like one; for he was laid in chains, and kept a prisoner. Herod's enemies were now at his mercy, but his friends were yet so troublesome, that he had much ado to keep his auxiliaries and strangers quiet; for the multi-

tude press'd so violently into the temple, out of a rude curiosity to see the holy furniture and consecrated vessels, that Herod had enough to do, by fair means and foul, as menaces, entreaties, nay, and sometimes with blows, to keep them in order: accounting upon it, that his victory would be worse than a defeat, if he should suffer those sacred privacies to be expos'd to common eyes, which the law had kept in reserve.

He proceeded then to the regulation of the soldiery, in the matter of pillage; telling Sosius, that, at that rate of leaving neither men nor money, the Romans would render him a king of a desert, rather than of a city and people; and that, to gain the whole world, he would not be a governor upon those terms. Sosius made this reply, that he thought the soldiers, after what they had done and suffer'd, might be allowed some sort of right to the advantage of the booty. You speak reason, says Herod; take my word and honour for it, that I will see justice done to every man of them out of my own fortune. By this way of proceeding, Herod preserv'd the remainder of his country, and afterward made good his promise to the army: for there was not a common soldier that had not his donative, and the officers were all rewarded in proportion, even to Sosius himself; and to such a degree, that every person was abundantly satisfy'd. Sosius, after this, dedicated a golden crown to God; and, leaving Jerusalem, carry'd Antigonus away bound to Anthony, flattering himself all the way with the hope of life, to the very minute of his execution, when his head was cut off for not deserving to live.

THE multitude of the city were divided, and Herod distinguish'd party from party accordingly; treating his friends with great honour and kindness, to make the sinner of them; but the Antigonians he put to death. When he fell short of money, he divided what he had that was precious, betwixt Anthony and those about him whom he had the most value for; but all this was not enough to secure him yet; for Anthony was at this time besotted with the love of Cleopatra, and so abandon'd to his passion, that he could deny her nothing. Now Cleopatra had already fallen so bloodily upon her own relations, that when she had not left one near kinsman living, she turn'd the point of her rage against strangers; by calumniating men of honour and quality to Anthony, and prevailing with him to have them put to death, as the ready way to make her mistress of their estates. Her avarice transported her so far, after this, against the Jews and Arabians, that she enter'd into a secret practice against the lives of their kings themselves, Herod and Malichus. Anthony held her in hand upon it, with fair words, and seeming compliances: but for taking away the lives of two good men, and two such princes, it was so execrable a proposition, he could not but have a horror for it. He went so far, however, as to break friendship with them, and to put her in possession of a considerable part of their territories: as for instance, the lands in Jericho, so famous for palm-trees and balsam, and all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, except Tyre and Sidon. When he had gratify'd her with this present, she accompany'd him as far as the Euphrates in his expedition against

Herod compounds for the booty.

Antigonus loses his head

Jerusalem taken by assault.

Antigonus a mean pitiful wretch.

against the Parthians, and so took her away into Judea by Apamia and Damascus.

HEROD had already parted with large sums toward the mollifying of Cleopatra; but her ill-nature was so implacable, and so insatiable was her avarice, that all this would not do, without extorting an annuity of two * hundred talents out of the revenue of Judea; and so, with great obsequiousness and respect, he conducted her to Pelusium. It was not long before Anthony came back from the Parthian war, with † Artabazes the son of Tigranes his prisoner, whom he made a present of to Cleopatra, with the whole booty.

C H A P. XIV.

The craft and treachery of Cleopatra. Herod would have assisted Anthony against Augustus, and she hinder'd him. Herod gains one battle, and loses another. A prodigious earthquake in Judea. The Jews in a consternation, and several of their ambassadors put to death upon it. A generous speech of Herod's to encourage his soldiers. The army takes heart upon Herod's exhortation. Herod forces the Arabians to a battle, and gives them a total overthrow. The Arabians surrender themselves at discretion, and petition Herod to take them into his protection.

Ant. b. 15. c. 6, 7, 8.

The craft and treachery of Cleopatra. Herod would have assisted Anthony against Augustus, and she hinder'd him. Herod defeats the Syrians, and is routed himself afterwards by the Arabians.

UPON the breaking out of the war at Actium, Herod was now at liberty, and proposed to himself to accompany Anthony in that expedition; for he had gotten ** Hyrcania into his hands, from the sister of Antigonus; and all things were now compos'd and easy at home. But Cleopatra, for fear of Herod's being companion in the dangers with Anthony, craftily diverted him from his design. This princess, having a mortal hatred for both the kings, persuaded Anthony to commit the Parthian war to Herod; "for, (says she to herself) if he get the better of it, I shall be queen of Arabia; and if he be worsted, of Judea:" propounding only the dashing of the one against the other. This advice happen'd well enough for Herod, who, having gotten together a mighty body of horse, sent them against the Syrians near Diospolis, where he fell upon them; the Syrians made a gallant resistance, for a while, but in the end were beaten out of the field. Upon this defeat, the Arabians drew out a prodigious army, and posted themselves at † Canatha in Cele-Syria, there to expect the coming up of the Jews. Herod was now advancing toward them, but, upon sight of their numbers and disposition, he found it convenient to keep himself upon a more than ordinary guard, and therefore order'd the running of a wall about the camp. But the people were so puff'd up with one victory that Herod's precaution would not be comply'd with, they thought, to make them wait for another: so that without any more ceremony they fell on, and routed the Arabians at the very first push; but upon the pursuit, Herod fell into an ambuscade of a body of Canathenes, that were sent in by Athenion to the relief of the Arabians, and very narrowly es-

cap'd. Now this Athenion was an officer of Cleopatra's, and ever a mortal enemy to Herod. Upon the encouragement of this relief, the Arabians took heart, rally'd, and came on again; scatter'd the Herodians, and, following them close through craggs and woods, they kill'd great numbers of them in the chase. They that escap'd the battle, fled to a neighbouring village call'd Ormiza, where they were coop'd up and surrounded; and the Arabians made themselves masters of their camp, and the men that were in it. Immediately after this misfortune, Herod came up with succours; but the mischief being first done, there was no remedy. This disaster was all along of the contumacy and disobedience of his officers: for if they had not been so hasty and hot-headed, Athenion could never have had an opportunity to put his plot in execution. But Herod reveng'd himself afterwards on the Arabians over and over, by surprizes and incursions into their country, and aton'd by several little victories for one great defeat.

Herod takes his revenge.

WHILE Herod was in the course of his successes, there befel him a most judicial calamity. This was in the seventh year of his reign, and in the beginning of the spring, when the war at Actium was at the hottest. There happen'd at this time so dreadful an earthquake, that it swallow'd up cattle innumerable, together with thirty thousand people; but the army that lay in the field suffer'd nothing. It was, in truth, a dismal accident; but report (as it is usual) making it much greater than in effect it was, the Arabians took it for granted that Judea was totally sunk and lost, and flatter'd themselves with an opinion that they might without difficulty go and make themselves masters of the whole province. In this confidence they put certain Jewish ambassadors that were then with them to death, and, without any more ado, advanc'd into the country to take possession of it. This formidable inroad of the Arabians struck the Jews with such a terror, (especially considering the heart-broken condition they were in at that time, with one calamity upon the neck of another) that Herod was fain to try if he could reason a distracted, spiritless people, into their resolutions and wits again.

A prodigious earthquake in Judea.

Several Jewish ambassadors put to death upon it. The Jews in a consternation.

"You are here, in my opinion, (says Herod) under a most unreasonable apprehension. I will allow you (says he) to indulge your sorrows under the hand of an offended God; but to subject yourselves to the same despondencies and passions, for fear of the power of men, is a meanness of soul below the ordinary pitch of your courage. Nay, so far am I from any dread of an enemy, after this earthquake, that it looks to me rather as if providence had order'd the ensnaring of your adversaries by this temptation, into a vengeance for the injuries they have done you: neither do they lay so much stress upon the force of their own arms or valour, as upon the opinion they have of our abjection and misery. But those are false hopes, when men support themselves upon the infirmities of other people, rather than upon their own

A generous speech of Herod's to encourage his soldiers.

* Two hundred Jewish talents weigh'd twenty two thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds and six ounces; and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred and thirty seven pounds and ten shillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thousand pounds English money.

† Al. Artabazes. ** Al. Hyrcanian. † Cana, Antiq. b. 15. c. 6.

"virtue: nor is there any certainty, either in
 "prosperous, or adverse fortune, but they
 "are both unsteady, and take their turns;
 "and, for a confirmation of this doctrine, you
 "need go no farther than to the late battle,
 "where we were masters one hour, and at
 "mercy next. This is the very case of our
 "enemies at present, or I am much deceiv'd:
 "they think they take, and they are taken.
 "People that are over-confident are unwary;
 "but a considerable fear makes men provi-
 "dent; so that the very ground of your ap-
 "prehension is the foundation of my assu-
 "rance. You would needs be charging the
 "enemy contrary to order, and forwarder than
 "you should have been, and Athenion (you
 "see) made advantage of your error. But you
 "yourselves are now upon the reserve; your
 "deliberations are sober, and not fantastical,
 "which is a disposition that I look upon as
 "an omen of a certain victory. This is the
 "right temper of a brave man, before he
 "comes into action: but let him keep his fire
 "and heat to himself, till he has occasion for
 "it in the field. And so let it be your busi-
 "ness now, to convince your wicked enemies
 "by force of arms, that the Jews will sooner
 "part with their lives than their reputation,
 "and stand firm at last under all judgments
 "and misfortunes, and never own the Arabi-
 "ans for their masters, who have so often been
 "their slaves.
 "But why this fear at last for things inani-
 "mate? how comes an earth-quake to be a
 "portent, or a presage of things to come? is
 "there any thing more natural than the agi-
 "tations and disorders of the elements? they
 "do not foretel calamities, but they actually
 "bring and create them. 'Tis possible that
 "there may be some fore-running signs of
 "plagues, famine, and earth-quakes to come;
 "but, when they are once come, the greater
 "they are the sooner will they be over. Or
 "put the case we should be conquer'd now,
 "pray which is worse, the war, or the earth-
 "quake? but here's a destination of these
 "people to ruin even by their own hands,
 "without the help of enemies, who could be
 "so impious and inhuman, as, contrary to the
 "laws of nature and nations, to dip their hands
 "in the blood of our ambassadors, and dedi-
 "cate the sacrifice to God for the success of
 "the war. Can they ever think to escape the
 "all-seeing eye, and the almighty power of a
 "vindictive God, whenever we shall but rouse
 "in us the courage and zeal of our forefathers,
 "and call these perfidious violators of leagues
 "and publick faith to a severe and just account?
 "Wherefore stand up, my brave fellow-sol-
 "diers, not for your wives, children, or country;
 "but to revenge the murder of your embassa-
 "dors, whose very blood will consecrate the
 "cause, and those heroes, dead as they are,
 "will do you more good in the head of your
 "army, than the living commanders of it.
 "Do you but follow where I'll lead you, and
 "I'll ask no more. Only one word of caution;
 "be not over hot and rash, and when it comes
 "to the push, they will not dare to look you
 "in the face."

* Fifty Jewish talents (as has been before observed) weighed five thousand seven hundred and three pounds one ounce ten pennyweight, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds seven shillings and six pence, and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds English money.

This exhortation put the soldiers in such heart, that Herod clos'd with the good humour, and sacrific'd; and so, without any delay, pass'd his army over the river Jordan. He pitch'd his camp at Philadelphia, not far from the enemy, with a castle between them, which look'd as if that castle were to be the subject of the dispute. Herod, at that distance, provok'd the enemy to a battle, desiring nothing more than to bring it to a speedy tryal. The enemy had already sent soldiers before, to take possession of this castle, but the Herodians without much difficulty beat them back, and gain'd the hill. Herod drew out every day in order of battle, to dare the Arabians to a combat; but when he saw they would not answer the challenge, (for they were all in a consternation, and Elthemus their General above the rest) Herod attack'd them in their trenches, and so forc'd them to a battle; but in such a disorder they were, horse and foot marching out together, that it was all hurry and confusion. They did indeed exceed the Jews in number, but fell much short of them in valour, though one would have thought their very desperation should have made them bolder. The slaughter was not great so long as they stood their ground; but when they turn'd their backs once, betwixt those that fell in the pursuit, and those that were trampled to death by their own people, there were five thousand destroy'd, and the rest were driven into their camp, where Herod presently hemm'd them in, and besieg'd them; and this was not all neither, for the extremity they were in for want of water, was a misery equal to all the rest. In this strait they sent ambassadors to Herod, with an offer of fifty * talents for a composition; but he treated them with contempt, and would not so much as give them the hearing. They came out after this in troops, in the torment of a raging, burning thirst, and deliver'd themselves up to the Jews at discretion; so that in five days the Jews had four thousand of them in bonds. Upon the sixth day, the remainder of them, in a transport of despair, provok'd the Jews to a battle, where about seven thousand more were kill'd upon the place. This blow finish'd Herod's revenge upon the Arabians; for it humbled them to that degree, that they chose him afterwards for their protector.

The army take heart upon Herod's exhortation. Herod sacrifices.

He forces the Arabians to a battle.

And gives them a total overthrow.

The Arabians surrender at discretion,

And petition Herod to take them into his protection.

CHAP. XV.

Herod's generous address to Augustus at Rhodes, upon the defeat of Anthony at Actium. Cesar's goodness and humanity to Herod in return. Herod's magnificent entertainment of Cesar in Syria. Herod confirm'd in his government, with large additions. Herod's character, and the greatness of his mind.

HEROD's affairs went well enough at present; but the news of Anthony's defeat at Actium (for whom he had the greatest friendship in the world) gave him great anxiety; tho' his fear was, in some respect, more than needed; for Cesar could never think Anthony absolutely suppress'd, so long as Herod

Ant. b. 15. c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Anthony defeated at Actium.

was living. Upon this turn of fortune, Herod bethought himself how he might obviate all difficulties, and so went to Rhodes where Cesar was at that time. He presented himself without any ensigns of royalty about him, and in the habit of a private man; but with a mien of majesty behaving himself with great candour, and frankness, and this was his declaration.

A generous address of Herod's to Augustus at Rhodes.

"I must confess, mighty Cesar, (says he) that as Anthony made me a king, I was not wanting to employ the kingly powers he gave me to the service of my benefactor, from whom I receiv'd them; and, if I may speak freely, you yourself, Sir, would have found the effects of that justice, if I had not been diverted by the Arabian war: but this did not hinder me yet from sending him what supplies I could, both of troops and provisions; neither hath this last fatal blow at Actium, stagger'd me one jot in my gratitude and justice to my patron. I could not furnish him, 'tis true, with men and arms, nor attend him in person; but I gave him good counsel, that would have been of more worth to him, if he had follow'd it: which was to rid his hands of Cleopatra; for so long as she liv'd, he could never be safe; and that being done, I promis'd him moneys, strong holds, troops, nay, and myself too for a party to the war against you: but betwixt the love of Cleopatra that hinder'd him on the one side, and the secret appointments of providence that gave you victory on the other, it came all to nothing. Now so it is, great prince, that Anthony's fate and mine are wrapt up in one. We both fell on the same day, and with his fortune I have now laid down my crown. I have no pretence, Sir, to your clemency and favour, but under the character of an honest man, and a true friend.

"WELL! Herod, (says Cesar) be safe and happy, and a king still; and depend upon it that your crown shall sit surer on your head than ever. So good a friend cannot but make a good governor. Pray be as faithful to the fortunate as you have been to the contrary; and I cannot but promise myself great things from the dignity of so great a mind. As to Anthony's hearkening to Cleopatra rather than to you, his folly has made us all gainers; for we had never had Herod else. I must not forget the enforcements you sent to * Ventidius against Anthony's gladiators, and that you were before-hand with me in that obligation. Wherefore content yourself at present with

"the confirmation of the kingdom to you, and
"I shall take such further care for the future,
"that you may never be sensible of the want
"of Anthony.

CESAR, after this speech, with great humanity adjur'd Herod not to doubt of his friendship; and so placing the crown upon his head, confirm'd his title to it by an act of state, with glorious expressions in it much to his honour. When Herod had prepar'd his way by fair words and large presents, he made intercession to Cesar on the behalf of one Alexander, a friend of Anthony's, to get his pardon; but Cesar was too much exasperated against Alexander to grant his request; telling him, that the affronts he suffer'd for were wholly unpardonable.

Cesar's goodness and humanity to Herod in return. Herod begs Alexander's pardon, but Cesar refuses it.

As Cesar was afterward passing thro' Syria into Egypt, Herod receiv'd him upon the way with a most incredible magnificence; and while Cesar was taking a review of his troops, he caused Herod to ride about Ptolemais along with him, where he treated Augustus, and all his friends and army, with all imaginable splendour, order, and plenty. He took care also for the supply of water, for all that journeyed to and from Pelusium, and other dry places, with all sorts of utensils and necessities even for common use. This illustrious expence gave occasion to Cesar and his train, to say, that the kingdom of Judea was too little for the mind of so great a prince.

Herod's magnificence and entertainment of Cesar in Syria.

CLEOPATRA and Anthony being both dead when Cesar came into Egypt, Cesar did not only confer new honours upon Herod, but annexed to his kingdom that part of the borders which Cleopatra had taken from him, with Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, and the maritime cities Gaza Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton: he gave him also four hundred Gauls, which had been formerly of the guards to Cleopatra. Now Cesar proportion'd all his bounties to the merit and virtue of the receiver. After the first † Actias, he gave him also the province of Trachon, annexing it to his command; and so likewise Batanea and Auranitis, upon this account.

Herod confirmed in his government, with large additions.

It was a common and a constant practice of Zenodorus, who liv'd in a house he had hir'd of Lysanias, to send thieves out of Trachon to Damascus. The inhabitants apply'd themselves to Varus (at that time governor of Syria) for relief, begging him to acquaint Cesar with the misery of their condition. Varus did it accordingly, and Cesar's answer was, that he should utterly suppress all robbers, and robberies. Varus sent parties abroad into all suspected places, and so clear'd the land of

* Or Q. Didius. See the Jewish antiquities, b. 15. c. 7.

† i. e. In the beginning of the second year after the battle at Actium. This Era, or reckoning of time, took its rise from the naval victory, there obtain'd over Marc Anthony, and Cleopatra queen of Egypt, by Cesar Augustus; who, upon this, (saith Dion) becoming himself monarch of the world, gave command that the empire should begin to compute their acts from this day's achievement; which, according to Dion, was the second of September. It was in the year of the world 3919, and 4683 of the Julian period; as otherwise, and also by an eclipse noted in the Fasti Siculi, 'tis manifest: yet, by the decree of the senate, this Era was fixed in the destruction of Alexandria, which was taken August the 29th of the year following; 'twas the 16th Julian year, and the 294th from the death of Alexander.

Till this time the Egyptian account, measured by Nabonassar's year, consisting of three hundred sixty five days, without any intercalation of the odd hours, had been in use; in the place whereof the Julian form succeeded. And because the Egyptians called every day in the year by the name of some God, which were therefore called *ἡμέραι θεῶν*, and every year of their lustrum's or quadriennals in like manner, which were therefore called *ἔτη θεῶν*, Anni Deorum, these years were henceforth called in honour of Augustus, Anni Augustorum Deorum, or Anni Augustorum, as 'tis recorded by Censorinus, who only mentioneth them by this name.

This Era Actiaca, or (as Josephus calls it) Actias, continued in use till the time of Diocletian, who having gained himself an opinion of wisdom and fortune among his people, thought himself worthy from whom the computation should now begin; which was accordingly done, and this Era hereupon abrogated, after it had continued upwards of three hundred years.

that pest. Varus having taken away part of Zenodorus's estate, upon this order, Cesar bestow'd it upon Herod, to secure it from being any longer a receptacle for this sort of vermin: making him governor of all Syria, over and above.

Herod made governour of all Syria.

The character of Herod.

AUGUSTUS coming into that province again about ten years after, caution'd the governors in all matters of importance to consult Herod; and Zenodorus being then dead, he gave Herod likewise all the land betwixt Trachon and Galilee. But the thing at last that Herod valu'd himself upon, above all the rest, was this; that Herod was belov'd by Cesar, above all men living, next to Agrippa, and by Agrippa, next to Cesar. From these circumstances he was advanc'd to the highest state of human felicity, and his mind grew more and more illustrious with his fortune; for he employ'd the greatest part of his acquisitions in works and offices of piety and religion.

CHAP. VII.

Several famous works of Herod's, both at home and abroad. The temple repair'd. The castle of Antonia alluding to Anthony. Cesarion and Agrippion, to Cesar and Agrippa. Herod's glorious dedications. Sebaste in Samaria. Cesar's royal bounties to Herod. Antipatris to the honour of Antipater. Cypros in memory of Cypris, and Herodion of Herod. Straton's tower repair'd, and a stately palace erected. A wonderful port betwixt Dora and Joppa, and an exact description of it. Herod's bounties to strangers, as well as to his own people, and in common for the good of mankind.

Ant. b. 15. c. 11, 12, 13, 14. b. 16. c. 9. Herod's works. The temple rebuilt and repair'd. The palace of Antonia.

Cesarion and Agrippion.

Sebaste in Samaria.

IN the fifteenth year of Herod's reign, he apply'd himself to the repairing and rebuilding of the temple, which he did in a very magnificent manner, and at a vast charge; witness the stately galleries round about it, that were all rais'd up intirely from the very foundation, and the castle on the north side adjoining to it, which, for majesty and beauty, was not inferior to the royal palace itself; and which he call'd Antonia, in honour of Anthony. He made the enclosure about the temple twice as large as it was before. He rais'd also upon an eminence that overlook'd the city, two rich and spacious structures, no temple upon the face of the earth was to be compar'd with them; and these he call'd Cesarion and Agrippion, in honour of his two noble friends, Cesar and Agrippa.

NEITHER did Herod restrain the zeal and passion he, had for the eternizing of these great mens names and memories, to palaces and particular fabricks, but he dedicated whole cities also to the immortalizing of their fame to posterity; as Sebaste in Samaria, for example; a city of twenty * furlongs in compass, with a fair wall about it, a colony of six thousand inhabitants planted in it, and an endowment of excellent lands belonging to it, with peculiar franchises and immunities, in proportion to the people. Among other eminent buildings, he did likewise erect a majestick temple, with an

Area about it of three † furlongs and a half, and this temple he dedicated to Augustus.

CESAR, after this, gave Herod an additional donative of lands; and Herod, in acknowledgment, built another temple also of white polish'd marble, near the head of the river Jordan, at a place call'd ** Panium; and this was also dedicated to Cesar. Not far from hence stands a mountain of a prodigious height, that looks down among the craggs and rocks into a deep valley; and at the bottom, a dark hideous cavern, that's worn and hollow'd to such a depth, by the constant fall of waters upon it from above, that there's no sounding of it. From the foot of this cavern, there comes bubbling forth an issue of several springs; and this by tradition passes for the source of the river Jordan. But we shall speak farther to the matter of fact hereafter.

It was much after the same manner also at Jericho, where Herod caus'd to be erected, betwixt the castle of Cypros and the old palaces, some other buildings more commodious; and these he call'd by the names of the same persons. Herod, in fine, did not leave one considerable place in the whole kingdom, without some monumental memorial to the fame of Cesar. When he had adorn'd his borders with temples, he did the like in the provinces, distinguishing several of them by the name of Cesareia.

As Herod was in his progress along the coast, he took notice of one maritime city among the rest, with all the decays upon it of time and antiquity; 'twas known by the name of Straton's tower, and a place, for the quality and situation of it, worthy of Herod's royal care and bounty. This castle he did not only repair with beautiful white stone, but erected also a princely palace there, and never gave a clearer proof of the natural dignity of his mind than upon this instance. It lies betwixt Dora and Joppa, where the coast is so unfit for an harbour for ships, and the passage so dangerous, that whoever takes his course that way toward Egypt from Phenicia, runs a great risk of a miscarriage; especially with the least breath of a south-west-wind, which sets so hard upon the rocks, that it breaks back again in eddies, and makes a troubled sea for a good while after. But the king's liberality and resolution, in spite of charge and of nature itself, surmounted all opposition, and he built a port there, larger than the Pyreneum itself, with stations for the fairest ships to ride safe in, against wind and weather. It was so fortify'd, in fine, against the impetuous violences of the sea, and the ornaments of it so agreeable to the eye, that nothing could be added, either to the strength, or to the beauty of the contrivance. Upon Herod's taking his measures for the dimensions of the port, he order'd mighty stones to be cast into the sea, at twenty fathom water; the greater part of them fifty foot in length, nine foot deep, and ten over, and some bigger than these. When they had fill'd up the space to the surface of the water, they carry'd on a wall of two hundred foot; the one half to break the force of the sea, in the nature of a mole, from whence

Straton's tower repair'd. And a stately palace erected.

A famous port, and a description of it.

* Twenty furlongs amounted to two English miles and an half, and eighteen Geometrical paces.

† Three furlongs and an half were near half a mile.

** Al. Panca. See Harduin's Nummi illustrati, p. 112.

they took the name of Procymea; and the other, for the support of the turrets that were planted upon it, which were great and graceful; and he gave the fairest of them the name of Drufion, in a compliment to Drusus, Cesar's kinsman. There were also a great number of vaults for stores; and before, and about these vaults, a paving of large stones, that serv'd passengers both for a landing-place and for a walk. It fronted toward the north, which upon that quarter is the gentlest wind that blows. On each side of the entrance, there stood three Colosses mounted upon pillars: those on the left hand, at the going in, were supported by a strong tower of one entire stone; and those on the right were borne up by two large stones, column-wise, and joined together, over-topping the other. The buildings next the port were all of white stone, and the streets that led from the city to the key uniform and answering one another. Upon a hill, over against the port-gate, stood * Cesar's temple, a piece incomparable, both for majesty and beauty; and in that temple Cesar's statue, a work not inferiour, either for curiosity or bulk, to that of the Olympian Jupiter, and made after that model; † as also another of Rome, that did not fall short of Juno's at Argos. Herod's design in the building of this stately town and port, was the advantage of the province, and the security of travellers that way; but Cesar all this while was to be reputed the founder of it, and it was called Cesarea after his name.

A theatre and amphitheatre.

Agrippion erected to the honour of Agrippa.

Antipatris in the memory of Antipater.

Cypros from Cypris.

THERE were also several famous works and bounties of Herod not to be forgotten; as a famous market-place, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and the institution of the Ludi Quinquennales to be celebrated every fifth year, which he dedicated to the honour of Augustus. He was the first also, who, in the hundred ninety and second Olympiad, propounded honourable rewards, not only to him who should carry the prize in the first place, but to the second and the third also, in their course, one after another. He repair'd Anthedon, that had been ruin'd by the war, and call'd it Agrippion; and, out of a generous excess of tenderness for his friend, he inscrib'd Agrippa's name upon the gate of the temple that he had built there.

He was also as dutiful a son, as he was a generous friend and patriot; for he erected a city to the honour of his father, in the most pleasant and fruitful part of his dominions, and most deliciously wooded and water'd, which he called Antipatris. There was a castle also over Jericho, which, by situation, was both strong and delightful. This place he wall'd in, and, in honour to his mother, gave it the name of Cypros. Neither did he forget his brother Phasaël, upon several occasions; as in a tower he built at Jerusalem, which he call'd after his name; (I shall say somewhat of the compass, and the glory of it elsewhere) and so likewise another city in the country, to the north of Jericho, which he call'd also by the same name.

WHEN he had done honour to his friends and relations, he did not absolutely forget

himself; for he built and fortified a castle upon a mountain of Arabia, which he call'd by his own name, Herodion. And he gave the same name also to a hill that he cast up, in the form of a woman's breast, at about sixty ** furlongs from Jerusalem; which was set out with great care and expence: and this mount was encompass'd, at the top, with round turrets, the circuit of it fill'd with royal palaces, as rich and sparkling, both within and without, as art, care, and cost could make them. He supply'd it with water from a very great distance, and at a mighty charge. The stairs were all of pure white marble, and two hundred steps up to the top. This eminence was all the work of art and labour, and of a wonderful height. Now at the foot of it he built a princely palace, and provided for inns also, and houses of entertainment, where he might dispose of his friends and their luggage; in so much that, considering the provision that was made for all manner of conveniencies, it seem'd to be a city rather than a castle; yet, in the main, it was all no more than the king's house.

And Herodion from Herod.

BUT after these glorious structures, Herod could not yet be satisfy'd, unless he made strangers also partakers of his generosity and good will to mankind; for at Tripolis, Damascus, and Ptolemais, he caus'd publick baths to be set up; strong walls at Biblis, galleries, council-chambers, publick magazines, market-places, and temples, at Berytas and Tyre; theatres at Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct at Laodicea, upon the coast, water-works and baths at Askalon, with cloisters and piazza's, every way admirable both for the work and size. In some cases he gave woods and harbours, and upon other cities he bestow'd lands, as if he had made them sharers in his kingdom. In some places again, (as at Coos) he gave an everlasting revenue toward the maintaining of baths; and the donative was to perpetuity, that they might never forget the benefit. He gave corn to all that wanted it, and furnish'd the Rhodians several times with moneys for the fitting out of a navy, when they had occasion for it. He repair'd the temple of Apollo (call'd Pythium) out of the very ashes, at his own cost, and made it better than it was at first. What shall I say of his liberality to the Lycians and the Samians? his largesses all over Ionia, to every one that ask'd him? Are not the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Nicopolitans, and those of Pergamus in Lycia; are they not all sensible witnesses of Herod's bounty? in what a condition was Antioch, the capital of Syria, that stood in such a bog for twenty *† furlongs together, that there was hardly any coming near it, till Herod caus'd the passage to be pay'd all along with white marble, and set up contrivances upon the way for a shelter against foul weather.

Herod provides for the common good of mankind.

BUT it will be said perhaps that these were all private cases, and only concern'd some few particulars that were the better for them. What shall we say then to his obligations upon the Elians, wherein not only Greece, but the whole body of mankind are engag'd;

* The temple of Rome and Augustus.

† This is thus agreeable to the original: the Latin interpreter has mangl'd the sense, as Alb. Rubenius has shewn in his dissertation De Gemma Augustea. See Parthius's animadversions upon Statius, Vol. 1. p. 9, 10.

** Sixty furlongs (as has been before observed) were equivalent to seven English miles and an half, and ninety Geometrical paces.

*† Twenty furlongs amounted to two English miles and an half, and thirty Geometrical paces.

at least so many of them as have heard the fame of the olympick games! for when he found, upon his coming to Rome, that these games were all that now remain'd of ancient Greece, and that the solemnity itself was now dwindling away for want of money to maintain it, he did not only take the charge upon himself, for that year, of being * Agonotheta, but settled an annual allowance toward the upholding of it for ever. It would be an endless work to run thro' the debts and tributes, that he remitted; and particularly those of Phasaelites and Balaneotes; beside several towns in Cilicia, where he discharg'd their pensions. He did great things, in fine, and would have done greater; but the apprehension he had of drawing envy upon himself, as if he had some farther design in his head, kept him in awe: for why should he do more, they cry'd, for other princes subjects, than their own master would do for them?

THIS prince had a strength of body answerable to the greatness of his mind. He was a great master of the chace, and gain'd his point in it; for no man was better on horseback than himself. He kill'd forty beasts once in one day. That country breeds a great many boars; but more deer and wild asses. He was a soldier and a sword-man not to be resisted. He was terrible in his very exercises; the surest marks-man living, either with dart, or arrow: and, beside the excellencies of his body and mind, he was one of fortune's darling favourites; for the fate of the war went very seldom against him: or, when it did, it was either by treachery somewhere or other, or by the rashness of his soldiers; and not by his own fault.

A great soldier and an excellent sword-man, and had a strength of body answerable to the dignity of his mind.

CHAP. XVII.

The disorders of Herod's family. He puts away his wife Doris, and takes Mariamne, &c. Herod jealous of his wife and sister; and upon what ground. Joseph and Mariamne put to death. Herod marries his two sons. Herod takes Antipater home to him, &c. Herod charges Alexander to Cesar. Alexander's defense. Herod and his son reconcil'd. Herod entertain'd by Archelaus. He calls an assembly, and discourses the case. Antipater's character. Antipater's mother manages the plot. Salome picks up informations. Herod's advice to his sons. Pheroras and Salome, their mortal enemies. A plot pretended upon Herod's life. Herod's cruelty and injustice. Antipater the occasion of all. Alexander taken up, and his friends tortur'd. He feigns a plot, and pretends to confess it. Archelaus debates the case with Herod. Pheroras confesses and obtains his pardon. Herod an advocate for Alexander. Archelaus brings Alexander to his father, &c. An accusation against Alexander and Aristobulus, &c. Herod in a rage, and the brothers in chains. A council meets at Berytus about it. The king opens the cause. A sentence of death upon them. The bravery of Tyro, and the baseness of Tryphon. The death of Alexander. The sons strangled at Sebaste.

Ant. b. 15.
c. 3, 4, 9, 11,

THE felicity of Herod's reign was mightily disorder'd by troubles in his fami-

* Whose office was to preside over the games, and reward the victors. See Mercurialis de re Gymnastica, l. 1.

c. 18.

ly; and the person whom he lov'd above all earthly things was the cause of it: for being now possess'd of the kingdom, he turn'd off Doris his first wife, who was a Jewess, and took Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus: which caused miserable divisions in his house, especially after his return from Rome.

HE did, in the first place, banish out of the city Antipater, whom he had by Doris, for the sake of the children he had by Mariamne; allowing him only the liberty of the town upon festivals. And then he put to death Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, (who was now come back from the Parthians) on suspicion of a plot upon his life. For Barzapharnes having brought him away prisoner to the king of Parthia, after the taking of Syria, the Jews on the other side of the Euphrates, out of pure compassion, set him at liberty, and paid his ransom: at which time, if he had follow'd their counsel, and not come to Herod, he might have liv'd safe and happy: But betwixt the snare of his granddaughter's match, and the passionate desire he had to see his own country again, he was inveigled to his ruin. The thing all this while that wrought upon Herod, was not that he had any design upon the government, but that he had a rightful title to it.

MARIAMNE had five children by Herod: two daughters, and three sons; and the youngest of the three dy'd in the course of his studies and exercises at Rome. The two elder were train'd up in a royal education, in regard both of the nobility of the mother, and that they were born while he was in possession of the crown. But nothing mov'd Herod so powerfully in their favour, as the wonderful ascendant that Mariamne had upon the spirit of her husband; whose fondness so far increas'd upon him, that it made him utterly insensible of all indignities and affronts; while Mariamne requited this passionate fondness of his with an equal degree of aversion. She did not want matter of pretence for a disgust: and then presuming upon the extravagant love he had for her, she did not stick to charge him point-blank with the murder of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and to load her reproaches with aggravations: the latter an innocent youth, she said, but seventeen years of age when he was created high-priest, and cut off so soon as he had receiv'd the order. The first time that he appear'd in his holy robes, upon a festival day, to officiate at the altar, it was so moving a spectacle, that the people wept with joy at the sight of him. But the very same night was Aristobulus sent away to Jericho, and there drown'd in a lake, by the Gauls, and by Herod's order.

MARIAMNE did not yet content herself with these outrageous reproaches against Herod; but she vilify'd also, in a much more opprobrious sort, his sister, and mother: which he heard without speaking one word; for love had ty'd up his tongue. This incensed the women to that degree, that they laid their heads together, how they might touch Herod more to the quick; and so they let fall some words of reflexion upon his wife's honour and virtue: and, among other things plausible enough, they told him a story of his wife's sending her picture to Anthony; and

b. 16. c. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17.
Herod turns off his wife Doris, and takes Mariamne; which proves his ruin.
Antipater, Herod's son by Doris, expell'd the city.
Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, put to death.

Mariamne had five children by Herod.

She fell bitterly foul upon Herod.

Aristobulus drown'd in a lake at Jericho, by Herod's order.

Herod's love made him put up all affronts. The women make Herod jealous of his wife and sister.

what pains she took to make herself known to him, out of the heat of an ungovernable appetite: for Anthony was the greatest libertine and debauchee in nature, and a man that would stick at nothing for the gaining of his ends; tho' it should be the very life of Herod himself. What betwixt the rage of an implacable jealousy, the consideration of Cleopatra's insatiable avarice and cruelty, and the power she had over Anthony, in the instance of Lysanias, and * Malichus the king of Arabia, who were both put to death at her instigation; Herod was, as if he had been thunder-struck; for he found himself in danger of losing not only his wife, but his own life also.

* A. Malchus.

Herod goes to Anthony, and leaves the care of his wife to Joseph the husband of his sister Salome, with a secret instruction. Joseph lets fall a word of this to Mariamne, that cost them both their lives.

The ground of Herod's jealousy. Joseph and Mariamne put to death upon it.

In this perplexity of thought, Herod resolv'd to go to Anthony, and so recommended the care of his wife during his absence, to Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome; whom he had ever found kind and faithful to him; but with this instruction over and above, that if Anthony kill'd him, he should destroy Mariamne. Now Joseph innocently gave a hint of this to the queen, with an intent to inform her how wonderful a kindness the king had for her, that he could not endure the thought of a separation even in death itself. Herod, upon his return, in the course of his gaieties and love stories, fell to swearing and protesting, that in his whole life he never had a passion for any other woman. No, says Mariamne, that I perceive, by the order you left with Joseph to see me dispatch'd. The disclosing of this privacy made Herod stark mad; for he could not think that Joseph would ever have blabb'd such a secret, but in the confidence of an amour. In this distraction he leap'd off from his bed, and took a walk in the court, where he met his sister Salome, who would not lose so fair an opportunity of calumniating Mariamne; and she did it in such a manner too, that it serv'd to confirm Herod in his suspicion; so that he presently gave order, in a furious fit of jealousy, to have them both put to death. So soon as the word was out, he repented of it; but the execution was done first; his love and his madness governing him by turns. Nay, such was the transport of his extravagance, that he would not believe her to be dead, when he knew she was so; but like a mad-man he went on talking to her, as if she had been yet alive. In a short time the funeral solemnities put that point out of dispute; and Herod's grief for his dead wife was not inferior to the love he had for his living one.

The passionate violences of the mother were now exercis'd upon the sons; and such was the horrid barbarity of the proceeding, that they look'd no otherwise upon their father than as a common enemy. They had been of the same opinion a long time, even when they were at Rome together; but much more confirm'd in it since their coming back into Judea; for the strength of their minds grew up with that of their bodies. They were now of age to think of marriage; and one of them marry'd the daughter of his aunt Salome, who was a mortal enemy of their mother; the other took the daughter of Archelaus the king of Cappadocia. In the liberty of this condition, they talk'd more at freedom than formerly, and that confidence betray'd them to the malice of informers; insomuch that their enemies made no difficulty of telling the king bare-fac'd, that

The marriage of Herod's two sons, one of them to the daughter of Salome, the other to the daughter of Archelaus. This match enflames the caloufy.

his sons were in a conspiracy against him, and that the son-in-law of Archelaus had a design to steal away privately to his father-in-law, and thence to Rome, with a complaint against Herod himself to Cesar. When these jealousies were infus'd into Herod's head, he sends for Antipater home to him, whom he had by Doris, proposing to make use of him, as a counterme against the brothers; and so begun with a remarkable preference of Antipater to the rest.

Herod takes Antipater home to him.

THE brothers found this change so intolerable, for men of their blood to be subjected to the son of an obscure private woman, that their stomachs were too big to brook the indignity, without declaring their resentment of it, which they did very frankly upon all occasions; but they sunk in their father's affections by it daily, which turn'd to Antipater's advantage; for he play'd his game so artificially with his father, by the help of flatteries and calumnies, (which calumnies were manag'd, partly by himself, partly by his instruments and friends) that he brought it to this issue at last, that his brothers were not only put out of all hope of the succession, but himself publickly and formally entitled to it by his father's testament. He was sent, after this, to Cesar, in a kind of a royal state and character; for he had the robes and the train of a king, only he wanted the crown. He was so puffed up with the vanity of this pomp, that he got his mother introduc'd into Mariamne's bed-chamber, by the help of insinuations and flanders; which was his way of practice against his brothers; insomuch that he wrought his father by degrees in a design upon their lives.

And formally settles upon him the succession.

The crafty menage of Antipater.

FOR this reason, Herod took Alexander to Rome with him, and there charg'd him before Cesar as a confederate toward the poisoning of his father. When Alexander was admitted to his defence, and before a judge that was not to be impos'd upon by Antipater and Herod, he soften'd his father's mistakes all that was possible, spake home and substantially to the points charg'd upon himself, acquitted his brother Aristobulus, who was involv'd in the same accusation, and from thence proceeded to lay open the impostures, frauds, and contrivances of Antipater: and all this with so good a grace, that the innocence of his conscience was yet farther illustrated by the force of his eloquence, being a sharp and a ready speaker: concluding, in fine, with this modest resignation, that it is no crime for a father to punish his children if they be guilty. This farewell drew tears from the whole audience, and had also such an effect upon Cesar, that, all disputes and accusations apart, he made them all friends; provided that for the future, the sons should be obedient to their father, and the father at liberty to leave the kingdom to whom he pleas'd.

Herod charges Alexander to Cesar, as a conspirator against the life of his father. Alexander's defence.

Herod and his sons made friends.

HEROD, at his return from Rome, could not but acquit his sons of the crime charg'd upon them, yet the suspicion stuck by him still; for Antipater ply'd him so hard upon that topick, that he kept his jealousies waking; tho' he did not dare to say or do any thing publickly, that might clash with the sense, or the authority of the reconciler. Herod took his passage by Cilicia, and so to Eleusa, where he was receiv'd by Archelaus with great

Herod magnificently entertained by Archelaus.

Herod calls an assembly at Jerusalem,

and makes a wonderful discourse upon the whole state of the case.

great pomp and respect, who gave him a thousand thanks upon his son-in-law's account, wishing him much joy of the accommodation. Archelaus in the mean time had not been wanting himself, by letters and other instances to his friends at Rome, to get voices, and make an interest for Alexander. He conducted Herod, in fine, as far as Zephyrium; where he made him a present of thirty * talents, and so departed.

WHEN Herod came to Jerusalem, he call'd an assembly; and in the presence and hearing of his three sons, gave the people an account of his journey and business, with often repeated thanks to GOD and to Cesar for composing the breaches in his family, and settling his sons in unity and peace: "A blessing (says he) which I shall ever value incomparably above the glories of a crown, and which I shall endeavour to preserve and improve accordingly. It is to Cesar that I stand indebted for my dignity and estate, and to Cesar again, that I owe for the liberty and privilege of appointing my own successor. It is to him also, that I am to pay my acknowledgments, with this declaration, that I design them all three both for the sovereignty and succession, if it may be agreeable to the will of God and your good liking. The eldest of them has the title of seniority, the other two may pretend to the dignity by their extraction, and the command at last is large enough for all three.

"As for those that Cesar hath united, and the father set up, you must be sure to pay them all due respect; that is to say, it must be impartial, equal and just, with a regard to a precedency of birth-right; for the advancing of one man before his time, will not be near so great an obligation upon him that is prefer'd, as an heart-breaking to the other that is postpon'd. But now, for fear of evil counsel or example, (as there's no danger like that of ill instruments under a man's own roof) it shall be my care to place wise and sober people about them; such as I can depend upon, and such as shall be answerable for their order and good agreement.

"Now I do further expect from these ministers, as well as from the officers of my army, that for the present they shall own no other master than myself; for it is not the government, but the honorary part of it, that I have transmitted to my sons; so that they shall have the pleasure of a kind of regency in the administration, but the burden of it is to rest upon my shoulders, and the last result of matters, in the judgment and determination of things, must be my province even whether I will or no. If you consider my age, the course of my life, or the piety of my manners; I am not yet so far gone upon the first point, but, according to the course of nature, I may be allow'd to live a great many years yet; neither have I done any thing to shorten my life by intemperate pleasures; and then for my duty to God, I have been so true to his holy worship, that I will not despair of the blessing

"of a longer time yet in this world, even in consideration of that zeal and devotion. But if any of you shall take upon him to advance the sons, while I am yet living, in contempt of the father, let him expect to be severely punish'd for it: not but that I should be glad to have my children treated with all due respect in the world; but young men are hot and pragmatical, and 'tis but throwing a temptation in their way to make them more meddling than becomes them. People should do well to consider, before they make these applications; for it is my part as men do well or ill, to see them rewarded or punish'd, and I will not be wanting to that article of my duty. The best way will be for sons and father to be all of a mind; for it is their interest to have me govern, and it is mine for them to agree among themselves.

"And now, my dear children, (says Herod) consult in the first place, that natural affection which providence hath made common even to beasts with men, and acquit yourselves like dutiful children to your father. Bless Cesar in the next place for the good office of his mediation; and pray take it kindly from me, in the third place, that I only desire what I have a right to command; that is to say, let me entreat you to live amicably as brethren. I shall now take care to provide you such a train and equipage, as may be suitable to your quality. Be sure you live peaceably one with another, and I beseech God to keep me steady in the same mind."

WHEN he had made an end of speaking, he embrac'd his children, and discharg'd the meeting. Some malecontents went away muttering, and pretending that they could not hear one word he had said; others were discanting upon this and that, and wishing, upon the whole, that they might find him as good as his word.

THE brothers were still divided among themselves, and so jealous one of another, that they were glad to part for fear of worse. Alexander and Aristobulus took it heinously that Antipater should have the preference: Antipater on the other hand, was as much troubled that the other brothers should be allow'd any share at all in the government. Now Antipater being a false man, close and malicious, and one that could keep his thoughts to himself, had a mortal hatred for the brothers, but made no shew of it: whereas the other two, being frank and open, made a point of honour of it to disguise or dissemble any thing. Their enemies in the mean time had instruments every where at work, to make advantage of words and discourses; some, by provoking them to bold and dangerous liberties, others, to gain upon them by insinuations, under the mask of confidence and friendship; insomuch that not a word came out of Alexander's mouth, but what was presently carry'd to Antipater, and from him to Herod, with additions and aggravations. There was nothing so innocent but by interpretation it was made criminal; and wheresoever there was

The brothers are still jealous.

Antipater's character.

His close and artificial way of menage by spies and informers.

* Thirty Jewish talents weighed three thousand four hundred and twenty one pounds ten ounces and ten pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to ten thousand two hundred and sixty five pounds twelve shillings and six pence, and in gold to one hundred sixty four thousand two hundred and fifty pounds English money.

the least ground for a calumny, the mole-hill was made a mountain.

ANTIPATER all this while was never without his agents about Alexander, to pump things out of him; and one possible circumstance was enough to countenance a thousand palpable impostures; and so one truth in a whole mass of lies, was sufficient to make all the stories invented and alledged against him current. It was remarkable again, that Antipater's tools as well as himself, were all upon the reserve: whether this was a natural closeness, or that their mouths were stop'd with money it matters not; but so it was, that this man's whole life was but one mystery of iniquity. Antipater, in short, so order'd the matter, that Alexander's friends, servants, and acquaintance were all corrupted, either by flatteries or rewards, into the betraying of him in whatsoever he said or did. But Antipater's master-piece, after all, was this, instead of declaring himself an open enemy, he had his confidants at hand to accuse the brothers; and still as any thing came in against Alexander, he seem'd to take his part at first, and yet, afterward, turn'd all against him, with such sly, glancing intimations, that they made Herod stark mad, in a full persuasion that the whole story of Alexander's plot upon his life was true: neither did any thing give more credit to the calumny, than Antipater's artificial way of mincing the matter.

Antipater's mother order'd the plot.

HEROD was mortally incens'd against the two brothers by these practices of Antipater; and just as much as they lost in the good opinion of the king, Antipater got, and those that were for the government fell in with him; some of their own accord, others for fashion sake; as Ptolemy, the most considerable of his friends, the king's brothers, and effectually the whole family; for Antipater was all in all, and nothing went so near Alexander's heart, as to consider that this wickedness was altogether manag'd by the counsel and conduct of Antipater's mother, who was worse than a step-mother, in the hatred she bare to the queen's children. Now tho' great court was made to Antipater, with an eye to the credit he had with Herod; the order of the king himself went yet a great deal farther, in forbidding all people effectually, upon their peril, to entertain any intercourse with Alexander or his brother, or to make any sort of application to either of them. This interdiction struck a dread, not only into the king's household, but to their friends abroad; for Herod had privileges confer'd upon him by Augustus, that he never granted to any other: as the liberty of fetching deserters out of other princes jurisdictions, where he himself had nothing to do. Neither of the brothers at this time knew any thing of their fault; for Herod had not as yet exhibited any publick charge against either of them, which made the danger so much the greater, for want of precaution how to defend themselves. They collected the state of their own case however, from the cooling of the king's kindness towards them, and their troubles consequently increas'd.

ANTIPATER did his business the same way too, with his brother Pheroras and Salome his aunt, and talk'd as freely to them against his brothers, as he could have done to his own wife. The feud was grown very high already, but it was mightily inflam'd by Glaphyra the

wife of Alexander; who, upon all occasions, would be vaunting of the nobility of her extraction, and setting up herself above all other ladies in the kingdom. She said she was descended from Themenus, on the father's side, and from Darius the son of Hyfaspes, on the mother's; reflecting at the same time upon Herod's wife and sister as upstarts, and treating them, in fine, with all imaginable contempt. Herod did not marry for quality, she said, but for beauty. We have taken notice already that Herod had several wives, and that he was pleas'd with polygamy, being allow'd by the Jewish law; and they were all exasperated against Alexander, for the pride and stomach of Glaphyra.

Meanness of birth among women is a crime.

ARISTOBULUS made Salome his enemy too, though his mother-in-law; and she was so, in truth, before, being piqu'd sufficiently at the outrageous haughtiness of Glaphyra, who would be still casting her in the teeth with the meanness of her birth, and telling him, that his wife was only a private woman, but his brother Alexander had marry'd a queen. The daughter of Salome carry'd the story presently to her mother, with tears in her eyes, with another additional one of her contriving; namely, how Alexander and Aristobulus had threaten'd all Herod's wives, if ever they came to the crown, that they would make the mothers and the daughters spin for their living; and for the boys, they might serve well enough, they cry'd, for parish-clerks; which was only a jest upon them for their love of letters. This discourse put Salome in such a rage, that she immediately went and acquainted the king therewith; and for the credit of the accusation, it was the evidence of a mother against a son-in-law. And there was yet another report besides, that stung Herod more than all the rest. It was given out, that Alexander and Aristobulus would be often bemoaning the miserable condition of their mother, with sighs and groans, and cursing their father. It was suggested further, that, upon Herod's dividing Mariamne's wearing-cloaths among the rest of wives, the brothers would be foreboding still, that in short, instead of royal robes, they would be obliged to wear mourning.

Salome does the office of a tale-bearer.

HEROD, upon these insinuations, knowing his sons to be bold and vigorous young men, was not without some apprehension of violence from them; but unwilling however to force things beyond recovery: so that being upon the very point of going to Rome, he order'd his sons to be call'd; and betwixt the severity of a king, and the tenderness of a father, he gave them good counsel, and advice to agree among themselves, and to love one another; with the promise of an absolute pardon for what they had done amiss, upon condition of their repentance and amendment. The answer they return'd was a flat denial of what they were charg'd with, which they undertook to prove, not only false, but impossible, if they might be allow'd the hearing; giving their father to understand, that so long as his ears were open to tale-bearers, there would be no end of calumnies.

Herod's advice to his sons.

WHEN the brothers had pacify'd Herod, and set their own hearts at rest from any further apprehension of danger, they fell into new anxieties for the future. Pheroras and Salome,

Pheroras Salome guilty Herod's sons both

Three officers to the ture, confessed and of the

Pheroras and Salome dead-ly enemies of the brothers. Pheroras highly oblig'd to Herod.

lome, they knew very well, were their dead-ly enemies, and two persons harsh enough, and very considerable: Pheroras especially; for he did as good as share with Herod in all the regalities of the government, saving only the crown itself. His own proper annual revenue amounted to an hundred * talents; besides the profit of all the lands beyond Jordan, which he enjoy'd by the bounty of Herod; at whose request, Cesar was prevail'd with to make him a tetrarch. Herod honour'd him also with a royal match; bestowing upon him his wife's sister in marriage, and after her death, he offer'd him his eldest daughter with three hundred † talents for her portion. But Pheroras was so captivated with a passion for a person of ignoble birth, that he declin'd the proposal. Herod took this in such indignation, that he gave her to the son of his brother; who was afterwards slain by the Parthians. He was highly incens'd for the present; but, upon second thoughts, he imputed the refusal to the violence of his passion, and so pardon'd his folly.

A report that Pheroras had a design to poison his brother. Herod start-
led at it. Divers seiz'd and put to the question upon it.

THERE had been a rumour, it seems, of a long standing, that Pheroras had a design, even in the life of Mariamne, to poison his brother. This was a time so favourable to spies and informers, that Herod, tho' one of the kindest of brothers, was yet startled at the report; tho' he could not altogether believe it. There were a great many seiz'd upon suspicion, and several put to the question; passing from one to another, till they came at last to the friends of Pheroras. They confess'd nothing of the poison; but Pheroras, they said, had some thoughts of stealing privately away with his mistress into Parthia; and that Costobarus, Salome's second husband, was privy to the purpose and design. It was this Costobarus, to whom Herod had given her in marriage, after her former husband was put to death for adultery. And Salome did not come off without an accusation neither; for her brother Pheroras laid it to her charge, that she had been treating a match with Syllens, governor of Arabia under king Obodas, the bitterest enemy that Herod had in the world. Salome was found guilty of every article that her brother Pheroras charg'd upon her; but Herod however pardon'd them both.

Pheroras and Salome found guilty, but Herod pardons them both.

THE storm of the faction fell now wholly upon the head of Alexander: as for instance: there were three eunuchs in the house, that were all in the good graces of the king, and well known by the offices they had in the family; that is to say, a cup-bearer, a sewer, and a valet de chambre: one of them to fill his master's wine, the second to provide his supper, and the third to put him to bed, and supply the office of a bed-fellow. Now these were Alexander's creatures, as far as flatteries and rewards could make them. This being suggested to Herod, he caused them immediately to be put to the torture; when out came the whole business, the practice, the promise, and the instrument; together with Alexander's way of imposing upon them. "There was

Three court officers put to the torture, and confess Alexander's part of the story.

"no hope of Herod, (he said) a wicked old man, that had his hair dy'd like a fop to make him look young: the respect you pay to him, (says he) belongs to me, that am to be his successor to the kingdom, and he cannot hinder it. I shall have it in my power then, (says he) to revenge myself of my enemies, and to reward my friends, yourselves in the first place." The informers added this further, that the great ministers and officers were all for Alexander in their hearts, and manag'd their matters in their private meetings and cabals.

THIS was such a thunder-bolt to Herod, that he durst not be too quick in publishing the very discovery; but his tale-bearers and agents were at work night and day, to spy up and down in all families and places what was said and done; and it was certain death to be but so much as suspected. There was nothing to be heard of in this part of Herod's history, but cruelty and injustice. Every disgust made way for a calumny, and that calumny was made a mortal crime; for Herod did but execute the malice that other people put in his head: no witness so infamous, no imposture so gross and ridiculous, but it found credit, and the punishment was so quick, that it scarce waited for the offence, but the accused and the accuser went off together; for Herod reckoned all formalities of law to be but fooleries, where the life of a prince was in danger.

Herod at his wits end upon it.

His outrageous cruelty and injustice.

NAY, he was now disemper'd to such a degree of outrage, that it was not enough for a man to be innocent, or to escape an accusation, but his very friends fear'd the worst of all others: some he banish'd the kingdom, and where he could not exercise his power, he wreak'd his spite upon them in foul words. But Antipater was the source of all this mischief, and, betwixt himself and his crew of friends, there was nothing omitted to enflame the accusation. Nay, he had so frighted the king with a parcel of idle foolish stories, that he fancy'd Alexander still before him with a sword drawn to destroy him. In this dread he caused him immediately to be taken up, and bound, and so proceeded to the tormenting of his friends. Many of them dy'd mute, and sacrific'd their lives to a good conscience. Others that had not resolution enough to endure the torment, patch'd up a lie, and brought the two brothers into a plot upon the life of the king: that plot to be put in execution one day as they were a hunting, and they themselves in the mean time to fly to Rome. This was a very improbable story; but the invention pass'd upon this pinch, for want of a better; for Herod did not only believe it, but made use of it in his own justification for committing his son to prison.

Antipater the source of all.

Alexander taken up, and his friends A. tortur'd. Some stand mute, others tell a lie, to save themselves.

HEROD being now under the judgment of so incurable and implacable a jealousy, Alexander troubled his head no longer with the unprofitable way of argument and excuse in his own defence; but bethinking himself of another expedient, he resolv'd for the future to say as they said, and by confessing himself

* An hundred Jewish talents (as has been before observed) weighed eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds and three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand and five hundred pounds English money.

† Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds and nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred two thousand six hundred and fifty six pounds and five shillings, and in gold to one million six hundred forty two thousand and five hundred pounds of our money.

When denying would do no good, Alexander confesses guilt; and gives Herod four papers of the pretended state of the case.

Archelaus upon this point of time comes into Judea.

And debates the case of Alexander with Herod.

Archelaus gains Herod over to the interest of Alexander, and sets him more against Pheroras.

guilty, to involve his enemies in the same condemnation. So that he drew up four papers, owning himself a confederate against the life of his father, with the names of divers of the conspirators; but Pheroras and Salome in the first place; charging Salome with the impudence of forcing herself into his bed one night, whether he would or no. These papers being in Herod's hands, and a world of bloody reflections in them upon several of the nobility, it so fell out by providence, that Archelaus in this very nick of time came into Judea, under no small concern for the safety of his son-in-law and daughter, and with a design to serve them all he could. And he did it effectually; for it was his conduct and address, that, in some degree, brought Herod to his wits again.

UPON their coming together, Archelaus broke out into an outrage of passionate exclamations, "Why where's this execrable son of mine? (says he) why does he not shew his parricidal treacherous head, that I may tear him to pieces with my own fingers, and provide a new husband, and a better man, for my daughter? But alas! she is tainted with the memory of the relation she had to this wretch, and consequently fit for no body, though as innocent as she was born of his practices and counsels. But the greatest miracle of all, as it appears to me here, is your patience, in sparing the life of a conspirator to the hazard of your own. Little did I think, when I made such haste out of Cappadocia, to have found Alexander yet alive; so that my business was rather to have had some discourse with you about my daughter, whom I parted with to this wicked man, only out of a respect to your dignity. But as the case stands at present, somewhat may be said upon both accounts. Now you are too much a father, and perhaps too much a man too, to punish a rebellious treacherous son as he deserves; wherefore let us only change hands, and leave it to me to do right upon your son, as I shall recommend to your generosity the care of my daughter."

THIS discourse of Archelaus, as it put Herod in a better humour toward Alexander, so it set him yet more and more against Pheroras; for this was the chief argument of the four papers which Herod gave him to read; and so from beginning to end they perused them quite thorough from one article to another. Archelaus was now master of an opportunity to his own wish, and insinuated himself by little and little into the merits of the cause, laying the blame upon the ringleaders, as they were marked out in the papers, and chiefly upon Pheroras. Archelaus, finding by this time that he had gain'd some credit with the king, made advantage of the occasion, and so took another bias.

"IN my opinion (says he) your son is in more danger of being undone by a faction, than you are in of being destroy'd by a son. Why Alexander must be a downright madman, to enter into any such vile practices of his own head. He does in a manner divide the government already with his father; and a fair pretence he has likewise to the succession: and what would he more, if it were not for the importunity of some violent spirits at hand to debauch and seduce

him? Youth, alas! is rash and slippery, and easily impos'd upon by ill company and corrupt counsels, for want of consideration and experience. Now there are a sort of instruments, that neither young nor old are able to resist: such a cabal of makebates and incendiaries, that, wherever they appear, men, families, and whole kingdoms, fall before them."

HEROD began now to be of Archelaus's opinion, and to think more favourably of Alexander, and worse of Pheroras than he had done; this being the argument of the four papers. When Pheroras came to find Herod in a more tractable temper than usual, and that Archelaus was the man that he most depended upon, he set a bold face upon it; and with a shameless impudence, to supply all other defects, he quitted Alexander, and betook himself to Archelaus; who told him plainly, how impossible a thing it was for him ever to come off from an accusation so manifestly prov'd against him; for the sun was not clearer than the evidence of his being in a conspiracy against the life of his brother: beside that the ruin of Alexander was also of his contrivance. "Now (says Archelaus) why cannot you give over this way of shuffling and outfacing things, and rather make a frank confession of what your very soul knows you to be guilty of? your brother has a natural tenderness for you, and I am persuaded he might be prevail'd upon for your pardon. If you like the proposal, make the experiment, and you may be sure of my help to do you the best offices I can."

UPON second thoughts, Pheroras conceiv'd it most advisable to follow the directions of Archelaus; and so, in a rueful mourning dress, and with a dismal and sad countenance, on purpose to move compassion, he went and cast himself at Herod's feet, made his confession, and begg'd forgiveness; acknowledging all the faults he was charg'd with, but at the same time casting them all upon the transport of a foolish passion he had for a woman, that had distracted his reason, so that he knew not what he said or did. So soon as Pheroras had given this evidence against himself, Archelaus's next work was to qualify matters with Herod, and to bring him into a more conversable humour. "Well! (says Archelaus) this is a very ill thing from so near a relation, and yet I myself have suffer'd a great deal more from a brother than this comes to: but in that case I thought it prudence to sacrifice my revenge to a natural affection and duty. It is in kingdoms as it is in bodies; when an ill humour falls down into any one part, 'tis more advisable to try remedies, than to cut it off."

With these and the like arguments, Archelaus had now sweeten'd Herod toward Pheroras, but he still treated Alexander, in semblance at least, with reproaches and menaces; and, in conclusion, "he would e'en take away his daughter, (he said) without any more ado." This seeming fierceness of Archelaus wrought so sensibly upon the spirit of Herod, that he became an advocate for his son upon it, and made it his suit to Archelaus not to make void the marriage. His answer was, "That, out of the reverence he had for the rights of alliance, he was content to leave his daughter

Archelaus gives Pheroras good advice.

Pheroras humbles himself, confesses, and begs Herod's pardon.

Herod becomes an advocate for Alexander.

Archelaus brings Alexander to his father.

"absolutely at Herod's disposal, provided only that he should not give her to Alexander." (But this was all counterfeit and disguise.) Herod was for the continuing of the young couple together. "They had children, (he said) and so great a kindness one for the other that it would be death to part them. If she stays, (says Herod) we'll have an act of oblivion: if she goes away, the case is desperate; for there's nothing puts relations in better order than the comfort of a family conversation." This deliberation was scarce over, but Archelaus went out: he came back again in a trice, and brought in Alexander along with him, whom he presently reconciled to his father. Archelaus was much of opinion for Herod's going to Rome, with an account to Cesar of all the late transactions; for, says he, I have written at large already upon this subject.

Herod's magnificent presents to Archelaus at his departure.

This was a crafty and a healing counsel of Archelaus's, to deliver his son from danger, and at the same time to celebrate the festival of the reconciliation, with all instances of humanity and respect. Archelaus was now upon his departure, and Herod made him a present of seventy * talents, a throne set with precious stones, with a train of eunuchs, and a concubine call'd Pannychis. All the king's great ministers, friends and relations, were likewise treated by Herod's express order with rich presents, every man in his proportion; Herod himself and his nobility conducting Archelaus on his way as far as Antioch.

Eurycles, a false lewd wretch, brings Alexander to his end.

THERE came a person into Judea not long after this, a man of policy, that out-did Archelaus himself, one that did not only overthrow the project of Alexander's reconciliation to his father; but so order'd the matter, that he brought Alexander himself to his end. His name was Eurycles; a native of Lacedemon; corrupted by the love of money into an affectation of power, and so lavish in his expences, that the revenue of a prince would not answer his profusions. He made Herod several presents of great value, that look'd like baits to draw on more; for Herod sent him greater presents in return. He set little value upon any bounty that was not the price of royal blood: so that he made his way to Herod's good graces; one while, by crafty ensnaring discourses, and another while, by the grossest of hyperbolical flatteries; till in the end he got so perfect a measure of the king's weak side and humour, that whatever he said or did was all to Herod's liking. By this parasitical way of complaisance, he made himself a very considerable interest at court; beside that being a Spartan, Herod and all his favourites had an honour for his country, as well as for his person.

He insinuates himself into Herod's good graces.

WHEN Eurycles came to discover the weaknesses of the family, with the factions and divisions of the children, and to see how Herod stood affected to them in particular, he took up his lodging with Antipater; and pretending a wonderful kindness to Alexander, told him a long tale of his friend Archelaus, and what a greatness had ever been betwixt them; which was as good as a letter of recommendation to

Alexander, who not only swallow'd it himself, but possess'd his brother Aristobulus also with the belief of the same story. When Eurycles had sounded all the people he had to do withal, he put on several shapes and forms, and went several ways to work as the case required: his business being upon the main, to get Antipater's money, and to betray Alexander. "Tis an admirable thing to me (says Eurycles to Antipater) how you, who are the eldest son, and next heir to the crown, can suffer yourself to be impos'd upon by pretenders to your right!" And then to Alexander. "How can you (says he) that are both the son and the husband of a great princess; endure to see the son of a private woman interpose betwixt you and the crown; especially having such a friend to second you as Archelaus?" All this went down now with the young man, as proceeding from a good and faithful intention, upon the credit of his professing a friendship for Archelaus. Alexander was so far from distrusting any thing, that he took Eurycles into a closer confidence, and open'd his very heart to him in the matter of Antipater. "It is no wonder (says he) for Herod, that took away the life of the mother, to take away the kingdom from the son." Eurycles at the hearing of this, blessed himself at the barbarity of the practice; and, with a countenance of pity, and condoling, he engag'd Aristobulus likewise in the discourse, and consequently hamper'd him in the same snare. When Eurycles had pump'd out matter enough against them both, he carries the story to Antipater, with some additional circumstances to it of his own making; as if the conspiracy were just upon the point of execution, and the king's life every moment more and more in danger. Antipater made Eurycles a present of a vast sum of money for this service, and his good word to his father over and above. And so having laid a plot to effect the death of Alexander and Aristobulus, Eurycles offer'd himself for an evidence against the two brothers.

His main business is to get Antipater's money, and to betray Alexander.

Alexander makes Eurycles his confident.

EURYCLES went now to Herod, with this speech in his mouth:

"I AM here come in gratitude, (says he) to acknowledge all your favours, and to give you your very life in requital. It is now a long time that your death has been resolv'd upon; insomuch that Alexander had a drawn sword in his hand once, with a full determination to have done the deed. And let me tell you, sir, this horrid wickedness had been compleated, if I had not put a respite to the dispatch by seeming to approve of the thing, and offering myself to join in the exploit. What! says Alexander, cannot Herod content himself with the usurpation of a kingdom, the death of my mother, and the tearing of the government to pieces, without declaring that pitiful wretch Antipater his successor, to the scandal of all crowned heads? but it belongs to me to do justice to the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne; neither would it be congruous that the government should descend from such a father to such a son without

* Seventy Jewish talents weighed seven thousand nine hundred eighty four pounds four ounces and ten pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to twenty three thousand nine hundred fifty three pounds two shillings and six pence, and in gold to three hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and fifty pounds English money.

A false and scandalous story of Alexander.

" blood. There's not a day passes over my head without fresh arguments and provocations, to confirm me in my purpose; there's not a word passes my lips but it is made a snare to me. Drop but one syllable upon the subject of honourable families and extraction, and Herod casts it in my teeth as an affront that struck at him. No no, says he, Alexander is the only man of honour, I warrant you, and his father no better than a scoundrel. When I am a hunting with him, if I say nothing, why do not you talk, he cries; or if I talk, why do I not hold my tongue? Nay, I cannot so much as commend him, but he calls it picking of thanks. I can do nothing, in fine, to his liking; and it is only Antipater that has the good fortune to please him. So that (says Alexander) if this plot should miscarry, I had rather be in my grave than outlive the disaster: if it succeeds, I can easily get off to my father-in-law, and thence to Cesar, who knows but little, alas! of this history, or of the temper of Herod. I shall not now stand trembling when I come to Rome, as formerly, under the awe of a severe father; who was then present: nor shall I much insist upon private injuries done to myself, but rather turn my discourse to publick grievances; as horrible corruptions and oppressions, and the squandering away of unmerciful impositions in luxury and pleasure. I shall shew which way they went, into what hands; the miserable slavery of the cities, and the true reasons of it: and to conclude, I shall deliver such a history of the death of my grandfather Hyrcanus, and my mother Mariamne; and make such a discovery of the wickedness of that prince, that no man living, after these necessary truths, shall ever take me for a murderer of my father."

A panegyrick of Eurycles to the honour of Antipater.

A charge against Alexander and Aristobulus.

Jucundus and Tyrannus put to the torture.

A forgery of Diophantus.

WHEN Eurycles had finish'd this invective against Alexander, he turn'd the remainder of his discourse into a panegyrick to the honour of Antipater; the only son, he said, that truly lov'd his father, and put a seasonable stop to the progress of the design. The king being still labouring under his former jealousies, broke out upon this hint into the impatience of a most intolerable rage; and it was now Antipater's time and masterpiece, to inflame his extravagance, by trumping up new matter, and witnesses against the brothers. The evidence was this: That Alexander and Aristobulus held a private correspondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two horse-officers, that for some misdemeanour were discharg'd of their command. This information put Herod into such a fury, that he order'd them immediately to the torture. But they knew nothing, they said, of the matter in question; only there was a certain letter, it seems, sent from Alexander, as to the governour of Alexandrion; desiring him to receive himself and Aristobulus into the castle, in case of their father's death; and to furnish them both with arms and other necessaries, if such a thing should happen. Alexander charg'd this letter as a forgery of Diophantus; a bold man, and wonderfully dexterous at counterfeiting

hands; and beside all this, he was the king's secretary. And it is to be noted, that he was at last put to death for forgery. The governor of the castle was also tortur'd; and there was nothing gotten out of him neither. The sons were effectually quitted: but for Eurycles, that pest of mankind, and the projector of this whole mischief, how was he celebrated by Herod, for his friend and preserver, and complimented at last with a present of fifty * talents for his pains! This abandon'd wretch, before Archelaus could have any certainty of the imprisonment of the two brothers, made a journey to him by stealth, and had the face to tell Archelaus, from whom he received an ample reward for his pretended services, that all was well betwixt Herod and Alexander, and that he himself had made them friends. From thence he went into Achaia with his treasure; where he spent it as lewdly as he got it. In the end, he was arraign'd by Cesar, for seditious practices, broils, and oppressions. He was in the conclusion banish'd; and this was the punishment he suffer'd for his villainous practices against Alexander and Aristobulus.

It may do well enough in this place to oppose Evaratus of Coos, in the contrary extreme to Eurycles the Spartan. He was much a friend of Alexander's, and in Herod's court at the same time when Eurycles was there. The king put him to it very strictly, what credit he gave to that report of the conspiracy, and to the accusations that were given out upon it. Evaratus declar'd upon his oath, that he never knew the young men guilty of any thing like it. But the miserable prisoners were never the better for it; for Herod's ears were only open to the calumnies, and people were more or less in his favour, according to the degree of being more or less infamous; and there was no other way to please him but by saying, doing, and believing, as he did.

SALOME in the mean time was a terrible incendiary to Herod against his sons, for the securing of herself. Aristobulus gave her a caution, both as a mother-in-law and as an aunt, to have a care of herself; intimating that she was in as much danger from Herod now, as any body else, lying under a second charge for the same crime she was accused of before; that is to say, that she had contracted a league with Sylleus the Arabian, with a design to marry him, though she knew him to be the king's enemy; and that she gave him a secret account, from time to time, of the king's counsels. Aristobulus gave her this warning, on purpose to involve her in the same common fate with his brother and himself; but it fell out unhappily, for this was the rock they split upon, and the very tempest that sunk them both. For Salome in that moment went to the king, and told him what Aristobulus had done, which transported him to that degree of an impetuous rage, that he caus'd the brothers to be immediately taken apart, and laid in chains.

HEROD, in this heat, sent Volumnius, a colonel of horse, and Olympus, one of his particular friends, to Cesar, with copies of the proceedings. Upon their arrival at Rome they

Herod's ears open only to calumnies.

Salome an incendiary to the father against the sons.

Herod in a rage lays the brothers in chains. And sends Cesar an account of the matter.

* Fifty Jewish talents weighed five thousand seven hundred and three pounds one ounce and ten pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds seven shillings and six pence, and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds English money.

deliver'd their letters, and Cesar was in great trouble for the young men upon the reading of them; but he was tender however of exerting his civil power, to the prejudice of the natural power of a father over his children; so that he return'd Herod an answer to this effect. "That he was master of himself, and of those that belong'd to him." But Cesar however thought it advisable for Herod to call an assembly of his friends and relations, and the governors of the province, to enquire into the conspiracy; and so proceed to execute vindictive justice, upon those that should be found guilty of malice prepense: but if upon examination of the case, there appeared no more than a thought of withdrawing, or flying, a less severe punishment than death, he thought, might serve the turn.

Herod calls a council to meet about it at Berytus, according to Cesar's order.

* See Antiq. b. 16. c. 16.

But the sons not brought into court for fear of mischief.

The king opens the cause with great partiality and passion.

And meeting with no contradiction, he bids the court proceed to a sentence.

A sentence of death pass upon them.

THE emperor had marked out Berytus for the place of meeting; and Herod, in conformity to Cesar's direction, call'd a council there. The presidents were of Cesar's appointment in writing; Saturninus and Pedanius, ambassadors, with Volumnius the governor of the province; the friends and relations of Herod, not omitting Salome and Pheroras: and after these, the principal men of Syria, king Archelaus only excepted; for Herod had a jealousy of him, being the father-in-law of Alexander. The council was against bringing the sons into court, and prudentially enough too; for the very sight of them would have endanger'd the moving of a troublesome compassion; and then if they had been heard to speak for themselves, Alexander would with great ease have baffled all their objections: so that they were rather kept under custody at a distance, in Platane, a village of Sidonia.

WHEN the king stood up to speak, he behav'd himself passionately, and vented his displeasure against his sons, as if they had been present. When he was upon the subject of the conspiracy, his voice was low and faint, and he did not care for bearing too hard upon that topick, because his proofs were weak; but when he came to recite malicious expressions, indignities, injuries, and disobediences committed against himself, his voice was heard all over the court; giving the assembly to understand that those reproaches were worse to him than death: and finally, when he saw that all pass'd without contradiction, he only lamented the misery of his condition in the gaining of so ruinous a victory; and upon this, order'd the court to proceed to a sentence.

SATURNINUS gave his opinion first, that they deserv'd to be punish'd, but not with death: for it would not look well, having three sons present in the assembly, to pass a sentence upon those that were absent. The two legates were of the same mind, and so were others that came after. The first man that gave sentence of death was Volumnius, and others follow'd him as they were influenc'd by the passions and interest of Herod; but not a man of them out of any ill-will to the prisoners. Judea and Syria was all in dread and suspense, what would be the issue of this tragical affair; though at the same time no body thought that Herod could ever be so cruel and unrelenting, as to murder his own children. But he had yet so little tenderness of nature, as to send his sons to Tyre in chains, and

thence by sea to Cesarea; deliberating in the mean time what death to put them to.

IN the meantime, one Tyro, an old soldier of the king's, and a great lover of the young princes, came up: he had a son too that was much in favour with Alexander. This Tyro, in a horror of indignation for what Herod was a doing, went about like a madman, raving and crying out, that justice was trampled upon, truth is lost, and that nothing but villany and iniquity prevail'd in the world; and that there was no such thing as humanity and natural affection upon the face of the earth. At this rate he went on, raging and exclaiming like a man weary of his life. Nay, he had the courage at last to advance to the king himself. "Of all men living (says he to Herod)

The generous bravery of Tyro, a common soldier in favour of the brothers.

"you yourself are certainly the most miserable; a man given over to the judgment of believing the falsest and the worst of people, to the prejudice of the best friends you have. As for instance: there is Salome and Pheroras, two persons whom you yourself have several times judg'd worthy of death; and yet these are the people, upon whose testimony you are about to take away the lives of your sons. You never consider what an ease it will be to Antipater, when the right heirs are removed, and you two left alone; for their business is to have a king they may govern as they please. But let him have a care then of the soldiers too; for if they come to take fire at this butchery, who knows how far it may go? for there's not a soul but pities the brothers, and men of quality are highly displeas'd to see how things are manag'd." Tyro, upon this occasion, named several of the malecontents, which in the same minute were taken up by Herod's order, together with Tyro and his son.

THERE was one Tryphon by at that time, a person somewhat disorder'd in his senses, and the king's barber: this man came forth to shew himself to the company, and set up for a witness.

Tryphon the king's barber sets up for an evidence against them.

"That same Tyro (says he to Herod) offer'd me a considerable reward in the name of Alexander, if I would but undertake to cut your throat in the shaving." Upon this information, Tyro and his son, and the barber were presently order'd to be put to the question. Tyro and his son deny'd all, and the barber was wholly silent; whereupon Herod commanded Tyro's torments to be encreas'd, when his son out of pure tenderness and pity to his father, promis'd the king a discovery of the whole transaction if he might have his pardon. Upon this, he was taken off the torture, and then declar'd that his father was put upon it by Alexander to kill the king. This was taken by some only for a shift in the boy to get his father deliver'd from torture; there were others again that gave more credit to it.

HEROD, after this, made a bitter speech against some great officers of the army, together with Tyro, which so exasperated the common people, that they fell upon these officers, Tyro and the barber, with stones and cudgels, and put them all to death. As for the sons, that were now at Sebaste, not far from Cesarea, Herod caus'd them to be strangled, and the dead bodies to be carried afterwards to Alexandrion, and laid there by Alexander, the mother's uncle. This was the end of Aristobulus and Alexander.

Herod's tenaciousness for the children looks like a regret for the death of the fathers.

A council call'd.

Herod's sons strangled at Sebaste.

CHAP. XVIII.

Antipater in a plot against his father. The children of Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod's plausible pretence of piety and good-nature. He calls a council, and propounds convenient alliances, Antipater prevails with Herod to undo what he had done. The case of Salome and Sylleus. The insolence of Antipater. A court cabal of women. Salome informs the king of it. Foul practices charg'd upon her. Antipater forbidden the conversation of Pheroras or his wife. Herod sends Antipater to Rome, and his last will along with him; declaring Antipater his next successor, and his son Herod by Mariamne next after him. Sylleus takes another journey to Rome, to try his old cause with Antipater over again. Corruption and subornation prov'd against Sylleus, with a design upon the life of Herod.

Ant. b. 17. c.
1, 3, 4.

Antipater in
a conspiracy
against the
life of his
fathers.

ANTIPATER by this time reckon'd himself sure of the kingdom; but never was any man so universally hated by the people; for they well enough understood the whole scheme of this wickedness to be of his contrivance. But he was as uneasy on the one hand, as he thought himself unsafe on the other, for fear the children of the slaughter'd brothers should rise up to revenge the death of their fathers. Alexander had by Glaphyra two sons; Tigranes and Alexander: Aristobulus had likewise by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. Glaphyra was now sent away with her portion into Cappadocia, after the death of Alexander; and Berenice, the widow of Aristobulus, was married to the uncle of Antipater; who bethought himself of this match to make friends again with Salome, and put an end to all quarrels. Antipater ply'd Pheroras with compliments and presents; making court at the same time to Cesar's friends, and sending vast sums of money to Rome to engage them. Neither was he less bountiful to Saturninus and the rest of his friends in Syria. But for all this he could not yet accomplish his ends; for the more he gave, the less he was respected; and so far was this expence from any appearance of a generous bounty, that it was look'd upon to be only a profuseness out of fear. So it was, in fine, that he was never the better for what he gave; and where he gave nothing, he made people so much the more his enemies. He was the larger in his liberalities, because he saw, contrary to all people's expectation, that Herod took such care of the orphans; which gave to understand, by the commiseration he had for the children, the penitent sense and regret he had for the death of his sons their fathers.

Herod's tenderness for the children looks like a regret for the death of the fathers.
A council call'd.

Herod's address to the assembly.

HEROD, having now call'd his friends, and kindred together, sent for the young princes, and so address'd himself to the company with tears in his eyes upon this occasion.

"You have here before you (says Herod) the children of an unfortunate family: Their fathers have been taken from me by a sad fate, and I find myself bound humanity and good-nature to do the best I can for the

orphans, in discharging the part of a grandfather more to my satisfaction than I did that of a father. In pursuance of this purpose, I shall make it my care in the first place to leave these children in good hands, and under the charge of the best friends I shall leave behind me when I am gone. To begin with you, Pheroras (says he) I would have you marry your daughter to Alexander's eldest son, and to supply the place to him of a father, and a necessary guardian. As for your part, Antipater (says he) I would have your son to take one of the daughters of Aristobulus; under which relation you will be as good as a parent to the orphan. And so for my son Herod, the grandchild of Simon the high-priest, by the mother's side, let him marry the other sister. This is my will and desire, and no person who has any regard or kindness for me will dispute it. Thus I would have it; and I beseech God to prosper these alliances to the comfort of my kingdom and my family, and grant in mercy that the children may be look'd upon with a more favourable eye than their fathers."

His care for the settlement of the royal family in convenient matches.

With this benediction Herod concluded; and joining the hands of the princes, and weeping over them, he took a particular leave of the whole assembly one by one, and so dismiss'd the council.

Herod concludes with a benediction, and so dismisses the court.

ANTIPATER, upon the hearing of this, stood like a statue, inasmuch that every body took notice of the surprise; for he look'd upon all the respects his father paid the children, to be no other than a derogation from himself. This was a way, he thought, to put all things into confusion again; at least if Pheroras the tetrarch should join interests with Archelaus, in favour of Alexander's sons. Moreover he reflected within himself, the universal hatred he had drawn upon his own head; the compassion of the people for those fatherless children; and, in fine, the concern the whole nation had in the matter, betwixt a tenderness for the living children, and a reverence for the memory of the dead: in which case, Antipater was look'd upon as neither better nor worse than the murderer. These things well consider'd, Antipater had nothing else to do, but to make it his business to dissolve the contracts; and how to gain that point, was now the question; for Herod being fierce and suspicious, was not to be dealt withal by craft and circumvention: So that he chose rather to go in a barefac'd manner, and openly to desire of him (but with all modesty and deference) that he would only confirm to him the honour he had thought him worthy of, and bestow'd upon him: for all the rest was but the shadow of a kingdom without the substance; which would be certainly the case, if Alexander's son should not only have Archelaus for his grandfather, but Pheroras also for his father-in-law. Antipater press'd Herod with violent importunities to change the disposition of the marriages, a thing which, as he said, might easily be done, the king having a numerous family.

Herod's speech goes to the heart of Antipater.

Antipater finding no remedy but by dissolving the contracts,

press'd it earnestly to Herod, and after some few difficulties carries the point.

Herod had nine wives, and children by seven of them: Antipater by Doris; Herod by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest;

† By the Evangelists call'd Philip.

Antipas and Archelaus by * Malthace, a Samaritan; and a daughter, Olympias, whom † his brother Joseph marry'd; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and Phasael by Pallas. He had also other daughters, Roxane and Salome; the one by Phedra, the other by Elpis; and two wives that had no children; the one was the daughter of his brother, the other his cousin German; and over and above these, he had by Mariamne the two sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus. "So that here's choice enough, (says Antipater) for the ordering of the matches some other way."

THE king perceived by this time what thoughts Antipater had of the children, and what purposes and intentions towards them; and was very much disturbed at it, for fear he should raise accusations against them, as he had done against their fathers, whom he himself had murder'd before. Herod was so very angry with him for this expostulation, that he severely rebuk'd him, and made him quit the room; but afterwards, with flattery and cajoling, he was wrought upon to make some alteration in his project: so that he gave to Antipater himself the daughter of Aristobulus, and to Aristobulus's son the daughter of Pheroras in marriage. This is sufficient to shew what an ascendant the wheelles of Antipater had over the spirit of Herod: which was more than in a like case cou'd be obtain'd by Salome, tho' his own sister, and seconded also with the interest of the empress ‡ Julia in a her favour. Salome had a mind to marry Sylleus the Arabian, and engaged Julia in the request: which Herod did not only oppose in the thing itself, and all intercessions for it, but bound himself with an oath to treat her as the greatest enemy he had in the world, if she did not give over the thoughts of it. After this, he forc'd her against her will upon a match with Alexis, a friend of his, and so to marry one of her daughters to the son of Alexis, and the other to the uncle of Antipater by the mother's side. He gave also one of the daughters of Mariamne to Antipater, the son of his sister, and the other to Phasael, the son of his brother.

WHEN matters were thus alter'd, and every thing settled to the humour and convenience of Antipater, and consequently to the manifest exclusion of the orphans, his malignity was now bolster'd up with so audacious a confidence, that it made him wholly insupportable. He found that all people hated him, and that he could not be safe unless he made them fear him too: beside that Pheroras treated him as a prince established in his sovereignty.

THERE broke out at the same time new broils at court, upon a faction among the women; for the wife, the mother, and the sister of Pheroras, together with the mother of Antipater, behaved themselves insolently and contemptuously, even toward the king's daughters: which Antipater was well enough pleas'd withal, for he hated them mortally. And for the rest of the women, they stood all in awe of the cabal; save only Salome, who gave the king plainly to understand the truth of the matter, and that their secret meetings

and consultations were not for his service.

When the women came to understand that the king had notice of these conventicles, and took great offence at them, they gave over that open way of caballing, and on the contrary, to prevent suspicion, wou'd be quarrelling, and thwarting one another in the king's hearing, as if they were rather enemies than conspirators. Antipater, under the cloak of this disguise, made direct sport with Pheroras, and betwixt jest and earnest banter'd and abused him: but then they still kept up their nightly clubs and assemblies, and the more they were observ'd, the more they stuck together. But nothing of all this escap'd Salome, who made continual discoveries of it to the king. This put Herod into a rage, especially against the wife of Pheroras: against whom Salome laid the heaviest charge. Herod, upon this, call'd a council of his friends and relations, and among other foul practices, exhibited a complaint against her for affronting his daughters; engaging the Pharisees against him, and giving his brother a potion to make him hate him. "And now, (says Herod) turning to Pheroras, which of the two would you part with, your brother or your wife, if it were put to your choice? I would rather part with my life itself (says Pheroras) than with my dear wife." This answer stagger'd Herod, and thereupon he gave Antipater in charge, that he should never entertain any discourse, or have any thing more to do with either Pheroras or his wife, or any body else that belong'd to them. Antipater made a shew of readiness to comply with his order; but notwithstanding this they spent several whole nights together; however, fearing a discovery from Salome, he so order'd the matter with some friends he had in Italy, that letters were written to Herod, by any means to send Antipater over to Rome, to make his court a-while to Cesar. Upon this invitation, Herod immediately provided him a princely equipage, with money and all necessaries, and so dispatch'd him away for Rome with his will and testament along with him: wherein Herod declar'd Antipater himself his successor, and Herod after Antipater, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest.

SYLLEUS the Arabian made at this time another journey to Rome, (without any regard to Cesar's command) to dispute the same cause over again with Antipater, that he had formerly defended against Nicholas. It was a controversy of great moment also, that he had with his sovereign Aretas, having put several of his friends to death, and Sohemus for one, the most eminent person both for power and wealth in the whole city of Petra. He likewise corrupted Tabatus, one of Cesar's governors, with a sum of money to assist him against Herod; but Herod afterward out-bidding him, drew Tabatus off again from Sylleus, and made him receiver of Herod's duties. Now Sylleus finding that he came to no account, gave Augustus to understand by way of complaint, that Tabatus was not Cesar's governor, but Herod's. This provocation transported Tabatus to such a degree, that being as yet in great credit with Herod, he went

The king highly offended at it. After this they met no more in publick. But the night-clubs went on still. Salome a spy upon them, but pressed hardest upon the wife of Pheroras.

Foul practices charg'd upon her.

Antipater not to have any thing to do directly or indirectly with Pheroras or his wife.

Herod sends Antipater to Rome, and his last will along with him, &c.

Sylleus takes another journey to Rome, to try his old cause with Antipater over again.

Sylleus's practices of subornation and corruption, laid open.

* Al. Marthace.

† His nephew, not brother, unless the word brother be taken in a large sense.

‡ Al. Livia. and

and betray'd Sylleus to him; telling the king, that he had engag'd Corinthus, one of the guards, with a sum of money, to join with him in a conspiracy; advising withal, that he might be forthwith taken into custody. The king made no difficulty of doing it at first word; for this same Corinthus, tho' he had his education in the court, was nevertheless by birth an Arabian; so that in a short time Corinthus was not only taken up himself, but two Arabians more that were found with him; the one of them a friend of Sylleus, and the name of the other was Phylarchus, who being put to the question, confess'd upon the torture, that he had prevail'd upon Corinthus for a mighty sum of money to undertake the killing the king. Being interrogated and examin'd by Saturninus governor of Syria, they were sent away to Rome.

CHAP. XIX.

Herod banishes Pheroras the court, for refusing to turn away his wife; who vows never to return while Herod lives. Herod falls sick, and sends for him, but he refuses to come. Herod recovers, and Pheroras falls sick. Herod visits him, and he dies some few days after. Proofs of Pheroras's being poison'd, and by the advice of Sylleus. The witnesses all agree. Antipater's coarse way of treating his father. The discovery clear and certain. Herod's unmerciful rigour. The testimony of Pheroras's widow. His confession at his death. Mariamne proved to be in the plot.

HEROD importun'd Pheroras every day more than other to turn away his wife. He found matter in abundance to hate her for; but no way to punish her; till, in a frantick outrage, he banish'd both her and her husband the court. Pheroras bore the affliction well enough, and so strait withdrew to his tetrarchy, with an oath never to return again while Herod liv'd; and that nothing but his death should put an end to his banishment. Herod fell now into a fit of sickness, and sent several times for Pheroras to come to him, as having somewhat to communicate to him before he dy'd: but Pheroras would not be prevail'd upon to go; and Herod on the other hand, beyond all expectation, recover'd. Pheroras, after this, fell ill himself, and Herod upon that occasion gave a singular instance of his humanity and patience; for he gave him a visit, and treated him with all the care and affection imaginable: but the disease carry'd him off in a few days. It was generally thought that Herod had a very particular kindness for Pheroras, to the last hour of his life; and yet there goes a report for all this, that he destroy'd him by poison. The body however, was carried away to Jerusalem; a publick mourning appointed for him, and a most magnificent funeral. This was the end of one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus. But the punishment of this wickedness fell afterwards upon the head of Antipater, the author of it; and his ruin took its rise from the death of Pheroras; for some of his freed men, in the

agony of their passion for so irreparable a loss, went boldly to the king, and told him that his brother was poison'd, for his wife had given him something to eat, that was neither dress'd nor season'd after the usual manner; and that, upon the eating of it, he was immediately sick at heart. It was observ'd, that two days before, there was a cunning woman brought out of Arabia, at the instance of the mother and sister, to prepare a philtre for Pheroras; but instead of a love potion, it prov'd to be a deadly poison, and given by the advice of Sylleus, to whom this woman was well known.

HERE were so many suspicions started, and the presumptions so strong, that the king order'd the putting of several persons, bond and free, to the question; one of them crying out in the extremity of her torments, "O God" (says she) thou that art the ruler of heaven and earth, avenge thyself and us upon the mother of Antipater, for all the miseries we suffer here for her sake". When the king had gotten this light, he follow'd it as far as it would lead him; and a woman laid open the whole story of the familiarity betwixt the mother of Antipater, and Pheroras and his women; their clandestine meetings; and how Pheroras and Antipater, when they came from court, sat up and made merry with them all night, and not a servant admitted into the chamber. It was one of the free women that gave this evidence.

WHEN they came to be examin'd a part, there was such an agreement in their informations, that the truth of the charge was no longer to be doubted. It came now into Herod's head, that Antipater's withdrawing to Rome, and Pheroras's (in effect) procuring his own banishment, were only contrivances to get out of the way; for they were often heard to say, that Herod's cruelty would never stop at Alexander and Aristobulus; but that they themselves and their wives, must prepare to take their turns; for why should any body hope to fare better at Herod's hand, after the execrable murder of his wife and children? So that there is no fence against this monster, but getting out of his reach.

THE women depose further, that Antipater would be often complaining to his mother, this: "When I (says he) am grey-headed, my father grows every day younger and younger; and who knows but I may die before I come to govern? Or what if my father should die before me, (as that may be a long time first) I shall have lost the very relish of the pleasure of a crown; beside the Hydra's heads that are now shooting out again in the children of Alexander and Aristobulus: and as for my own children, they are cut off by my father's will from any pretence of claiming to the succession; for he has made the son of Mariamne his heir; at least if the will of a dotard may pass for any thing. But he'll take care to put a stop to this dispute, by not leaving one soul of his family alive to pretend to it. He is certainly of all fathers that ever liv'd, the most unnatural and malicious to his sons; and yet worse, if it be possible, to his brothers."

A poison instead of a love potion advised by Sylleus.

The witnesses agree among themselves, and with one another.

Antipater's ordinary way of treating his father.

A design upon the life of Herod, proved against Sylleus.

Ant. b. 17. c. 3. 5, 6, 7. Pheroras and his wife banish'd the court.

Pheroras vows never to return during Herod's life. Herod falls desperately ill, and sends for Pheroras, who refuses to come. Herod recovers, and Pheroras falls ill.

Herod goes to see Pheroras, who dies of that sickness soon after.

The body buried at Jerusalem, with pomp and solemnity.

Pheroras said to be poison'd.

"witness the hundred * talents he gave me, never to have any thing more to do with Pheroras: and then when Pheroras cry'd out, what hurt have we done him? Nay, for that, (says Antipater) I wish he would but content himself to strip us naked, and then leave us alive. But what can a body hope for from so very a brute, that makes the open profession of friendship intolerable and dangerous? But, says he, here do we content ourselves to meet and enjoy one another by stealth: whereas if we had but the hearts and hands of men, we might find means to assert our rights and liberties in another way".

This was the woman's confession; and that Pheroras had some thoughts of getting away with them to Petra. It was a clear discovery, but the greatest evidence of all to Herod, was the hundred talents; for he had only mention'd that particular to Antipater. So that he began with Doris, Antipater's mother, as the first object of his fury; took away all the ornaments, and precious things he had given her, to the value of many talents: and, after the rifling of her, he banish'd her. After this, upon the cooling of his choler, he caus'd Pheroras's women to be taken off the torture; but trembling all the while, and distracted betwixt jealousies and fears. Nay, he was so strict and cautious in his cruelties, that he put the innocent to the torture without distinction, for fear any of the guilty should escape.

The next that took his turn was Antipater the Samaritan, the deputy of the other Antipater: and it appear'd by his evidence, that Antipater sent for poison into Egypt, by a certain friend of Antiphilus, with a design upon the king's life; which he receiv'd from Theudion, the uncle of Antipater, and upon his order deliver'd it to Pheroras; who had taken upon him the doing of the deed, while he himself should be at Rome, and out of distance to be suspected: Pheroras committing the care of the poison to his wife to lay it up.

The king sent presently, upon this, for the widow of Pheroras, and commanded her without any delay to shew him the secret she had receiv'd. She went out in that moment with a pretence to fetch it; but cast herself head long from the top of the house, to prevent both the torture and the discovery: but God's providence would not suffer Antipater to escape thus; for her fall was not mortal. She was taken up and carry'd to the king, and so soon as ever she came to herself (for the fall had disorder'd her senses) the king put her to it, to tell him what made her take that desperate leap; assuring her upon his oath, that if she spake the truth, she should have no further punishment; but if she falsify'd, she should die upon the torture, without allowing her so much as the rites of a burial.

AFTER she had kept silence for a short time, she express'd herself to this effect: "Am I, says she, to keep secrets, now Pheroras is dead and gone, in favour of Antipater, who has been the destruction of us all? Great prince! give me the hearing, and I call

that God, who cannot be deceiv'd, to bear witness of the truth of what I say. When you (speaking to Herod) were upon a visit to Pheroras in his sickness, and weeping over him, my husband call'd me to him. See, my dear wife, says he, how much I have been mistaken in my opinion of my brother's kindness to me; for in plain terms, I hated him, and meditated the death of this man, that shews so generous a pity for me in my distress, (though yet among the living) but I have the just reward of my iniquity. And now fetch me immediately the remainder of the poison that Antipater gave you to keep, and burn it before my face: I shall carry the vengeance of a troubled conscience into the other world else. I brought it as I was bid, and threw the greatest part of the poison into the fire before his eyes; the rest I reserved for a time of need, in case of the worst. With these words, she produc'd a box, with a little of the poison in it. The brother and the mother of Antiphilus were then put to the question: and their information was that Antiphilus brought that box out of Egypt; and that he receiv'd the poison itself from a brother of his at Alexandria, that practis'd physick. It look'd as if the very ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus had been every where at work to make discoveries, and to draw proofs from the most unlucky persons and circumstances. It was now evident that Mariamne the daughter of the high-priest had a hand in the plot; as was made appear by her brothers upon the question: but Herod punish'd the mother in the son; for he struck Herod the son of Mariamne out of his will, having formerly declared him in his testament the successor of Antipater.

Pheroras's declaration and confession on at his death.

Mariamne prov'd to be in the plot.

CHAP. XX.

Bathyllus, a stabbing witness against Antipater: a counterfeiter of letters, and a notorious hypocrite. Pheroras's death startles him. He goes his way to Sebaste, where, to his wonder, no body owns him. He addresses himself to his father, who bids him prepare for his trial next day. The court meets; and the witnesses are produced. A plausible discourse of Herod's to Varus. Nicolaus enters upon the proofs. Antipater's defense. Nicolaus sharp upon him. The evidences of the poison brought in order. Antipater in a plot with Acme against Salome. A resolution taken to put Antipater to death, but Herod's falling sick prevents the execution. Herod strikes Antipater out of his will; and puts Antipas in his place, and settles his Legacies.

THE last and the most stabbing witness, in confirmation of all the rest, was Bathyllus, one of Antipater's freemen, who was just now come back from Rome, and brought with him a supplemental poison; that is to say, the poison of an asp, and of other serpents, for Pheroras and his wife to finish the work withal, if the other should fail; beside another invention over and above: which was, the counterfeiting of several letters a-

Ant. b. 17. c. 6, 7. Bathyllus, a stabbing witness against Antipater. A supplemental poison. Antipater counterfeits letters against the brothers.

* One hundred Jewish talents (as has been before observed), weighed eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds and ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighty pounds, fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand and five hundred pounds English money.

gainst the brothers, which were of Antipater's composition.

Archelaus and Philip princes of great hope.

Antipater a great dealer in forgery, and false intelligence.

ARCHELAUS and Philip were at that time at Rome, in the course of their studies. They were now grown up, and young men of great hope and courage; and besides all that, the sons of the king, and so dangerous an obstacle in Antipater's way to preferment, that he had little hope of gaining his point, unless he could get them removed: and in order to that end, he got letters forg'd against them in the name of several of his friends then living at Rome; some of them altogether upon the subject of their irreverent discourses upon their father; openly and violently exclaiming against the death of Alexander and Aristobulus; taking it very ill that they should be now sent for from Rome, for their father had order'd them to return home: and this was the thing that troubled Antipater more than all the rest. Nay, Antipater was in a practice of forgery, and secret intelligence, even before he left Judea, and procur'd letters from Rome to Herod upon the same subject; while he himself, for the avoiding of suspicion, apply'd himself to his father as a kind of advocate for his brothers.

Nothing but fraud and hypocrisy.

He hop'd they were not so bad, he said, "some things might be false, and others might have more of the heat and rashness of youth in them than of malice". It was a vast expence he was at all this while upon his intelligences, toward the destruction of his brothers: and to confound the account, he brought a great many rich garments, carpets, gold and silver plate, and several other curiosities of great price, to the value of two * hundred talents upon the whole; which he plac'd to the account of the suit they had with Sylleus, as a blind to the subornation.

Thus it went, but the greater evil swallow'd up the less: for when the whole country rung of the parricide, and all letters and witnesses agreed in the proof and detestation of a repeated design upon the lives of the brothers, there was not so much as one word mention'd upon the road out of Judea, of the present state of Herod's family; though it was now full seven months betwixt the proof of the fact and Antipater's return. But all the world hated him, or who knows but it might be a peculiar providence that stopp'd people's mouths, that would otherwise have been blabbing; in order to the execution of a divine vengeance upon so many horrid murders?

ANTIPATER wrote Herod word now, that he was just entering upon his journey, and how honourably Cesar had treated him, and dismiss'd him. But the king was still in pain till he had him sure; so that for fear of having him diverted by any precaution, he wrote him the kindest letters, in pretence, imaginable; and, in a familiar way, desir'd him to be with him as soon as possible; for if he made haste, he might compound for his mother's fault; whom Antipater knew to be banish'd already. The first notice he had of the death of Pheroras was by a letter he received at Tarentum; which wounded him to the very heart. Some look'd upon it as a matter of decency and good nature in so near a relation, but others again of more

Herod in pain till he had Antipater sure.

The news of Pheroras's death startled Antipater upon divers accounts.

discernment, imputed this excess of sorrow, not so much to his tenderness for Pheroras, as for the loss of so wicked and necessary an instrument, and for the disappointment of the plot: beside that he was in some apprehension too of being detected in what he had done, and for fear the story of the poison should come out. Upon his coming into Cilicia, he receiv'd his father's letter above-mentioned: and then hasten'd away presently.

At his coming to Celenderis, he had a kind of inward foreboding upon him: and, in particular, his mother's condition fill'd his soul with frightful apprehensions. The wiser and more cautious part of his friends, were absolutely against going to his father, till he were certainly inform'd upon what pretence his mother was divorced, for fear he himself should come to be involved in his mother's crime. But the less considerate of his friends were altogether for being at home again, without any regard to Antipater's Interest: they counsel'd him by all means to make all imaginable haste, for fear his delay might render him suspected, and suggest matter for calumny to work upon. For if any thing should be mov'd against him, it would be done in his absence; and no man would dare to open his mouth against him, if he were upon the place; beside that it would be a madness to hazard a certain advantage upon a wild fancy; whereas he was rather immediately to post away to his father, to be within distance of receiving a kingdom that could be no body's but his. Antipater was over-rul'd by the fatality of an impulse, and so he prosecuted his voyage to Sebaste a port of Celsarea.

Antipater's friends divided, whether he should return to his father or not.

BUT upon his arrival, to his great admiration, the people all avoided him, and not a creature durst come near him. They hated him as much before, 'tis true; but they were not so much at liberty to shew it: some were afraid of the king, for all the talk was now of Antipater: and Antipater was the only man all this while that knew the least of himself. Never was any man more glorious at his setting out for Rome, or so abject and contemptible as he was upon his return. He was no stranger to the broils and confusions of the family; but he had the wit to keep his fears as much as possible to himself, and with a cheerful countenance to conceal an aking heart. There was no possibility of making an escape, or of any other way of relieving himself in this extremity: he had no certainty of the affairs of the family; for no body durst come at him to inform him; so that he had now and then some intervals of hope, either that things were not discover'd, or in case of the worst, he did not despair of bringing himself off by confidence and imposture, which were the only two friends he had to trust to.

The latter carried it, and so he went forward to Sebaste. When Antipater came to the place, to his great admiration, not a creature would own him.

Antipater had nothing left him to trust to, but confidence and imposture.

BEING thus arm'd and prepar'd, he advanc'd without his friends into the palace; for his train was repuls'd with contempt at the first gate. It so fell out that Varus the governor of Syria was then present. Upon his entrance, he had the impudence to address himself to his father, as in a way of duty and respect; but as he approached nearer him, Herod put out

Antipater enters the palace, and addresses himself to his father.

Herod turns sharp upon him.

* Two hundred Jewish talents weigh'd twenty two thousand eight hundred twelve pounds and six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred and thirty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thousand pounds English money.

his hand to stop him, and with a down look
cry'd out to him, "What! says he, shall a
"parricide presume to embrace me? A curse
"upon the impious soul of thee, for daring to
"come near me till thou hast clear'd thyself
"of all thy crimes! And you have here your
"judge before you, Varus; who shall pass
"sentence upon you according to your demerit.
"Wherefore be gone, and prepare against
"to-morrow for your defence; which is all
"the time I shall allow you." Antipater stood
mute, and without one word in return, went
his way back again. His mother and his wife
came to him afterwards, and inform'd him of
the whole proceeding. This brought him to
himself again, and to consider what he had to
say in his own justification.

And bids him
prepare for
his trial the
next day.

The court
met the day
following:
The witnesses
produced.

Antipater at
enters the
court, and
his father's
feet prays on-
ly for an im-
partial hear-
ing.

A plausible
discourse of
Herod's to
Varus.

HEROD, having a council next day of his
friends and relations, call'd likewise the
friends of Antipater to be there present; him-
self and Varus sitting president. He caus'd all
the witnesses to be brought in; of which num-
ber there were certain servants of Doris the
mother of Antipater, that had been long since
prisoners. These servants brought letters from
the mother to the son, to this purpose: "Your
"father knows all, and therefore have a care
"of coming near him, unless you can depend
"upon Cesar for his protection." After the
introducing of the witnesses, Antipater enter'd
the court; and casting himself at the feet of
his father: "I beseech you, Sir, (says he)
"grant me an impartial hearing without pre-
"judging my cause, and I make no doubt of
"proving myself to be an innocent person."
HEROD call'd out to him aloud to hold his
tongue, and so directed his discourse to Varus.
"I do certainly know, says he, that you,
"Varus, or any other unbiass'd judge, will
"be fully satisfy'd that Antipater deserves to
"die; but I am afraid, in the mean time,
"what opinion you may conceive of my in-
"vidious fortune; as if this calamity were
"justly befallen me for being the father of
"such children. But I have some right how-
"ever to your humanity and compassion, for
"having been so indulgent a father to such
"profligate wretches: as for the young men
"that are now dead and gone, I design'd
"them for the government, and train'd them
"up at Rome in the court and favour of Ce-
"sar, the better to prepare them for the exer-
"cise of royal dignity; and none at last so
"great enemies of my peace and safety, as
"those that I had rais'd in the world; even
"to be the envy of princes. But Antipater
"made his profit of their ruin; for he found
"his account in it, as a security to himself in
"the succession. And what is the requital
"now that this monster designs me for all these
"tendernesses, but the entering into a practice
"against the life of his father? I was likely to
"live too long he thought: nay, I had liv'd
"too long already, and that was his grie-
"vance. The crown alone would not content
"him, it seems, unless he made his way to it
"through the blood of his father. And in this

truly he seem'd to have some colour of rea-
son, for my bringing him back to court out
of a private condition, to the exclusion of
the sons I had by the queen, in declaring
him my successor. Now to confess myself to you, Varus, I
am convinc'd of my error. I did not do well
to provoke my sons by cutting off the suc-
cession to their wrong, and in favour of An-
tipater; for what did I ever do for them
comparable to what I did for him? He had
a great part of the administration in his hands
while I was living; and the succession ac-
tually settled upon him after my death; and
beside other gratifications, a separate re-
venue of fifty * talents, and his expences
every where upon my charge; three hund-
red talents upon his voyage to Rome, and
the only person of my whole family that I
recommended to Cesar, as my preserver. Take
them all together, they had not half the wick-
edness in them of Antipater, and the proofs
against them were infinitely short of what I
have against him; and yet this bloody
wretch has the face to plead innocent, and
does not despair I perceive of baffling the
truth with a trick. Varus, look to yourself;
for he will make a defence plausible enough;
but I know the beast thorough all his dis-
guises and impostures, and that he is false
at the bottom.

This is the man that was so earnest with
me, time past, to have a care of Alexander,
and how I expos'd my person. How often
would he come into my bed-chamber, and
look about and search for fear of treachery?
This man was my guardian, and my secu-
rity while I slept; my comforter in my
mourning for the dead brothers; and one
that would undertake for the duty of those
that were living: my champion, in fine, and
my guard. When I call to mind, and con-
sider the address, and the hypocrisy of this
man, how artificially he laid his snares, and
cover'd his designs; I can hardly think my-
self alive at this day, or how it was possi-
ble for me to escape the noose. But since
my fate will have it so, and that my great-
est enemies are to be those of my own fa-
mily, and those I have been the kindest to;
I shall only deplore the hardship of my in-
evitable destiny, and keep my sorrows to
myself; but with this resolution, that not
one man comes off that shall be found guilt-
ty of thirsting after my blood, though all
my sons should fall in the condemnation."

Nicolaus en-
ters upon the
proofs.

HEROD brake off upon this period, in a
confusion of thought, and gave order to Ni-
colaus, one of his friends, to enter upon the
proofs. Antipater, who had lain prostrate all
this while at Herod's feet, now rais'd his
head, and with a little exclamation address'd
himself to his father: "You have had the
goodness, Sir, says he, to plead my cause;
for how can I be a parricide, whom you
yourself have so often own'd to have been
your preserver? If my piety be only impo-

Antipater's
Defense.

* Fifty Jewish talents, as has been before observed, weighed five thousand seven hundred and three pounds one ounce and ten penny weight, and their value in silver amounted to seventeen thousand one hundred and nine pounds seven shillings and six pence, and in gold to two hundred seventy three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds English money.

Three hundred Jewish talents weighed thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds and nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred one thousand six hundred fifty six pounds and five shillings, and in gold to one million six hundred forty two thousand five hundred pounds of our money.

Stare

"sture and pretence, as you are pleased to say
 "it is, how came I to be so crafty in one case,
 "and so besotted in another, as not to under-
 "stand, that though men may be impos'd up-
 "on, yet the all-searching and the all-seeing
 "eye of God, that knows our hearts, will not
 "suffer so great a wickedness to pass un-
 "punish'd? God's vengeance overtook my
 "brothers, because of their undutifulness to
 "you. But what temptation had I now to
 "practise upon your life? The hope of a king-
 "dom? Why, I did as good as reign already.
 "Or was it that I thought you hated me?
 "That was impossible, after so many demon-
 "strations to the contrary. Was I afraid of
 "you? when quite on the other hand, others
 "stood in awe of me, in consideration of the
 "zeal I had for your safety. Or was it that I
 "wanted any thing? So far from it, that all
 "my profusions were supply'd out of your
 "treasure: so that certainly I must be the
 "worst, even of men, and of brutes, to be
 "wanting in good offices toward so kind a fa-
 "ther; being a person that you yourself, as
 "you say, receiv'd into your favour, prefer'd
 "to so many of your other sons, and whom
 "you declar'd king while you yourself were
 "yet living; beside other benefits, in pro-
 "portion, to make me the envy of other
 "men."

"WRETCH that I am! and this fatal jour-
 "ney of mine to give so much time and mat-
 "ter for envy and treachery to work upon! But
 "it was, Sir, for the service of yourself, and
 "of your affairs, that I undertook this voy-
 "age; and to keep Sylleus from putting af-
 "fronts upon your old age. Rome is the wit-
 "ness of my loyalty, and so is the prince of
 "Rome, and of the world, Cesar himself,
 "that has so often celebrated me for my re-
 "verence to my father. Be pleased, I beseech
 "you, to receive these letters that have more
 "truth in them than all the forgeries that
 "have been trump'd up against me: these let-
 "ters are my justification, and the infallible
 "arguments of a sincere affection for you.
 "You may remember, Sir, how unwillingly I
 "took that journey to lay myself at the mer-
 "cy of all the enemies I left behind me. It
 "was your command, Sir, that ruin'd me,
 "how unwillingly soever, in forcing me to
 "give my adversaries time for concerting their
 "malice against me."

"If I had been a parricide, divine justice,
 "either by sea or land would have found me
 "out. But I shall not lay the stress of my in-
 "nocence upon that argument; for I know
 "very well that with God's permission you
 "have condemn'd me in your heart already.
 "All that I beg even in this state, is only that
 "I may not suffer upon the credit of proofs
 "extorted by torment: but let me rather be
 "put to the test, either of fire, serews, or
 "what other instruments of cruelty you shall
 "think fit; without any mercy to a misera-
 "ble carcass: for if I am a parricide, no pain
 "can be too much for me." Antipater deli-
 "ver'd these words with such a passion of tears
 "and outcries, that the whole court, Varus and
 "all, were soften'd at it. Herod alone was so
 "transported with rage at the sense of the wic-
 "kedness, and the clearness of the evidence, that
 "all Antipater's tears and ejaculations pass'd with
 "him only for matters of course."

THIS declamation of Antipater's was fol-
 "lowed by Nicolaus; who prefac'd what he had
 "to say, with a discourse upon the craft of An-
 "tipater, as the king had order'd; which upon
 "the main, amounted to a mortal accusation,
 "without leaving any hope of mercy. For all
 "the iniquities of the kingdom were imputed to
 "Antipater; especially the destruction of the
 "brothers, which was manifestly the effect of
 "his calumnies; besides his practices upon the
 "survivors, as standing in the way of his pre-
 "ferment. And it could not be expected, that
 "he that could think of poisoning his father,
 "would ever spare his brothers. When he came
 "to the proof of the poison, the evidences were
 "produc'd in order; with aggravations upon the
 "crime of Pheroras, who by Antipater's means
 "had been induced to practice upon his brother;
 "the king's best friends corrupted, and the
 "whole palace fill'd with lewdness. This he
 "said, with a great deal more to the same purpose,
 "and so concluded."

IN the next place, Varus call'd upon Anti-
 "pater to answer for himself; who said no more
 "than that God was witness of his innocence,
 "and so held his peace. Varus then call'd for
 "the poison, and gave a draught of it to a con-
 "demn'd person, who dy'd immediately. He
 "had afterward some private discourse with He-
 "rod, transmitted the proceeding to Cesar, and
 "so departed the next day. The king kept An-
 "tipater in chains, and gave Cesar an account of
 "the prosecution."

ANTIPATER was charg'd, after this, with
 "a treacherous design upon Salome: for a ser-
 "vant of Antiphilus, at his return from Rome,
 "brought the king a letter from one Acme,
 "who waited upon the empress; wherein she gave
 "him to understand, that finding several letters
 "from Salome to Julia, among her mistress's
 "papers, she thought it might be a good office
 "privately to send him the papers. Now these
 "letters were stuff'd with the most virulent scan-
 "dals and reproaches upon the king that could
 "be invented, and all of Antipater's contri-
 "vance; and Acme only employ'd as an instru-
 "ment, for a sum of money to convey them to
 "Herod. And the thing was made yet more e-
 "vident by another letter to Antipater from the
 "same woman, in these very words. "I have
 "written to your father, according to your
 "direction; and I have likewise sent him o-
 "ther letters. You may depend upon it that
 "the king will never forgive his sister after
 "the reading of them. Pray take care when
 "your ends are accomplish'd, that you do not
 "forget your promise."

UPON the detecting of this forgery, and o-
 "ther subornations against Salome, Herod grew
 "extremely sad and pensive, when he consider'd
 "how narrowly Salome had escap'd the snare of
 "Antipater: and he could not forbear thinking
 "but that Alexander himself, might be taken
 "off too by such another imposture: so that he
 "took up a peremptory resolution, without a-
 "ny more delay, to do justice upon Antipater
 "in the name of the whole family. But in this
 "very nick of time, Herod was diverted by a
 "sudden fit of sickness from the execution of it.
 "He sent Cesar however an account of Acme's
 "part in the intrigue, and the treacherous prac-
 "tices against Salome. He alter'd his will up-
 "on it, struck Antipater out of it, and substitut-
 "ed Antipas in his place, taking no notice of
 "Archelaus place."

Nicolaus ve-
 "ry severe up-
 "on Antipater,

The eviden-
 "ces of the
 "poison pro-
 "duc'd in or-
 "der.

Antipater in
 "a plot with
 "Acme a-
 "gainst Salome

Herod grows
 "sad upon it,

And resolves
 "to see justice
 "immediately
 "done upon
 "Antipater.
 "Herod falls
 "sick in that
 "instant, and
 "prevents the
 "execution.
 "He strikes
 "Antipater out
 "of his will,
 "and puts An-
 "tipas in his
 "place.

He settles his legacies.

Archelaus and Philip, though the elder brothers, upon the suggestions of Antipater. He bequeath'd to Cestus, beside other considerations in money by the bye, a thousand talents; and to the empress, her sons, friends, and freemen, about fifty talents more; with lands, and considerable bounties to others. He gave also to his sister Salome legacies to a mighty value. This was all settled accordingly by his last will.

CHAP. XXI.

Herod's misery, both in body and mind. A tumult about Herod's golden eagle; Judas and Matthias the heads of it. Upon a report of Herod's being given over, the rabble cuts the eagle to pieces. The guards master the faction; and the people reason the case with Herod. The two ring-leaders are put to death. Herod worse and worse, and attempts a violence upon himself. Antipater put to death by Herod's order. Archelaus declar'd successor instead of Antipater. The death of Herod. A bloody order disappointed. Herod's will read. Archelaus receiv'd as successor to Herod with acclamations. The funeral solemnity.

Ant. b. 17. c. 8, 9, 10. The misery of Herod, both in body and mind.

HEROD, betwixt age, sickness, and grief, grew every day weaker and weaker. He was now threescore and ten, and so inconstantly afflicted about the death of his sons, that in his best health he had no joy even in life itself. He was at this time very ill; but the thought of Antipater's being still alive, was yet the most sensible part of his trouble; for his thoughts were intent upon nothing so much as the appointment of Antipater's execution, so soon as ever he should find himself in condition to order it. And,

An outrageous tumult.

Judas and Matthias, the heads of it.

UPON the neck of these calamities, there happen'd a new broil upon a popular tumult; and the two heads of it were Judas the son of *Sephoreus, and Matthias the son of †Margalus; two sophists, famous for their skill in the laws, and consequently of great reputation among the people. They were mightily follow'd by the younger sort, and their lectures daily throng'd and crowded with numerous congregations. When these rabbies found the king languishing, betwixt anguish of thought and distemper, they declared among their acquaintance, how fit a time that might be to vindicate the honour of God, in the demolishing of all works whatsoever erected contrary to his holy laws; averring that the setting up of images in the temple, or the likeness of any living creature, was absolutely forbidden. Now this was understood to point at the golden eagle that Herod had plac'd upon the great gate; and so set the multitude at work presently to pluck it down, as the most glorious hazard they could run, for their laws and their country, even if they should die in the attempt; for such an end would be follow'd with everlasting life and happiness, and with immortal honour; whereas none but narrow grovelling souls, and unthinking wretches, would rather chuse to die in their beds of a

They tamper the people into an uproar against Herod's golden eagle.

disease, than fall a sacrifice to religion and virtue. While this humour was a working, came the surprizing news all on a sudden that the king was just upon the point of death: this made the rabble bolder, and more outrageous than before; insomuch that they mounted the temple at noon-day, and letting down themselves with strong ropes, with axes they hew'd the golden eagle to pieces, a great multitude of people in the temple looking on. The captain of the guards had no sooner notice of this uproar, but he fell in among them presently with a party, seiz'd about forty of the forwardest, and carry'd them away to the king. Are you so insolent (says Herod) as to break the golden eagle? They told him Yes, they had done it. By what order? (says Herod again) By the laws of our country, they cry'd. Well! says he, and what makes you so cheerful now when you are sure to die? We are cheerful, said they, in the assurance of a better life after this. The king was so mov'd at this behaviour, that his anger put new life into him, and made him in some measure forget his disease. He call'd them over and over sacrilegious and seditious miscreants, under a colour of law to attempt the over-turning of the government: but, says he, like a company of wicked creatures you have behav'd yourselves, and like such you shall be punish'd. The people were afraid the severity might go too far, and therefore made it their request to Herod, that he would content himself with justice upon the ring-leaders and the prisoners, and shew mercy to the rest. The king was at last prevail'd upon, and order'd those that came down by the ropes, and the **two heads of the faction to be burnt alive; and those that were taken together, to have their heads struck off by the common hangman.

In this instant comes news that Herod was given over. The rabble grows bolder upon it, and cuts the golden eagle to pieces. The guards master the faction, and carry their prisoners to the king. The people reason the matter with Herod.

The two rabbies and the ring-leaders are put to death. A strange complication of diseases.

HEROD by this time was all over in pain from head to foot; a violent fever; an intolerable itching all over his body; gripes of the cholick; dropical humours; windy pains in his stomach; his privy parts putrify'd, and crawling with worms; difficulty of breathing; broken sighs; contraction of the nerves, and convulsions all over. Some were superstitious enough to make this calamity a judgment upon him, in revenge for the two rabbies: but yet notwithstanding all the torments and diseases he had to struggle with, he was still so desirous of life, that in this very extremity he sought for new remedies, and cherish'd some hope yet of his recovery. He cross'd the Jordan, and try'd the warm baths of Callirrhoe that run into the lake Asphaltitis; a water not only medicinal, but pleasant to the taste. His physicians then advis'd him to a bath of warm oil; but upon dipping into the vessel he lost his senses, and his eyes were set in his head. This last fit was so ghastly, that his keepers broke all out into a clamour at the fright; so that the very outcry brought him a little to himself again. But at last when he found himself past all possibility of recovery, he order'd the soldiers fifty *†drachms a man, and money to a great value to be divided betwixt his governors and his friends.

Herod tries several remedies but to no purpose.

* Al. Seripheus. † In the Antiq. Margalothus. ‡ In the Antiq. b. 17. c. 8. ** The two Sophists.

*† Fifty drachms of silver (for such we suppose to be here meant) amounted to about one pound nine shillings of our money.

WHEN he came back to Jericho, and found his case desperate, he did in a manner threaten death itself, by one of the most dreadful resolutions that ever was heard of; the raging violence of his choler having put him directly into a flame. He sent out an order quite thro' Judea, for the seizing of all the nobility, and shutting them up in the Circus || or Hippodrome. Upon this, he spoke to Salome, and her husband Alexas: "I know very well (says he) that the Jews will make holiday of the day of my death; but I shall take care not to want mourners, or a splendid pomp of funeral solemnities, if you two will but follow my direction. Let it be your care then, so soon as ever the breath is out of my body, to see the soldiers turn'd loose upon the persons in the Circus, and put every man of them to the sword. Now this will be a certain way to make the whole province of Judea, and every particular family in it, true mourners at my death."

Herod leaves a bloody order with Salome and Alexas.

Letters from Rome of Acme's being put to death, and Antipater condemn'd to die Herod, in the horror of his pains, attempts to kill himself.

A report in the palace that Herod was dead. Antipater treats with his keepers upon it, about an escape. The king orders his guards to dispatch him immediately, and makes Archelaus his successor instead of Antipas.

The death of Herod.

JUST upon the dispatch of this order, Herod's deputies brought letters from Rome, that Cesar had order'd Acme, the servant of Julia, to be put to death; and that Antipater was also condemn'd to die: but the letters said withal, that if his father should think fit to content himself with banishment, Cesar would not be against it. Herod, for the present, was somewhat reliev'd by this message; but then relapsing into his pains (as he was at that time afflicted with a violent cough) he had some thought of laying violent hands upon himself: and so took an apple, and call'd for a knife, as if it had been only to cut or to pare it. After he had look'd a little about him, for fear of being taken notice of, he rais'd his hand with the action of a man about to stab himself; but his nephew Achiab, perceiving it, ran up to him, and catching hold of him, prevented the mischief.

THERE was presently, upon this, a frightful outcry rais'd in the palace, on a report that the king was dead. Antipater was over-joy'd at the hearing of it, and had the confidence to treat with his keepers for a sum of money to let him go; but the head officer did not only refuse to comply with the proposal, but went in that instant to the king and inform'd him thereof; who, upon the hearing of it, burst out into an exclamation stronger than one would have expected from a man in his condition; and thereupon order'd his guards to go that moment, and dispatch him, and to see his body deposited in the castle of Hyrcanion. Upon this he alter'd his testament once more, and declar'd the eldest brother Archelaus his successor, in the place of Antipas, and made Antipas a tetrarch.

HEROD dy'd five days after the execution of Antipater, thirty four years from the death of

Antigonus, and thirty seven years after he was declared king by the Romans. He was as fortunate a man as ever liv'd, saving the troubles in his own family, wherein he was the most unfortunate. He was advanced to the crown out of a private state. He kept it a long time, and at last left it to his sons.

THE soldiers knew nothing as yet of the king's death; so that Salome went out beforehand with her husband to the Hippodrome, and order'd all the people to be set at liberty that were shut up there (though appointed for death) and every man dismiss'd to his own home. This was upon a pretence that Herod had chang'd his mind. So soon as the company was gone, publication was made of the king's death to the soldiery; who being then drawn together into a body, at the amphitheatre of Jericho, Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal signet, entertain'd them with a speech in honour of the deceas'd, whom he celebrated for a fortunate prince, condoling at the same time with the people for so sensible a loss. After this, he read over a letter to them, that Herod had left for the soldiers, being a passionate recommendation of his successor to the good-will and affection of the people. After this letter, he read the will; wherein Philip was declar'd heir of Trachon, and the neighbourhood to it; Antipas tetrarch, (as I said before) and Archelaus to inherit the kingdom. Herod gave order for the delivery of his ring also to Cesar; and to present him with the knowledge of the whole matter: for there was nothing to be done, dispos'd of, or confirm'd, but by Cesar's authority and direction: and for the rest, the former testament to stand as it was.

Salome and Alexas disappointed Herod's cruel order.

Herod's will read.

THIS was follow'd by an unanimous shout of gratulations and acclamations, with a Long live Archelaus; both soldiers and people pressing in with their good wishes and prayers. The next work was to be the interring of the body; wherein Archelaus spar'd neither for cost nor care, and all the ensigns of royalty were made use of for the pomp and ornament of the funeral. The hearse was cover'd all over with an embroidery of gold and precious stones, and an intermixture of purple; and upon this was the body laid, and cover'd with purple too: a diadem upon the head; a crown of gold over that; a scepter in his right hand, and his children and near relations round about him: the guards and the Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, march'd at the head of this solemnity, in a form and order of battle; all the rest of the troops following their leaders also in very good order. And now to close up the pomp, five hundred officers, domesticks, and freemen, brought up the train. The body was carry'd two * hundred furlongs to the castle of Herodion; where it was bury'd according to the king's mandate. And this was the end of Herod.

Archelaus successor to Herod, receiv'd with the unanimous acclamations of the people. The pomp and order of the funeral solemnity.

|| A place appointed for horse races.

* Two hundred furlongs amounted to twenty five English miles and a quarter, and fifty geometrical paces over, which is just the twentieth part of a mile allowing a thousand paces to make a mile.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The ceremony of mourning and feasting. The new king's declaration to his people. The multitude clamorous upon the subject of grievances. An uproar little short of a rebellion. The guards worsted, till the army fell in with the whole body. Archelaus takes shipping for Rome, and Philip acts in his absence. Sabinus advanced to Cesarea in his way for Judea. Varus puts a stop to his journey. Sabinus goes to Jerusalem, and demands possession of some castles and monies. The officers civilly refuse him. Antipas set up against Archelaus. Sabinus and Salome bring in a charge against him. Archelaus's defence. Cesar hears both sides, and proceeds to a trial. Antipater opens the case against Archelaus. Nicolaus for the defendant. Archelaus graciously receiv'd by Cesar, and so the court is adjourn'd.

Ant. b. 17.
c. 10.

The ceremony of mourning and feasting in the case of Archelaus.



THE necessity of Archelaus's going to Rome upon the death of Herod, prov'd the occasion of new troubles. For after the ceremony of the seven days mourning was over, and the people magnificently feasted, a custom among the Jews that ruins many a man with the expence, for fear of being thought impious in the neglect; Archelaus, I say, after this solemnity, advanced all in white up to the temple, where the people received him with large expressions of reverence and respect: and he himself from a stately tribunal, and his throne of gold, shew'd as much grace and humanity to them.

His gracious declaration in favour of the people.

HE gave them thanks for the care they had taken of his father's funeral, and for the royal honours they had now paid to himself, as to an anointed king. "But yet (says he) till Cesar, the declared lord and master of all, shall have confirm'd the succession, I shall not entitle myself so much as to the name, and much less to the power and authority of a king. This was it, that when the army would have set the crown upon my head at Jericho, made me refuse it at their hands: though, says he, I shall never forget the kindness and the hearty good will, both of the soldiers and of the people, whenever

"I shall come to be possess'd of regal power from him that hath a right to confer it: and let them depend upon it, says he, that they shall find me upon all occasions readier to oblige them than ever they found my father."

THE multitude was mightily pleas'd with this declaration, and in the same instant put him to some sort of trial how far he would be as good as his word. They ply'd him with several petitions; some to have their taxes eas'd, others to have them wholly taken off; and some again for a discharge of prisoners; but upon the whole matter, Archelaus deny'd them nothing. This being over, he sacrific'd and feasted with his friends.

A LITTLE after Noon, there assembled a rabble of malecontents; and no sooner was the common mourning for the death of the king over, but they began now to lament the people's grievances. "It was hard, they said, for Herod to put people to death for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the temple": and this was not a discontent in secret neither; but what with tears, beating of breasts, and impetuous outcries for the loss of so many good men that effectually dy'd martyrs for the religion and laws of their country, the whole city rang with lamentations and

The multitude brake out into unreasonable demands. Archelaus sacrifices; and treats his friends.

The common people began upon the subject of grievances.

And clamours
for justice a-
gainst Herod's
mercenaries.

and mourning. "We demand justice, they
cry'd, upon Herod's mercenaries, the ac-
curst instruments that executed this wick-
edness. Wherefore, in the first place, let
Herod's high-priest be turn'd out, and a man
of more piety and integrity put in his place".

Archelaus
finding there
was no deal-
ing with them
by force,
sends his of-
ficers to quiet
them by fair
words.

ARCHELAUS was transported at this to the
uttermost degree of indignation; but being in
haste upon his journey, he was not at leisure
then to wait for a revenge: so that for fear of
losing his opportunity one way, and leaving a
tumult behind him the other, he thought it
more advisable to deal with them by admo-
nition and fair words, than by violence. Upon
this, he sent his master of the horse to desire
them to be quiet; but the heads of the sedition,
so soon as ever he came up to the temple, fell
to pelting him with stones, without hearing
him speak one word. Archelaus sent after him
several other messengers upon the same errand,
and they all far'd alike; insomuch that they
wanted but number to make it a downright
rebellion.

An uproar
little short of
a rebellion.

The feast of
the passover.
And a violent
tumult upon
that occasion.

THE feast of unleavened bread was now at
hand; the Jews call it their passover. This
festival gave an occasion for sacrifices in abun-
dant, and brought a great multitude of peo-
ple up to the city upon the account of religi-
on: divers of the faction of the two sophists
among the rest, who came thither to lament
the death of those pretended patriots, took up
their residence in the temple, from whence
they would not remove; waiting for matter to
inflame their party to a sedition.

The multi-
tude worsted
the guards.

ARCHELAUS had the foresight to send a
band of soldiers and a tribune, with orders to
seize their principals, if they should be trou-
blesome: and this he did to obviate the dan-
ger of a general tumult. The multitude made
head against this party: some they kill'd with
stones, and the tribune himself came off sorely
wounded; the mutineers going as innocently
back again to their devotions, as if nothing
had been done. Archelaus finding to his cost
that this tumult was not to be appeased with-
out blood, drew up his whole army upon
them; the foot in the city, and the horse be-
fore the walls. The foot fell upon them, even
in the act of sacrificing, and kill'd near three
thousand of their men at the very altar. The
remainder fled to the mountains; and Arche-
laus causing proclamation to be made for all
people to depart to their own homes, put an
end to the festival.

Till the army
fell in and
routed the
whole body.

Archelaus,
upon this,
takes ship-
ping for
Rome.
And leaves
Philip to act
in his stead.

THIS sedition being suppress'd, Archelaus
with his mother and his three particular friends,
Poplas, Ptolemy and Nicolaus, took shipping
together for Rome; leaving Philip behind him,
both as his viceroy, and as a trustee to manage
his particular estate. Salome with her child-
ren went along with him, together with the
sons of the king's brothers, and others of the
kindred, under a pretext of assisting Archelaus
toward the gaining of the succession: but, in
reality, their business was to call him to an ac-
count for the violation of the holy temple.

Sabinus was
now at Cesa-
rea on his
way for Judea

As they were upon the way, they met with
Sabinus the governour of Syria, at Cesarea;
who was then going into Judea, to take pos-
session of the monies that Herod had left behind
him; but Varus, at the instance of Archelaus,
and upon the mediation of Ptolemy, put a stop
to his journey: so that Sabinus, for Varus's
sake, neither meddled with the castles, nor

But Varus
put a stop to
his business,
and his jour-
ney.

with the money, to the prejudice of Arche-
laus; and pass'd his promise, that he would
do nothing in it, but with Cesar's approba-
tion; and upon that account stay'd at Cesarea.
But yet so soon as Varus was gone for An-
tioch, and Archelaus for Rome, Sabinus up-
on the removing of these obstacles, took his
opportunity to go to Jerusalem, where he
lodg'd himself in the palace, and sent from
thence to the governours of the castles, and
the officers of the treasury, to put the one in-
to his hands, and to give him an account of the
other. But the officers were so just to the or-
ders and instructions of Archelaus, as to ob-
serve them to a tittle; wherefore they put off
Sabinus with this answer, that they were Ce-
sar's officers, not Archelaus's. Antipas, at
the same time, put in for the kingdom too; in-
sisting upon it, that the former testament was
the better will of the two; and the succession
in that testament was settled upon Antipas: and
he was sure to have the interest of Salome and
others of their relations that fail'd with Ar-
chelaus, toward the supporting of that pre-
tence. He carry'd his mother with him, and
Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, and a try'd
friend of Herod's; which went a great way in
that case; for there were no two men dearer
than they: but the person that he chiefly de-
pended upon was Ireneus, a sharp man, and an
excellent orator. Antipas reckon'd himself so
sure in the strength of these advocates, that
whoever advis'd him to any sort of deference,
either to the seniority of Archelaus, or to the
authority of his father in his second testament,
he would scarce afford him the hearing. When
they came to Rome, all the enemies of Arche-
laus were sure to join with Antipas: those es-
pecially who had a mind to shake off the yoke
of government, or at least to be under a Ro-
man magistracy; and in case they could not
obtain that, they would have Antipas for their
king.

Upon the de-
parture of
Archelaus
and Varus,
Sabinus goes
his way to
Jerusalem.
Where he
formally de-
mands pos-
session of
some castles,
and Herod's
money.
The officers
put him off
with a civil
refusal.
Antipas sets
up for the
succession a-
gainst Arche-
laus.
The counsel
of Ireneus
Antipas
chiefly de-
pends upon.

ANTIPAS laid a great stress also upon the
help of Sabinus; who had already exhibited
an accusation against Archelaus, by letters to
Cesar; with a character on the other hand,
much to the advantage of Antipas. Salome
and her companions stated the very case of the
charge against Archelaus, and presented it to
Cesar; while Archelaus did as much on the
other side for himself, in a memorial under se-
veral heads for his own justification; beside his
father's seal-ring, and an account of what
treasure he left behind him; which was all
transmitted to Cesar by the hand of Ptolemy.
Cesar, computing with himself what he had
heard on both sides; considering also the great-
ness of the kingdom, and the variety of large
revenues; the numerous family of Herod, to-
gether with the letters of Varus and Sabinus,
he call'd the Roman nobility to meet in coun-
cil; where Caius Cesar, the son of Agrippa
and his daughter Julia, was the first time com-
manded to take his place at the board; and so
they proceeded to the trial.

Sabinus's
charge against
Archelaus.
Salome's
charge against
him.
Archelaus's
defence.

Cesar hears
both sides,
and proceeds
to a trial.

ANTIPATER, the son of Salome, an elo-
quent orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus,
open'd the cause, suggesting, in the first place,
"That Archelaus had long since exercis'd so-
vereign authority in effect, and that it was
now but matter of form to contend about
the name. For what signifies a hearing be-
fore Cesar, to him that has already refus'd
him

Antipater
opens the
cause against
Archelaus.

"him for a judge? for Herod was no loon-
 "er dead, but people were immediately en-
 "gag'd, and suborn'd to set the crown upon
 "his head; while he himself did not only sit
 "like a king in a royal state, and upon a gol-
 "den throne, but act like one also; as in chang-
 "ing the order of the militia, disposing of
 "charges, receiving and granting petitions;
 "exercising the power of life and death in pub-
 "lick crimes; setting his father's prisoners
 "at liberty, &c. which are all regal privi-
 "leges. Now for this person that has al-
 "ready engross'd to himself the powers and
 "ensigns of royalty, to come to Cesar only
 "for the title of it, makes Augustus but a
 "shadow of a prince, and a king in sound,
 "not in effect.

"AND then further, (says Antipater) what's
 "all the solemnity of Archelaus's mourning
 "for his dead father, more than an empty
 "piece of formality? He affects sorrow all
 "day, and then sits up feasting and carousing
 "all night. And what was it at last, but
 "the detestation the people had for his hy-
 "pocrisy, that rais'd the late sedition?" But
 "the main stress of the charge was yet to come;
 "which was, "a horrible slaughter about the
 "temple. It was a festival day; the people
 "gather'd together to worship, and pay their
 "devotions, and they themselves were made
 "the sacrifice. Their throats, in short, were
 "cut, and such heaps of dead bodies pil'd up
 "in the temple, as in the most implacable and
 "merciless of foreign wars was hardly ever
 "heard of. Now Herod was so well acquaint-
 "ed with the cruelty of this man's nature,
 "that it was almost impossible for him ever to
 "give him the least hope of a crown, so long
 "as he was in his right senses. And that,
 "alas! was not the king's case in the latter tes-
 "tament: his mind was more out of order
 "than his body; and he did not know what
 "he did. Beside that after all this, there
 "was no disability or defect charg'd upon An-
 "tipas the successor by the former will; but
 "people gave him the character of a prince
 "very well qualify'd for the royal function.
 "Or what if it should be supposed now, that
 "Herod was, in truth, sound and in his right
 "senses? Archelaus has as good as abdicated
 "the royal dignity by acting against the laws
 "of the constitution. What havock would
 "this young man make now, if he had Cesar's
 "authority to cover him in his cruelties, that
 "does all this upon his own account without
 "any power at all?"

ANTIPATER spoke abundantly to this effect,
 and a great many near relations of Archelaus
 gave evidence against him to the several points.
 When Antipater had now finish'd his plea for
 the plaintiff, Nicolaus rose up for the defend-
 ant; who, in the first place, made it appear,
 "That the slaughter committed in the temple
 "was not only of absolute necessity, but the
 "people that were kill'd were Cesar's ene-
 "mies." He shew'd likewise, "That for the
 "other pretended crimes, the present opposers
 "of Archelaus were themselves the advisers of
 "them." As to the validity of the second
 testament, he argu'd, "That it ought to stand,
 "in regard that Herod had at that time the
 "consideration and respect to refer the con-
 "firmation of it to Cesar. Now he that had
 "the judgment to know the right lord and

master, had certainly sense enough to ap-
 point the right heir.

WITH these words Nicolaus concluded his
 argument, and Archelaus then stepp'd out on a
 sudden and cast himself at Cesar's feet; who
 took him presently up again with so singular a
 grace of benignity and respect, that he gave
 to understand by it, he thought him worthy to
 succeed his father; but gave no positive deter-
 mination at that time.

THIS being done, Cesar dismiss'd the coun-
 cil for that day, and enter'd into a delibera-
 tion with his friends what was to be done in
 the case: whether to chuse any of those that
 were in the will, for a successor, or to make an
 equal partition of the principality among the
 whole family; for they were numerous, and
 it would require a great expence to maintain
 them all with honour.

And so ad-
 journs the
 court.

CHAP. II.

The death of Malthace the mother of Archelaus.

*The Jews in an uproar, &c. The feast of
 pentecost. The people come flocking up to it
 from all quarters. The manner of the Jews
 drawing up. Sabinus presses Varus for relief;
 and takes sanctuary in the tower of Phasaël.
 An assault given to the temple, and a bloody
 fight upon it. The Jews gall the Romans from
 the galleries above. The Romans set fire to
 the galleries, with a great slaughter. The sol-
 diers pillage the holy treasure. The Jews sum-
 mon the palace, and sit down before it. They
 offer Sabinus conditions, which he refuses for
 fear of a snare, &c. Judea all over in fac-
 tions and broils, &c.*

BEFORE Cesar came to any resolution
 upon the succession, Malthace the mother
 of Archelaus fell sick and dy'd. At this time
 there came letters from Varus, out of Syria,
 of a revolt among the Jews; which Varus fore-
 seeing, went up to Jerusalem upon Archelaus's
 journey to Rome, to restrain the incendiaries,
 and to keep things quiet. When he found this
 would not do, and that the multitude was still
 unruly, he quarter'd one of the three legions
 he brought out of Syria, in the city; and so
 went back again to Antioch.

Ant. b. 17. c.
 15.

The death of
 Malthace the
 mother of
 Archelaus.
 The Jews in
 an uproar.

BUT when Sabinus came afterward to Je-
 rusalem, he furnished the Jews with new mat-
 ter to work upon. For finding himself en-
 forc'd with Varus's troops, beside a band of
 his domesticks, that were all arm'd, and within
 call, to serve the turn of his violence and ava-
 rice; his design was to get the castles, and
 Herod's monies into his hands, by force and
 menace upon the governors and other officers
 that had them in charge. It was now the
 feast of pentecost, or the fiftieth day; so call'd
 from the term of the revolution after seven
 times seven days. The people gather'd toge-
 ther in prodigious numbers, not so much for
 religion, as for spite and indignation; a world
 out of Galilee, Idumea, Jericho, and the
 country beyond Jordan, with the inhabitants
 of Judea; that for number and courage were
 more considerable than the rest. They divi-
 ded into three bodies, and pitch'd their tents
 in three quarters: one upon the north of the
 temple, another upon the south, toward the
 Hippodrome; and the third to the westward

Sabinus en-
 flames the
 quarrel.

The feast of
 pentecost.
 The people
 come flocking
 up to it from
 all quarters.

The manner
 of the Jews
 drawing up.

of the palace. So that the Romans were now beset.

Sabinus presses Varus for relief, and takes sanctuary in the tower of Phasaël.

SABINUS's heart began to fail him, betwixt the courage and the number of the enemies; so that he press'd Varus, by frequent expresses, to bring him relief immediately, or all would be lost else. He took care of himself, however, and got into the tower of the castle that commanded all the rest, which took its name from Phasaël the brother of Herod, that was slain by the Parthians. Sabinus, from this tower, gave a signal to the legionaries to break in upon the enemy; but he had not the heart himself to lead on the very men that he was to command. The Romans, according to their order, made a desperate attempt upon the temple, and it came to a very bloody fight; but so long as the Jews had no help from above, either with darts or arrows, the Romans, being the better soldiers, had the advantage of them. But when the Jews afterward came to get possession of the galleries, and to gall the Romans from over head, there were abundance of them kill'd, and at the same time out of distance to take their revenge; but hand to hand they would have been much too hard for them.

An assault given to the temple, and a bloody fight upon it.

The Jews gall the Romans from the galleries above.

The Romans set fire to the galleries, with a great slaughter.

UPON this pinch the Romans set fire to the galleries, which, for the workmanship, proportions, and ornament, were every way incomparable. There were abundance of the Jews that perish'd in the fire; some cut off by the enemy upon their fall, others push'd off from the battlements, and some again, in despair, chose rather to die by the sword than by the fire, and laid violent hands upon themselves. Those that made any attempt upon the Romans from the walls, were destroy'd without any difficulty; till at last, all of them being either kill'd or scatter'd, the soldiers made a booty of the holy treasure, carrying off four * hundred talents. and leaving the remainder to Sabinus, all but what was carried away by stealth.

The soldiers pillage the holy treasure.

The Jews summon the palace, and sit down before it. They offer Sabinus conditions, which he refuses, for fear of a snare.

THIS loss of men and treasure brought on an enforcement of a more dangerous body of Jews upon the Romans than the other, both for valour and number. They summon'd the palace, and set down before it, with a menace of giving no quarter, unless they immediately quitted it, and offering Sabinus liberty to depart with his legion, and what other troops he had about him, if he thought fit, as there were a great many court-volunteers, and three thousand men of Sebaste, (the bravest fellows Herod had in his army.) These were commanded by Rufus and Gratus; Rufus an officer of the horse, and Gratus of the foot, both of them men of courage and conduct, and a considerable advantage to the parties they sided with, even in their single persons. The Jews still press'd the siege, and attempted the walls of the castle, calling out to Sabinus all the while to quit the place and be gone, without opposing himself any longer to the resolution they had taken of recovering their liberties. Sabinus would willingly have gone off, if he durst have trusted them; but their civility look'd so like a snare, that he suspected it;

Rufus and Gratus, two eminent officers.

and therefore, in the hope of relief from Varus, he stood the siege.

JUDEA was at that time all over in tumults, and pretenders of all sorts waiting for an opportunity to break in upon the government; as there were gotten together a band of two thousand veterans in Idumea, that had formerly serv'd under Herod. They were well arm'd and appointed, and had several encounters with the king's troops, particularly with Achiab, Herod's kinsman, who had often to do with them upon sallies out of wall'd towns, but in the plain field he was not able to deal with them.

Judea all over in factions and broils.

IN Sepphoris of Galilee there was one Judas, the son of Hezekias, (the famous captain of the robbers, formerly taken by Herod.) This Judas had at that time gather'd together a considerable body of men, forcing the king's magazines, and arming himself and his companions out of those stores, setting himself against all opposers, and extremely harassing the country.

The person and exploits of Judas the son of Hezekias, the great robber.

THERE was then also on the other side of the river, one Simon, formerly a domestick of Herod's. He was a man of a prodigious size and stature, a robust body, and of so exact a symmetry, that nothing could be more graceful in the proportions of one part to another. He conducted a parcel of thieves, and went up and down roving with a crown upon his head, burning and laying waste wherever he came as at Jericho; he set fire to the king's palace there, and laid several glorious buildings in ashes round about it; where, with much ease, he made himself master of a very rich booty. He was in a fair way to have gone through with his work, and made a clear country of it, if Gratus, who commanded the king's foot, had not brought his archers from Trachon, and a brave body of Sebastens, seasonably in to their relief. In short, they fought, and Simon was worsted, a great part of his foot cut off, and himself put to the rout; but as he was upon his flight across a steep bottom, Gratus gaincopp'd him, and with a blow athwart the neck and shoulders cut him down. This was the end of Simon. But there was another gang yet of the same sort of people that were gotten together about † Amathus and the borders of Jordan, which laid all the palaces in rubbish thereabouts.

Simon formerly a servant of Herod's.

THERE was also at that time a certain shepherd, whose name was ‡ Athronges, who had the confidence to set up for a king. He had a body to execute any thing, and so daring a resolution, that he feared neither danger nor death itself; so that in the strength of this impulse he would run all hazards. He had for his seconds four brothers like himself, who serv'd him for his officers, both of war and council. They had every man his troop, and with these parties he made his incursions. When he was upon any business of moment, he sat mounted on his throne, with a crown upon his head, pronouncing judgment, and giving his orders like a very king indeed. At this rate the five brothers went on for some time, spoiling the country, and destroying whatever

Athronges, shepherd, and his four brothers, men of ambition and courage.

* Four hundred Jewish talents weighed forty five thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amounted to an hundred thirty six thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds, and in gold to two thousand one hundred and ninety thousand pounds English money.

† Betharamath Jos.

‡ Antiq. lib. xvii. c. rz. al. Atharonges.

stood in their way; the Romans in the first place, and the king's troops; nay, and the Jews themselves, wherever they could make a booty of them. There was a convoy one day with corn and arms that the Romans were carrying to one of their legions. These freebooters met them by * Emmaus, and fought them; they kill'd Arius the centurion, and about forty of his best men, and they had been all lost, if Gratus with his Sebastens had not come in the nick of time to bring them off. These ravagers went on a considerable while, committing great spoil and havock; and nothing came amiss to them, either natives or strangers. But in the end, three of the brothers were taken; the eldest by Archelaus, and the two next by Gratus and Ptolemy; a fourth render'd himself to Archelaus upon conditions. This was the end of the adventure of these five men; but Judea was at this time all over-run with a pillaging plundering war.

CHAP. III.

Varus joins with the Romans against the Jews. Sepphoris burnt to the ground. Sappho taken and pillag'd. Emmaus laid in ashes. Upon the approach of Varus the Jews quit the siege in confusion. The citizens wash their hands of the sedition, and compliment Varus into the town. Near two thousand of the ringleaders crucified. Varus discharges the Arabians for their misbehaviour. The generosity of Varus towards the Idumean Jews.

Ant. lib. xvii. c. 16.

Varus joins with the Romans against the Jews.

VARUS being given to understand from Sabinus and the chief officers at Jerusalem, that the legion there was in danger to be lost, he hasten'd with all possible expedition to their succour, and so march'd with the two other legions he had under his command, and four wings of horse, to Ptolemais, ordering the king's and the prince's auxiliaries to join him there at the rendezvous. The people of Berytus brought him an enforcement of fifteen hundred men well arm'd, in his passage. Upon his coming to Ptolemais, Aretas the king of Arabia (being a bitter enemy of Herod's) join'd him with a considerable body of horse and foot. When he had drawn up his troops near Ptolemais, he sent part of his army into Galilee, under the † command of his friend Gallus, who soon after encounter'd a party, and gave them a total rout, enter'd the city of Sepphoris, burnt it to the ground, and made all the inhabitants slaves.

Sepphoris burnt to the ground.

VARUS carried his army after this into Samaria, but spar'd the city, because they had not intermeddled in the revolt. He encamped at ‡ Arus, a village belonging to Ptolemy,

which the Arabians destroy'd for no other reason, but that he was a friend to Herod. The army advanc'd next to || Sappho, a strong place, which they took, rifled and pillag'd. The Arabians carried all before them with fire and sword; ** Emmaus was abandon'd, and that they burnt by the command of Varus, in revenge for the death of Arius and his companions.

Sappho taken and pillaged.

Emmaus laid in ashes.

He advanced from hence with his army to Jerusalem, where the Jews quitted the siege upon the very sight of his approach. Some shifted away into the fields and the woods; but the citizens, on the contrary, carried it fair, and welcom'd him into the town. They had nothing to do, they said, in the sedition, but laid the blame upon others; and they were so far from joining with the mutineers, that they were as much block'd up in the town themselves as the Romans. But it was an high day, and they could not hinder people from coming into the city. Joseph the nephew of Archelaus, with Rufus and Gratus the king's generals, the Sebastens, and the Roman soldiers also in the military habit; these, in the first place, march'd all out of the town to meet him. Sabinus durst not look Varus in the face, and had stole away some time before out of the town to the sea-side. Varus in the mean time dispers'd his troops up and down all over the country, in search of the principal authors of this tumult. They took up great numbers of them, and for those sticklers that Varus found to be least malicious, he order'd them to be kept in custody, and for the rest that were more criminal, he caused near two thousand of them to be crucified.

Upon the approach of Varus the Jews quit the siege in a confusion. The citizens wash their hands of the sedition, and compliment Varus into the town.

Near two thousand of the ringleaders crucified. Varus discharges the Arabians for their misbehaviour.

VARUS had intelligence yet once again of ten thousand Jews in arms about Idumea; so that he immediately discharg'd the Arabians, and sent them home; for they did not act as men of honour and soldiers, but gave themselves wholly up to spoil and rapine, laying the country waste wherever they came, which was much against his liking. Upon the receiving of this news, he put himself at the head of his own troops, and march'd directly against the enemy; but before it came to blows, by the advice of Achiab, they surrender'd themselves, and laid down their arms. Varus was easy to the multitude, but sent the officers to answer for themselves to Cesar; some of whom Cesar pardoned; but finding some kinsmen of Herod's in the number, he proceeded against them as traitors, for taking up arms against their king. By this means Varus accommodated matters at Jerusalem, and leaving the same legion again in the city that he made use of before for their guard, he return'd to Antioch.

The generosity of Varus towards the Idumean Jews.

* Al. Ammaus.

† See Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 12.

‡ Ibid.

|| Sappho, Antiq.

** Al. Ammaus.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews petition Cesar for a free exercise of religion. Cesar calls a Council of noble men and friends, to advise upon't. The Jews and their deputies on the one hand; Archelaus and his friends on the other. A bloody invective of the Jews against Herod and his sons. Nicolaus stands up in the defence of Archelaus. Cesar bears the cause; and soon after settles the government, and sees Herod's will executed.

Ant. b. 17.
c. 11.

The Jews petition Cesar for a free exercise of their religion. Cesar calls a council of noblemen and friends to advise upon it. The Jews and their deputies on the one hand, Archelaus and his friends on the other.

WHILE this pass'd in Judea, there happen'd another dispute with the Jews at Rome, that put a further delay to the pretensions of Archelaus. There were fifty deputies, that had been sent to Rome from their principals at Jerusalem, before this confusion broke out, (and it was with Varus's license too.) Their business was to petition Cesar in the name of the rest, for a free liberty and exercise of their profession; and there were eight thousand Jews, inhabitants of Rome, who join'd with them in the request. Cesar called a council of the Roman nobility, and of his own particular friends, to meet in the temple of Apollo upon the Mount-Palatine; a structure of his own erecting, and as rich and curious as cost and ornament could make it. The council being assembled, there was a multitude of Jews and their ambassadors ranged on the one hand, and Archelaus with his friends on the other. The kindred kept themselves upon the guard, standing a part as neutrals; the envy and hatred they had for Archelaus would not suffer them to side with him, and then they were ashamed on the other hand to take part with the enemies of a prince of the blood. Among others, there was Philip the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus sent before, upon two friendly accounts; the one, that he might be within distance of assisting his brother upon occasion; the other, that in case Augustus should think fit to divide the government among the children of Herod, he himself might come in for his share.

A bloody invective of the Jews against Herod and his sons.

THE accusers were now to be heard; and the first point in question was this: "What had Herod done contrary to the law? It was then urg'd, that he never demean'd himself like a king; but on the contrary, as the most intolerable tyrant upon the face of the earth. And his cruelty did not stop neither at the profusion of innocent blood, and the violence of justice; but he made the very living with themselves dead. And he did not only tear the bodies of his subjects to pieces with torments; but stript his towns and cities of all that was choice and precious, and gave it away in ostentation to foreigners; sacrificing the very lives also of the Jews to strangers. Instead of the blessings of our ancient laws and liberties, he hath left his people nothing but beggary and iniquity in exchange; insomuch that they have suffer'd more plagues since his coming

"to the crown, than their forefathers ever felt since their deliverance from Xerxes, out of the captivity of Babylon.

"BUT the Jews have been now so wonted to slavery, that they are grown modest and patient under the yoke, even to the degree of entailing a voluntary servitude upon their posterity, in the person of Archelaus, the son of the late tyrant; whom they saluted as king immediately upon the death of his father. They mourn'd for Herod, and offer'd up their joint vows for the long and prosperous reign of his successor at the same time. And then, to put it out of doubt that he was the true son of his bloody father, he made his auspicious entrance upon the government, with the slaughter of three thousand citizens; and the better to entitle himself to the succession, this butchery was his oblation to God of three thousand victims; and all this upon a holy day, and the carcases pil'd up in the holy temple.

"WHAT wonder is it now for men that have outliv'd so many miseries, and escap'd so dangerous a rock, to own their aversion to this man, and to fall (if perish they must) like men of honour with their faces to the enemy! All that the Jews desire at the hands of the Romans, is only that Cesar will judge the wretched remainder of them so far worthy of pity, as not to expose them to the rigour of their merciless oppressors; but rather to annex Judea to Syria, and range them under the laws and rules of the Roman government. It will then be seen whether the Jews are in truth so turbulent and seditious a sort of people as they are given out to be; when they fall once into the hands of human and temperate governours. With this petition the deputies clos'd their charge.

NICOLAUS, in his reply, clear'd the kings in the first place of the crimes suggested against them, and so proceeded to a character of the very nation of the Jews; setting them forth to be a people uneasy under any government, but naturally averse to kingship; concluding his discourse with some remarks upon the relations of Archelaus, who join'd with his accusers.

Nicolaus stands up in the defence of Archelaus.

WHEN Cesar had heard both sides, he dissolv'd the court, and after some few days bestow'd upon Archelaus one half of the kingdom under the name of an Ethnarchy, and with a promise to make him king in a short time, if he found he behav'd himself so as to deserve it. The other half he divided into two tetrarchies, which he gave to two other sons of Herod: one to Philip, the other to Antipas; who had a dispute with Archelaus about the sovereignty. There fell to his share the country beyond the river, and Galilee; of two hundred * talents yearly value. But Batanea, Trachon, and Auranitis, and some part of the land of † Zeno about Jamnia: this was assign'd to Philip, and yielded a revenue of an hundred ‡ talents. There fell into Archela-

Cesar hears the cause, and soon after settles the government, and sees Herod's will executed.

* Two hundred talents (as has been before observed) weigh'd twenty two thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to sixty eight thousand four hundred and thirty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thousand pounds English money.

† Zenodorus, Ant. b. 17. c. 13.

‡ An hundred talents (as we observed before) weigh'd eleven thousand four hundred and six pounds three ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirty four thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds fifteen shillings, and in gold to five hundred forty seven thousand five hundred pounds of our money.

us's ethnarchy, Idumæa, all Judea and Samaria; * which last was eas'd of a fourth part of their tribute, as a reward for not joining in the rebellion with their neighbours. Straton's tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and † Jerusalem, were all cast into Archelaus's lot: but Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon (Greek cities) were detach'd from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. The income upon the whole, to Archelaus, amounted to four ‡ hundred talents. Cesar bestow'd upon Salome, beside what was left her by the king's will, Jamnia, Asotus, and Phasaelis: he gave her a palace also at Askalon; all which were valu'd at sixty ** talents; but her palace was subjected to the jurisdiction of the ethnarchy. When Cesar had discharg'd all Herod's legacies to his kindred, he gave to his two virgin daughters five hundred thousand pieces of minted money over and above, and marry'd them to the sons of Pheroras. But, in the end, upon the division of Herod's patrimony, Cesar made a generous distribution of a thousand †† talents more, that were bequeathed to himself; reserving only some particular things of little value, to keep by him in memory of the deceas'd.

CHAP. V.

A counterfeit Alexander. The manner of the contrivance. The method and management of the cheat. The impostor detected, and condemn'd to the galleys. The first projector put to death.

Ant. b. 17.
c. 17.

A counterfeit Alexander.

The manner of the contrivance.

The method and management of the cheat.

AT this time there started up a certain young man, by nation a Jew, and educated in Sidon, with the free man of a Roman citizen. This man took upon him to personate Alexander, whom Herod put to death; and went to Rome on purpose to set up the imposture. He had with him, for countenance and counsel, another Jew, that was perfectly well inform'd in the train and intrigues of Herod's court. This Jew gave his companion his lesson; which was, that the people employ'd by his father to put himself and Aristobulus to death, had so great a compassion for them, that they substituted two other persons in their places, and convey'd the brothers out of the way. This pass'd for current with many Jews in Crete; who furnish'd the pretender there with plentiful supplies. He went from thence to Melos; where he was receiv'd again with still more honour and bounty. Nay, and he carry'd the matter so fair too, that he took several of his friends a-

long with him to Rome. Upon his arrival at Puteoli, the Jews of the place made him magnificent presents; and Herod's friends treated him all the while as a sovereign prince. The wonderful likeness, in fine, had got him such credit, that as many as had seen Alexander would not stick to swear that this was the man. The story made such a noise in the world, that the Jews at Rome came all flocking in to see him: nay the very streets and ways were throng'd where he was to pass. In short, the delusion had so strongly possessed them, that they carry'd him up and down in a chair of state, and spar'd for nothing either of cost or respect that might fort with his pretence.

Now Cesar calling to mind the lineaments and air of Alexander's face, (whom he remember'd ever since he was before him upon Herod's accusation) he bethought himself of sending one Celadus (who knew him as well as any man) to fetch the young man to him; not but that Cesar believed him to be a cheat all along; but however, for the humour's sake, something was to be done in form. Celadus found him out; and upon the first sight of him, concluded him to be a counterfeit; but when he came to consider the coarseness of his skin, shape, and manner of address, his suspicion was confirm'd beyond all peradventure. The thing indeed that mov'd Celadus the most, was his bold way of out-facing people. Asking about Aristobulus; "He was very well," he said, but liv'd on purpose at Cyprus, to "be out of harm's way; for if they kept together, there would be more danger of mischief by a surprize". When Celadus had kept his countenance thus far, he took him aside, and told him plainly, this is all a juggle, says he; do you but discover the author of this contrivance, and Cesar will give you your own life for your pains. He promised him that he would, and so follow'd him to Cesar; where he discover'd the Jew that had put him upon it, to get money by it: and in particular, the exact sums that he had rais'd from the several cities impos'd upon by the delusion, which were more than Alexander himself could have procur'd, if he had been alive. The imposture was so comically acted, that Cesar could not but smile at it: and yet, however, in the end, he condemn'd the false Alexander to a galley, (as a service that his body was made for) and commanded the adviser to be put to death; but for the foolish people of Melos, they had pay'd dear enough for their madness, he thought, in the expence; and so that charge was their punishment.

The impostor detected, and condemn'd to the galleys.

The first projector put to death.

* See Antiq. b. 17. c. 13.

† Some read Anthedon for Jerusalem.

‡ Four hundred talents weigh'd forty five thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in silver amounted to one hundred thirty six thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds, and in gold to two millions one hundred and ninety thousand pounds English money.

** Sixty talents weigh'd six thousand eight hundred and forty three pounds nine ounces, and their value in silver amounted to twenty thousand five hundred and thirty one pounds five shillings, and in gold to three hundred twenty eight thousand and five hundred pounds English money.

†† A thousand talents weigh'd one hundred fourteen thousand and sixty two pounds and six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to three hundred and forty two thousand one hundred and eighty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to five millions four hundred and seventy five thousand pounds of our money.

C H A P. VI.

Archelaus banish'd for his oppression, and his goods seiz'd. A foreboding dream. The dream expounded and made good. Another dream of the princess Glaphyra's. Glaphyra's vision of her first husband. She tells her dream, and dies within two days.

Ant. b. 17.
c. 12.

Archelaus
banish'd for
his oppressi-
on, and his
goods seiz'd.
A foreboding
dream.

The dream
expounded.

And comes
to pass.

Another
strange dream
of the
princess Gla-
phyra.

Glaphyra had
a vision of her
first husband.

Glaphyra
tells her
dream, and
dies two days
after.

WHEN Archelaus came to be settled in his ethnarchy, he did not forget old grudges, but severely oppress'd both Jews and Samaritans; and upon an embassy from both to Cesar against him, in the ninth year of his government, he was banish'd to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and his estate confiscated.

THERE goes a story of a strange dream Archelaus had before his summons to attend Cesar. He dream'd he saw nine large full ears of corn, and oxen eating them. Upon this he apply'd himself to several of the magicians and Chaldeans to unriddle this dream: some said one thing, some another; but Simon, an Essene, gave it this interpretation. "These ears of corn, says he, are years; by oxen, is to be understood changes, and overturning of things; as the earth is overturn'd with the plough. So many years as there were ears of corn you are to reign; and after many strange revolutions, to die." Within the compass of five days after this resolution, Archelaus was call'd upon to plead his cause before Cesar.

THERE was another memorable dream also of the princess Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus the king of Cappadocia, and the wife of this Archelaus; whose first husband was Alexander, the brother of him we are now speaking of, and the son of Herod; by whom he was afterwards put to death. This princess, fater his death, marry'd Juba the king of Libya; and upon his decease went home again, and liv'd with her father in her widowhood. Archelaus the ethnarch fell so desperately in love with her at first sight, that he presently put away Mariamne, and took her to his wife. In some short time after this she went back into Judea, and had there a vision of her first husband Alexander, appearing to her.

"Audacious creature! says he, was not one husband enough for thee after me? but hast thou the face now to take a third, and this under my own roof? And which is yet worst of all, my own brother? These are injuries not to be put up, But this will not do: for I will have you again in spite of your heart." She told this dream to her friends, and dy'd within two days.

C H A P. VII.

Three sorts of Jews: Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Of the Essenes; their temperance, and opinion of marriage; their goods in common; their apparel, charity, and way of living; their scruples of conscience. Men of peace and good faith; and against all oaths. The method of entering into the society. Their way of

punishing offenders. The justest people alive. They have a veneration for antiquity. Strict observers of the sabbath. They are commonly long liv'd; and firm in the contempt of death itself. Their opinion of the soul. Some of them pretend to the spirit of prophecy. Another sort of Essenes. Of the Pharisees. Of the Sadducees. They are severe, even to one another; but inhuman to strangers.

THE estate of Archelaus being now reduced into a province, Cesar sent down Coponius, a Roman knight, with a full commission to govern it. In his days, one * Judas a Galilean stirr'd up the people to a revolt; upon a suggestion, that in owning the Romans for their masters, and in paying them tribute, they serv'd God and man both alike. Now this man was of a sect by himself, and in truth without a fellow. There are among the Jews three sects of † religion; as Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes; the last is the fairest of the three for the exercise of ‡ holiness and severity.

THESE Essenes are by nation Jews; the most united and friendly people one with another under the sun. They have the same aversion to pleasure that they have to vice, and reckon upon continence, and the command of the passions, as a virtue of the first rate. They have no great reverence for marriage; but for other people's children, that they take under their care while they are young and tender, they value them as their own flesh and blood, and train them up accordingly. They are not yet against marriage, as enemies to the race and succession of mankind; but they have an opinion that the fair sex is frail and intemperate, and hardly to be kept within the compass of fidelity to one single man.

As to the matter of wealth, and the goods of this world, they have it all in contempt, and do not so much as know what it is to be rich or poor; for it lies all in common, as a condition of the society. By this means, no man shall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich; but the whole party shall live like brethren, being all equal sharers in one common patrimony.

THEY will not suffer any oil to come upon their bodies; for if such a thing should happen, they are never quiet till they get it out again. They value themselves upon the plain simplicity of their appearance, though never so coarse; provided only that their garments be white and clean.

THEY chuse their stewards, for the receipt and management of the revenues, out of the best men they have, and leave it to their discretion to make a distribution of them to every man in proportion, according to his need.

THEY have no one certain place of abode, but disperse themselves up and down into several cities; where they are ever ready and open to entertain all comers of their own sect, and as free as if they were at home, though they never saw one another in their lives before.

THEY carry nothing about them when they travel, but arms for their security upon the

Ant. b. 17.
c. 12.

Three sorts
of Jews;
Pharisees,
Sadducees
and Essenes.

Of the
Essenes.
Their tem-
perance.

Their opini-
on of mar-
riage.

As for the
goods of this
world, they
have all in
common.

Their appa-
rel plain and
cleanly.

The extent
of their
charity.

Their way of
living.

And travel-
ling.

* In Rufinus 'tis Simon. See Antiq. b. 18. c. 1.

† See Iustus de Script. Hist. Philos. l. 3. c. 4.

‡ See Drusus de tribus Sectis Judæorum, l. 3. c. 22.

highway. They have some body or other in every city to take care of their friends, that they want neither lodging, food, garments, nor other necessities. The dress they wear resembles that of children, when they are under the charge of masters and governors.

THEY never change either their garments or their shoes, but when the one is torn, or the other worn out. They neither buy nor sell among themselves, but help one another with what they want, and what one wants the other supplies; not by the way of exchange; but the one is oblig'd to give, and the other at liberty to receive.

THEY are the strictest people in their piety of all men living. They make a conscience of speaking one word of common business before the sun rises; but they have certain traditional forms of prayer for that occasion, imploring particularly from * God, that the sun may shine upon them. After this act of devotion, they are all dismiss'd to their several tasks and employments; and when they have study'd, and wrought hard till the fifth † hour of the day, they meet again with linen cloths thrown over them, and so wash themselves all over with cold water. Upon this purification, they retire to their cells; where no mortal of any other profession is ever allow'd so much as to breathe among them. From thence they enter into a refectory, which they account little less holy than the temple itself. When they have stay'd there a while without a word speaking, the baker brings up every man his loaf, and the cook every man his plate, or mess of soup, and sets it before him. The priest then blesses the meat, and none there dares so much as touch it till the grace be over. And so after dinner, another grace again; for they never fail to give God thanks both before and after meat, as the author of the blessing. This duty being over, they quit their habits, as in some measure sacred; and so to their ordinary work again till evening. They go next to supper as before; where they sit together, guests and all, if they have any, at the same table.

THERE'S no manner of noise or disorder in those houses. They speak by turns; and this way of gravity and silence gives strangers a great veneration for them. This is the effect of a constant course of sobriety, in their moderation of eating and drinking only to suffice nature.

THEY are not allow'd to do any thing without the advice of their superiors; saving only in offices of assistance and compassion; and there they are left at liberty; for every man is free to help the virtuous, and to relieve good men in want. 'Tis true, they are not allow'd to give any thing to their relations without leave of their governors.

THEY are great masters of their passions, men of good faith, lovers of peace, and their word at least is as sacred as their oath: for they do effectually look upon the taking of an oath worse than perjury, and account of him for a liar, and a man of no credit, who cannot be believ'd without bringing in God for a witness.

THEY have a mighty reverence for the works and writings of antiquity; especially in what concerns the good either of soul or body; as in the case of remedies for diseases; the virtues of plants, metals, stones, minerals, and the like.

WHEN any man has a mind to come into the society, they do not presently admit him, but keep him out of the pale for one whole Year; admitting all of the same class to the same order of diet; giving every man also a pick-ax, a girdle, and a white garment, as aforesaid. When a man has been long enough among them to give some competent proofs of his continence and virtue, they change his course of diet, and allow him the benefit of purifying waters to wash himself: but he is not yet admitted to the table in the refectory, till he has stood a two years probation for his integrity and good manners; and upon that trial he is taken into the society: that is to say, upon this further condition, before he can be establish'd a member of the community.

He is first to bind himself by solemn excommunications and professions, to love and worship God; to do justice toward men; to wrong no creature willingly; no, nor to do it though commanded; to declare himself an enemy to all wicked men; to join with all the lovers of justice, and equity; to keep faith with all men; but with princes especially, as they are of God's appointment and his ministers. He is likewise to declare, that, if ever he comes to be advanc'd to any station above his companions, he will never abuse that power to the injury of his subjects; nor distinguish himself from his inferiors by any ornament of dress or apparel: but that he will love and embrace the truth and bring false speakers to justice. He binds himself likewise to keep his hands clear from theft and fraudulent dealing, and his soul as untainted with the desire of unjust gain: that he will not conceal from his fellow-professors any of the mysteries of his religion; nor communicate any of them to the prophane, though it should be to save his life. And then for the matter of his doctrine, that he shall deliver nothing but what he hath receiv'd; that he will endeavour to preserve the doctrine itself that he professes, the books that are written of it, and the names of those from whom he had it.

THESE protestations are made use of as a test for new comers, and as a security to engage them strictly to their duty.

UPON the taking of any man in a notorious wickedness, he is excluded the congregation; and whoever incurs that sentence, comes probably to a miserable end. For he that is ty'd up by these rites and sacraments, is not allow'd so much as to receive a bit of bread from the hand of a stranger, though his life itself were in hazard; so that men are driven to graze like beasts, till the flesh rots from the bone. In this distress, the society hath sometime had the charity and compassion to receive some of them again, when they were at the very point of death; computing that the punishment they suffer'd might in some degree atone for the offence.

* See Sam. Petitus's Var. Lect. l. 2. c. 7.

† The ancients began to reckon their hours of the day at our six in the morning, which they call'd the first, the second, the third hour of the day, &c. their fifth hour therefore must be our eleven o'clock in the morning.

The Essenes
the justest
people alive.

The esteem
they have for
their legisla-
tors.

Their de-
bates in
council.

The strictest
sort of Jews
in the obser-
vation of the
sabbath.

They live
temperately
and long.

And stand
firm to the
contempt of
torments, and
death itself.

The Essenes
opinion of
the soul.

IN the administration of justice, they are the most regular and exact people alive. They determine nothing but what is carried by a hundred voices at least; and when the judgment is once past, there's no recalling it.

NEXT to the supreme authority of God himself, they reckon that of their legislators; making it death to speak ill of them, or to blaspheme them. They ascribe great honour to their elders, and to the majority of the people; and think it very reasonable to obey the one, and to hearken to the other. When there are ten together in council, no particular person is to speak, if the other nine be against it.

THEY make it a matter of immorality to spit toward the middle of the company, or upon the right-hand.

THEY are the strictest observers of the sabbath of all sorts of Jews; for they do not only make ready their sabbath-day's meal the night before, to avoid kindling a fire on that day; but they dare not so much as remove a pot or a dish from one place to another, or ease themselves of the necessities of nature.

UPON other days, when they are press'd at any time to step aside, they take a pick-ax (as I said before) and open the ground a matter of a foot deep; when they have discharg'd themselves, they fill up the hole again, out of a superstitious scruple not to pollute the * beams of the sun with such an object. And though there be no more in it than a natural purgation, it is yet follow'd with the solemnity of a formal purification.

THE people that make profession of this manner of life, are divided into four sorts, according to their respective obligations; and the younger are reputed so much inferior to their elders, that if they do but touch one another, they are fain to purify, as if it were upon the contact of a stranger. They live to a great age; many of them to an hundred years and upwards; which I ascribe in a great measure to the simplicity of their way of feeding, and to the temperance of their manners.

THEY are firm and hardy against all dangers too, and resolute to the contempt of torments; insomuch that they account an honourable death much more desirable than life itself. We need go no further for the proof of this assertion, than to the war betwixt the Jews and the Romans. And upon several occasions, what torments did the Jews endure! as burning, breaking of bones, and all manner of pains, rather than let fall one irreverent word of their legislator, or but touch one morsel of a forbidden meat. And all this, not only without supplications and tears, or any abjection of mind, but with a cheerfulness of countenance in the very anguish of their pains; defying and triumphing over their very tormentors, and delivering up their souls with a serene constancy of courage, in the assurance of exchanging a present life for a better to come.

THEY firmly believe the mortality of the body; and that the soul, being of the same substance with the subtilest air, is incorruptible and immortal; and, by a kind of natural inclination, or attraction, shut up in the flesh as in a prison. But when it shall be freed from these corporeal bonds, as out of a long slavery, it shall cheerfully mount up to the region of

endless bliss. This opinion suits well enough with some conceits of the Greeks, who fancy a place beyond the ocean, where there's neither rain nor snow, nor raging heats, but only gentle refreshing gales; and this do they make to be the seat of the blessed souls. As for the wicked souls on the other hand, they stand condemn'd to impetuous tempests, killing frosts, and everlasting pains and groans, world without end.

THIS is much after the Grecian story of the Fortunate Islands; which are the places set apart for the entertainment of those glorious spirits they call heroes, and demi-gods: and then they have their hell too, in the description of an infernal pit, with plagues and punishments for such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus, and the like; computing all this while the soul to be immortal, from the natural disposition it hath to the love of virtue, and to the detestation of vice; for good men are made better even in this world by the hope of better things yet to come in another; beside the check that it puts to impiety and lewdness, when men shall come to consider, that though they may escape the eye and the stroke of human justice in this world, divine vengeance will yet find them out in that to come, and punish them with pains everlasting. This is the Essenes philosophy upon the subject of the soul; and we find very few, when they have once imbib'd this doctrine, that ever depart from it.

THERE are among the Essenes also, that take upon themselves to foretel things to come; building their confidence upon antient prophecies and holy writ; and not without preparatory sanctifications to fit them for the work. But be it as it will, they seldom fail in their predictions.

THERE is besides another sort of Essenes, agreeing with the former in the same meats, manners and laws; but they are yet divided upon the point of wedlock; for they look upon those that are directly against marriage, as the profest enemies of mankind: that is to say, in cutting off the succession, and so extinguishing the race. Now if all people were of the same mind, the world would quickly be at an end. But they proceed with this caution yet, that the woman must be subjected to a three years probation, and if she shall be found in a condition of health fit for child-bearing, she shall be reputed after that trial qualify'd for marriage. The women are likewise to be cover'd when they wash, as the men are; and this is enough said of the Essenes.

TO come now to the two former sects, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees: the Pharisees are, in the first place, the great doctors of the law, and the best read men in the Jewish rites and ceremonies. It is, in effect, the first article of their creed, that "Fate and God do all"; and yet that whether we do well or ill, it is much in our own power which of the two; only that destiny interposes sometimes in this or that particular. They believe the soul to be immortal, and they believe likewise a transmigration of the souls of good men into other bodies; but at the same time, that the souls of the wicked are transmitted into a state of everlasting woe.

Some of them
pretend to
the spirit of
prophecy.

Another sort
of Essenes.

Of the Pha-
risees.

* See Sam. Petrus's Var. Lect. l. 2. c. 7.

Of the Sadducees.

They are harsh even among themselves, but inhuman to strangers.

THE Sadducees, on the other hand, absolutely deny fate. "God can do no ill, they say, himself; and he leaves men at liberty to do what they list". They have good and evil before them, and they take their choice. But for reward or punishment in another world, they understand nothing of it. The Pharisees, in fine, are sociable, and live in a good intelligence one with another; but the Sadducees are harsh, and ill-natur'd even among themselves, but directly inhuman and intolerable to strangers. This is all I have to say of the philosophy of the Jews, and I shall now return to the subject of my history.

C H A P. VIII.

Augustus dies, and Tiberius succeeds him. Pilate made governor of Judea. A tumult upon conveying Cesar's ensigns into Jerusalem. Pilate summons the Jews under colour of a hearing. The generous behaviour of the Jews prevail'd with Herod to remove the ensigns. Another broil about a tax upon the holy treasure. Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius. A dangerous expression of Agrippa's to Caius, and he was kept prisoner for it till the death of Tiberius. Caius Cesar succeeds Tiberius; and advances Agrippa, to the grief of Herod and his wife. Herod, at the instance of Herodias, addresses himself to Caius for his favour. Caius checks him for't. Herod and Herodias die in Spain.

Ant. b. 17. c. 1, 2.

THE ethnarchy of Archelaus, being now reduc'd into a province, the two brethren, Herod and Philip, (call'd Antipas) continued in the command of their tetrarchies. Salome dies, and bequeaths her toparchy to the empress * Livia; together with Jamnia, and a nursery of palm-trees at Phasaelis.

Augustus dies and Tiberius succeeds him.

AUGUSTUS being now dead also, after a reign of seven and fifty years, six months, and two days, Tiberius the son of Livia succeeded to the Roman empire. Philip the tetrarch built a city in Panca, which he call'd Cesarea: it was erected at the very head of the river Jordan: and he rais'd another also in Gaulanitis; which he call'd Julias. Tiberias in Galilee, was built by Herod; and so was Julias also in Perea.

Pilate made governor of Judea. Cesar's image and ensigns convey'd secretly into Jerusalem. The people broke out into an uproar upon it.

PILATE was now governor of Judea; and being sent thither by Tiberius to take charge of his command, he secretly convey'd late one night into the city certain ensigns of Cesar's, with his image upon them. This put the Jews into so outrageous a tumult the next day, that they were all under the greatest concern imaginable, to think what would become of their liberties and religion, if their laws were trampled upon, and prophan'd at this rate; for the bringing of images into the city was a thing absolutely forbidden. This disorder in the town was quickly seconded and inflam'd by a vast confluence of people from all parts of the province. The Jews, upon this, went in a great body to Cesarea, to move Pilate for relief; and there they earnestly besought him to be tender of their laws, and to order the re-

They petition Pilate at Cesarea for relief.

moving of the images out of the city. Pilate gave no heed at all to what they said; so that the Jews threw themselves flat upon the ground round about his house, and in that posture they continued five days and five nights, without so much as moving from the place.

ON the sixth day, Pilate mounted the tribunal which was in the great court, and gave the Jews a summons, as if it had been only to receive his answer; when all on a sudden, the design being so laid, and a signal given, the Jews were immediately surrounded with armed troops, three deep, quite round about them. This was such a surprize, that the Jews might well be amaz'd at it; and in that instant Pilate declar'd that they should die every man of them, unless they receiv'd the colours into the city; and upon that word he order'd the soldiers to draw their swords. The Jews in this confusion cast themselves prostrate, one and all before them, stretch'd out their necks, and offer'd themselves to the execution; crying out with one voice, that they would rather die than see the prophanation of their laws. Pilate was so astonish'd at the daring zeal of these people in the defense of their religion, that he gave order presently to have the statues remov'd out of the city.

Pilate summons the Jews under colour of a hearing, but in truth with design to cut them all off that should oppose the receiving of the image or colours.

The generous behaviour of the Jews, prevail'd upon Pilate to remove the statues.

THIS broil was follow'd with another. The Jews have a holy treasure which they call Corban; and Pilate laid a tax upon it toward the charge of aqueducts, for the bringing in of water at the distance of three hundred * furlongs. The common people were so transported at this imposition, that they came in great numbers with loud complaints to Pilate about it, as he was upon the very tribunal. But he had the foresight to provide against a tumult, by intermixing soldiers in disguise with the multitude, to be in readiness to fall on, when ever Pilate should give the word: but with this caution however, in case of any uproar, to make use only of cudgels without drawing their swords. The people grew clamorous and unquiet; and upon that provocation, Pilate gave the soldiers the signal; who did execution according to their orders. There was a great number of Jews destroy'd; some were kill'd by blows, some were crowded and trampled to death, others perished upon the pursuit. The rabble took this rebuke for a warning, and gave over muttering; so that this severity put an end to the riot.

There followed another broil about a tax upon the Corban. The rabble affront Pilate upon the very tribunal. But by mingling soldiers with the multitude, the mischief of the invention was utterly defeated.

AGRIPPA the son of Aristobulus, who was put to death by his father Herod, went some time after to Tiberius with a complaint against Herod the tetrarch. Tiberius never minded the accusation; so that Agrippa was easy and quiet at Rome, in the condition of a private man; and made his court the mean while to persons of the first quality, and in particular to Caius the son of Germanicus. Agrippa was treating him one day with the compliment of a collation; and when he was well warm in his cups, and in the height of mirth and jollity, he stretch'd out his arm with an exclamation: "Ah, says he, how glad should I be to see Caius master of the world instead of Tiberius." This was carry'd to Tiberius by one of the company; for which

Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius, who takes no notice of it. So that Agrippa keeps his credit still, and makes his court to Caius. A dangerous expression of Agrippa to Caius, for which he was imprison'd.

* Julia, Jos.

† In the region beyond Jordan.

‡ See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. l. 2. c. 15. p. 377. Ed. Amstel.

§ Three hundred furlongs amounted to almost thirty eight English miles.

he was confin'd and kept in great misery till the death of the emperor; which happened about six months after; when he had reigned two and twenty years, six months, and three days.

Caius Cesar succeeds Tiberius in the empire. He releases Agrippa; gives him a tetrarchy, and the name of a king too. This advancement went to the envious hearts of Herod and his wife.

The emperor with a severe check, gives away his tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod and his wife die in Spain.

CAIUS CESAR, upon coming afterward to the empire, enlarged Agrippa, and gave him Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead, and the title of king too. This advancement of Agrippa went to the envious heart of Herod the tetrarch; and his wife Herodias was not wanting neither to the inflaming of his ambitious mind into the hope of the kingdom; and at this rate she twitted him. "You were lazy, says she, and might have had it for the asking, if you had but thought it worth a journey to Cesar. If Caius was prevail'd upon to make Agrippa a king, of a private man, he would never have stuck certainly at making Herod a king, of a tetrarch." Herod was now prevail'd upon by his wife to go to Caius, and Agrippa his accuser follow'd him incontinently. But so far was the emperor from gratifying his ambition, that on the contrary, he check'd him severely for his avarice, and gave away his tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod, upon this disappointment, fled with his wife into Spain, where he died in exile.

CHAP. IX.

Caius Cesar sets up for a god. His barbarous cruelties. Petronius orders Cesar's statues to be set up in the temple. Death without mercy to all opposers. Petronius marches with an army from Antioch towards Judea. The situation and description of Ptolemais. Memnon's sepulchre. The Jews petition Petronius at Ptolemais for relief; who summons them to Tiberias, and there reasons the case with them. Petronius relents; and dissolves the court once again, without coming to any resolution. He promises his mediation to Cesar; dismisses the multitude, and draws off to Antioch. Petronius writes to Cesar what had pass'd, who, in return, orders the putting of Petronius to death; but the death of Caius prevented the execution.

Ant. b. 17. c. 13. Caius Cesar sets up for a god. His bloody and merciless executions. Petronius order'd to set up Cesar's statues in the temple. Death without mercy to all refusers; and the rest to be all made slaves.

CAIUS CESAR had the blasphemous vanity, in this tide of his fortune, to set up for a god, and to assume to himself both the name and the worship. He struck off the heads of such numbers of the Roman nobility, that the very order was in a manner suppress'd, and his country disabled, by those frequent executions. And his impious cruelty did not stop here neither, but he carried it into Judea too; sending Petronius with a commission, and a charge to set up his statues in the temple, and to put every soul to the sword, that should dare to refuse them: and for the rest of the Jews to make them all slaves. But God in his mercy order'd matters otherwise. Petronius marched away in all haste from Antioch to-

ward Judea, with three legions and a considerable number of auxiliaries out of Syria. The report of this expedition was such a surprise to the Jews, that the greater part of them could not believe it; and those that did, were not in any condition to provide for a defence; but the army being now advanc'd as far as Ptolemais, they were all seiz'd with a mortal terror.

Petronius marches with a great army from Antioch towards Judea.

THIS Ptolemais is a city upon the coast of Galilee, situated on a large plain, and surrounded with mountains to the eastward at the distance of about sixty * furlongs, but belonging to Galilee; to the southward with Carmel, at about † a hundred and twenty furlongs to the north, with a very high mountain, call'd the Tyrian Ladder, at an ‡ hundred. About two furlongs ** from the town itself, there was a little river called Belus, and not far from it stands Memnon's sepulchre, bordering upon a prospect of near an hundred †† cubits over, which has somewhat in it that is very remarkable. There is the appearance of a round valley that yields a kind of a glassy sand: the ships meet and carry it off, and as fast as they fetch it away, the winds from the top of the mountains fill up the place again. It is the nature of that place to turn any thing to glass that comes into it. But the most wonderful thing of all to me is this; that after those sands are vitrify'd, 'tis but casting any part of them upon the skirts of that place, and it turns to common sand again; such is the nature and condition of the soil.

The soldiers seiz'd at Ptolemais with a panick terror. The situation and description of Ptolemais.

Memnon's sepulchre.

IN this consternation, the Jews with their wives and children went to Petronius, at Ptolemais, and there besought him as well for their country's sake, as their own, not to press the violation of their laws to the ruin of so many miserable people. The petitioners were so many and so earnest, and their case so deplorable, that Petronius was prevail'd upon to leave his army and the emperor's statues at Ptolemais; and so advancing toward Galilee, he summon'd the Jews of all sorts to attend him at Tiberias. Being come to Tiberias, he enter'd upon a discourse to them of the strength and power of the Roman army, and the menaces of Cesar; adding withal, that the Jews request was in truth but a tacit affront; for why should they take upon them to dispute those orders that all the subjects of the Roman empire beside themselves submitted to; that is to say; the placing of the emperor's statues in the temples among their other gods. This expostulation he told them, was within a little of a revolt; and next after Cesar, he himself was concern'd in the matter.

The Jews in a fright, petition Petronius at Ptolemais for relief. Petronius relents.

He summons all the Jews to Tiberias. He expostulates the matter with the Jews.

THEY had nothing to say for themselves, but that the laws and customs of their country would not allow them to set up any images whatsoever, either of God or man; or in any place whatsoever, either sacred or profane. "Well, says Petronius, and am not I to keep my master's laws as well as you are to keep yours? Or in case I should transgress them in

* Sixty furlongs amounted to seven English miles and a half, and ninety geometrical paces.

† An hundred and twenty furlongs amounted to fifteen English miles, and an hundred and eighty geometrical paces.

‡ An hundred furlongs amounted to twelve English miles and an half, and an hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

** Two furlongs amounted to an English quarter of a mile, and three geometrical paces.

†† An hundred cubits were something more than an hundred and eighty two English feet, that is sixty yards and two feet.

your favour, should not I deserve to be punish'd; neither is it Petronius that opposes you, but Cesar: for I am as much under command as you are yourselves." The whole multitude upon this, broke out into an unanimous outcry, that if they were sure to die for it, they would never yield to the violation of their laws.

WHEN the noise and confusion was a little abated; "What! says Petronius, you are resolv'd then to take up arms against Cesar? No, said they, there's not a day goes over our heads, but we offer up vows and sacrifices to God for his prosperity, and for the whole people of Rome; but if he intends to impose images upon us in the temple, he may as well massacre the whole people of the Jews; and in that case we ourselves, with our wives and children, are all ready to sacrifice our lives, and die martyrs for our laws and religion." Petronius was so divided upon this, betwixt admiration and pity, to see the invincible force of such a zeal for religion, and such a multitude of people united in the same resolution, that the meeting broke up once again without any thing done.

THE next day, and several days after, Petronius went in private from man to man, to some of the most eminent persons among them, and spoke in publick also at the same time to the common people; one while advising them as a friend, and then minding them of the insuperable courage of the Romans, and the danger of incurring Cesar's displeasure; "be-
side, says he, that I am under an absolute necessity of obeying my orders." But when he saw that nothing of this would work upon them, and that they had almost lost their feed-time to attend this controversy, having been already near fifty days about it, Petronius told them at last, that for their sakes he was resolv'd to expose himself to a desperate hazard. "I will either satisfy Cesar, says he, and save you and myself both at once; or, if nothing will serve him but extremities, I will lay down my life for you." And so he dismiss'd the multitude with a thousand vows and prayers for him, and drew off his army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From Antioch he sent immediately to Cesar, with an account of the manner of his entering into Judea: how the whole nation were join'd in one common petition; which he was afraid could not be oppos'd or deny'd, without the hazard of the whole province. "They desir'd nothing more, he said, than the maintenance of their laws against all innovations." The answer that Caius gave to this letter, was an order for the putting of Petronius to death for not executing his command. But it so fell out, that the bearers of this order were kept three whole months upon the way by contrary winds and foul weather; and in the mean time arriv'd the tidings of the death of Caius by a quicker passage, and seven and twenty days before the other.

CHAP. X.

The army declares Claudius the successor of Caius; and the consuls meet about it. Agrippa in favour both with Claudius and the senate. He sides with Claudius, and is sent upon an embassy to the senate. Agrippa, in justification of Claudius, and the army. The senate's answer

to Agrippa, and Claudius's return to the senate. A soldier stands up for the honour of Claudius. The soldiers desert, and the senate follows their example. Claudius's party had been lost if Agrippa had not prevented it. Claudius makes himself popular. He pays his vows and sacrifices in form. His royal bounties to Agrippa and Herod. The vast wealth and power of Agrippa. The walling in of Jerusalem. Agrippa reign'd three years, and dy'd at Cesarea. The family of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CAIUS being cut off by treachery, when he had reign'd three years and six months, Claudius was advanced to the government by the army which was then at Rome. The consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Sécundus, appointed, according to the resolution of the senate, three companies for the guard of the city, and so they met in the capitol; where they determin'd to oppose Claudius for the barbarities of Caius, with a design to bring the government again to an aristocracy, as it was of old, when the worthiest men were taken into the administration. It so happen'd that Agrippa came while this pass, and was invited both into the council by the senate, and into the army of Claudius, as a considerable addition to what party soever he espous'd. Now Agrippa, finding Claudius to be as good as emperor already, he went over into his interest without much difficulty, and was immediately employ'd upon an embassy to the senate; giving them to understand, that the army's setting of him up for emperor, was an absolute force upon him, and in truth, purely their act, whether he would or no: but that now, since the thing was done, he could not recede, either with honour or safety; for it would look like an undervaluing of the good will of the soldiers, to decline the dignity; as it would provoke them to a revenge, if he should seem insensible of the obligation; telling them over and above, that now he was chosen, there was no declining it; for the envy of the choice would stick by him still, even if he should lay down the sovereignty. But however, since the first point was over, and that he was in possession of the government, he had determin'd within himself to attend and execute the office; not as a tyrant to domineer at will and pleasure, but as a prince of tenderness for his people. He should content himself with the honour of the name of emperor, and in cases of state to hearken to the advice of the senate; "for, says he, if Claudius were not modest and temperate in his own nature, the exemplary fate of Caius were enough to make him so."

WHEN Agrippa had gone thus far, the senate (depending upon their credit with the army, and the prudence of their own conduct) made him this short reply; "That they were not a people to be made voluntary slaves." Agrippa carry'd this answer to Claudius, who presently sent him back again to tell the senate, "That he was not a man to betray his friends who promoted him to the empire." He was very much troubled at the thought of having a quarrel with the senate: but if it must come to a decision by arms, Claudius desir'd them only to appoint some spot of ground without the city for the place of battle; for it would be highly unreasonable and unjust to have Rome itself laid in blood and

Petronius so charm'd with the bravery of the Jews, that he dissolved the meeting without coming to any resolution. Petronius reasons the matter with the petitioners.

And promises them his mediation to Cesar. He dismisses the multitude, and so draws off to Antioch. Petronius writes Cesar word of what pass'd.

Cesar answers this letter with an order to put Petronius to death. The death of Caius prevents the execution.

Ant. b. 17. c. 14.

The army declares Claudius the successor of Caius.

The consuls set a guard upon the city, and meet in the capitol.

A change of government design'd.

Agrippa courted both by Claudius and the senate.

He espouses the interest of Claudius, and is sent immediately upon an embassy to the senate.

Agrippa in justification of Claudius and the army

Claudius a prince of tenderness and moderation.

The senate's answer to Agrippa. Claudius's return to the senate.

and ashes, only to gratify the humour of a few hot-headed people. This message Agrippa had in charge from Claudius, and he deliver'd it accordingly to the senate.

A soldier stands up for the honour of Claudius.

WHILE things were in this disposition and posture, one of the soldiers who was there present stood forth, and drawing his sword; "My fellow companions, says he, what's the matter here that we are now at daggers-drawing with the best friends we have, and upon the very brink of a civil war, only for adhering to Claudius? An emperor without a blemish, and a prince that we should rather treat with duty and respect, as our protector, than with arms as an enemy".

The soldiers desert.

And the senate follows their example

With these words he march'd off through the middle of the court, and the rest of the soldiers follow'd him. This desertion put the nobles into such a fright for fear of the consequences, that when they found opposition would not only be fruitless and insignificant, but dangerous, they very fairly did as the military men had done before them, they went and declar'd for Claudius. In this interim, divers of the officious pick-thank soldiery lay upon the watch, with their swords drawn, under the walls, to dispatch them at their coming out; and they had been kill'd every man of them, before Cesar could have known any thing of the matter, if Agrippa had not given timely notice to prevent it, telling Cesar plainly, that if he did not put a check to the licence of the army; especially toward the nobility, there would be nothing but cutting of throats in a short time, and instead of making him the master of a glorious empire, they would leave him only the prince of a desert.

The nobility had been all destroy'd, if Agrippa had not prevented it.

Claudius makes himself popular. He pays his vows and sacrifices in form. His royal bounties to Agrippa and Herod.

CLAUDIUS took Agrippa's advice, and put the soldiers in better order, treated the senators in his camp with all honour and kindness; and then went out with them according to custom, to offer vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the empire. He bestow'd upon Agrippa, not only his father's kingdom entire, but those places over and above that Augustus had confer'd upon Herod, as Trachonitis and Auranitis; with a command also that was call'd the kingdom of Lyfania, appointing the particulars of this grant to be notify'd by proclamation to the people; and giving it likewise in charge to the senate, to have it cut in tables of brass, and set up in the capitol. He gave the kingdom of Chalcis also to Herod, the brother of Agrippa, who was become his son-in-law too, by marrying Berenice his daughter.

The vast wealth and power of Agrippa.

The walling in of Jerusalem.

Agrippa reign'd three years, and dy'd at Cesarea.

AGRIPPA was now grown great in wealth and power, beyond all thought or imagination; and the treasure that he got he did not squander away neither, upon vanities or trifles. His first enterprize was the walling in of Jerusalem; and if it had been carry'd on answerable to the beginning, the Romans would never have been able to have taken it. But after a three years reign as king, he died at Cesarea, and left the work unfinished, having govern'd three years before in the quality of tetrarch. He left three daughters that he had by Cypris, Berenice, Mariamne and Drusilla, and one son, whose name was Agrippa. He was very young when his father dy'd; so that

Claudius reduc'd the kingdom into a province, and made * Cuspius Fadus governor; after whom Tiberius Alexander, who making no alteration in the laws and customs of the country, kept the people in peace. A little after this died Herod, who govern'd in Chalcis, and left by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, two sons; Berenicianus and Hyrcanus; and by Mariamne his former wife, Aristobulus. There was another brother Aristobulus also that dy'd a private man, and left a daughter whose name was Jotapa. These, as we have said before, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod. But Alexander and Aristobulus were the sons of Herod by Mariamne, whom the father himself put to death. The children of Alexander govern'd afterward in the Greater Armenia.

The family of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAP. XI.

Herod of Chalcis dies, and Agrippa succeeds him.

Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander. A beastly affront upon the Jews, and a horrible uproar upon it. Another tumult occasion'd by a robbery. A soldier tears and burns the books of Moses. The offender put to death. A quarrel betwixt the Jews of Galilee and those of Samaria. Jerusalem all in a flame about it. Cumanus marches to their relief. The rabble reason'd into their wits again. The countries infested with robbers, and complain of them to Quadratus. The rise of the tumults charged upon the Samaritans, and the consequences upon Cumanus. Quadratus goes to Jerusalem to be farther informed. Cesar gives Cumanus and the Samaritans a hearing at Rome. He passes judgment against them, and orders the execution of it. Cesar's bounties. Claudius dies, and Nero succeeds him. Nero the worst, and the weakest of princes.

AFTER the death of Herod who govern'd in Chalcis, Claudius introduc'd Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, into his uncle's kingdom; and Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander in the kingdom of Judea. During the time of his administration, the Jews fell into new and grievous troubles. The people being gathered together at Jerusalem in vast numbers to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, and a band of soldiers standing at the gate of the temple (as it was customary upon these meetings) for fear of tumults. There was one soldier among the rest that turned up his back-side naked in the face of the congregation, and made a beastly noise with it, answerable to the brutality of the action. This put the whole multitude into such a rage, that they press'd in throngs up to Cumanus for justice upon the soldier for that affront; and some hot mutinous young men, among the rest, made a direct brawl and quarrel of it; falling on with hard words and stones, and striking the soldiers. Cumanus, for fear of further mischief by a popular uproar, sent an enforcement of fresh men to support the former. This put the Jews in such a fright, that they shifted for themselves to get out of the temple as soon as they could; but the passages were so crowded and wedg'd up, that upwards of ten

Herod of Chalcis dies, and Agrippa succeeds him; and Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander.

A beastly affront upon the Jews by a soldier, at a solemn festival. A horrible uproar.

* Cestius Festus Ruf.

Ten thousand smother'd in the press.

Another tumult occasion'd by a robbery.

A soldier tears the books of Moses to pieces, and throws them in the fire.

Cumanus orders the offender to be put to death.

A quarrel betwixt the Jews of Galilee, and those of Samaria. The occasion and matter of it.

Jerusalem all in a flame about it.

The ring-leaders of these outrages, and their merciless cruelties.

Cumanus marches to their relief, and puts Eleazar to the rout.

thousand of them were trod and squeez'd to death in the press. This encounter made it a dismal festival to the whole nation: there was nothing but tears and wringing of hands in every house; and not a family but had a share in the mourning.

This calamity was scarce over, but it was immediately succeeded by another. One Stephen, a domestick of Cesar's, was travelling upon the highway, with some household-stuff of his master's. He was set upon near Bethoron, and robb'd, by a band of thieves. Cumanus sent a party to take up the people in the adjacent villages, and bring them to him bound; making them answerable for not taking the highway-men. While they were upon this enquiry, a common soldier, happening in the search to lay his hands upon the books of Moses, tore them to pieces, and threw them into the fire. This brought the Jews together in multitudes, as if their whole country had been in a flame. They all met in the same instant, as if they had been mov'd by a machine; and then in the heat of a superstitious zeal, they repair'd immediately to Cumanus at Cesarea: where they press'd him with violent importunities, not to let that wretch escape unpunish'd, that had put so audacious an affront upon God and his law. Cumanus found there was no quieting these people without some sort of satisfaction, so that he commanded the soldier to be brought out, and put to death in the sight of the multitude: and that put an end to the tumult.

There happen'd at the same time an unfortunate difference between the Jews of Galilee and those of Samaria. There was a certain Jew of Galilee, passing thro' a village call'd * Geman, in the great plain of Samaria, that was there kill'd, as he was going up to Jerusalem to worship at a solemn festival. The people of Galilee presently drew out a body to revenge themselves of the Samaritans by arms: the better sort of them applying themselves to Cumanus, and advising him by all means, before it went too far, to go over to Galilee; and upon a strict enquiry made into the matter, to see justice done upon the murderers. Cumanus, it seems, had somewhat else to do, and so dismiss'd the petitioners without entering into the cause. The story of this outrage coming soon after to Jerusalem, put the whole multitude into such a flame, that they left the solemn business of the day; and in a confusion, without either officer or order, resolv'd to fall upon Samaria, in spite of all their officers could do to restrain them. The heads, both of the robbery and the tumults, were Eleazar the son of Dineus, and Alexander; who breaking into the borders of Acrabatená, burn'd all before them, and put man, woman, and child to the sword.

CUMANUS, upon the news of this ravage, came with a Sebastene party of horse to the relief of the country; took a great many of Eleazar's followers, and cut off many more. As to the remainder of this rabble, that made such havock in Samaria, the great officers, and the leading men of Jerusalem, went out in sackcloth and ashes after them; begging of them, and using all arts and arguments to make them quit their design. "Do not de-

stroy Jerusalem, (they cry'd) to be reveng'd of Samaria. Have pity upon your country, your temple, your city, your wives; which are in truth all at stake: and do not sacrifice all that is dear to you in this world, to be reveng'd of one poor Galilean." The reasons prevail'd upon the Jews to desist from their enterprize, and be quiet.

There was about that time most notorious robbing: as peace breeds villany. The countries were all over-run with freebooters; and upon the whole matter, it was but the greater thieves robbing the less. Numidius Quadratus being then governor of Syria, several of the heads of the Samaritans address'd to him at Tyre, with a heavy complaint against the robbers that infested their country. There were divers of the Jewish nobility then present, and there was Jonathan also, the son of Ananus the high-priest. Now this Jonathan baffled all objections, with turning the blame upon the Samaritans, as the first authors of the tumult, in the death of the Galilean. He charg'd the consequences also upon Cumanus, for want of doing justice in time upon the offender.

QUADRATUS, when he had heard the cause, put off the further consideration of it till he came into Judea, where he might have a more particular information. He went after that to Cesarea, and there caused all those that Cumanus had taken alive, to be crucify'd. Thence to Lidda, where he heard the Samaritans cause once over again, and cut off the heads of eighteen principal men of the Jews, that he certainly knew were dipp'd in the tumults. As to the two high-priests, Jonathan and Ananias, with Ananus the son of Ananias, and some other Jews of the first quality, he sent them all to Cesar; beside some noble Samaritans also. He order'd Cumanus and Celer the tribune away to Rome, to answer for themselves to Claudius. Things being thus settled, he went forward from Lydda to Jerusalem; where finding the people in the middle of their festival of unleavened bread, all in peace, he went back for Antioch.

WHEN Cesar had heard at Rome what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say for themselves, (Agrippa being there too, a zealous advocate for the Jews: and Cumanus had great friends there also upon his own account) he gave sentence against the Samaritans; condemning three of the best of them to be beheaded, Cumanus to be banish'd, Celer the tribune to be sent bound to Jerusalem, and deliver'd to the Jews to see the sentence executed, his body to be drawn thro' the city, and his head to be struck off. He made Felix, the brother of Pallas, governor of Judea, Samaria, Galilee and Perea. He prefer'd Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to a greater command. He gave him also the province that had been † Philip's; which was Trachonitis, Batanea, and Gaulanitis: superadding to all these, the kingdom of Lyfania, and the tetrarchy that had been Varus's.

WHEN Claudius had reign'd thirteen years, eight months, and ‡ twenty days, he departed this life, and left the succession to Nero; whom his wife Agrippina had artificially in-

The rabble are at last reason'd into their wits again.

The countries are infested with robbers.

The Samaritans complain of them to Quadratus the governor of Syria.

Jonathan charges the rise of the tumult upon the death of the Galilean, and the consequences upon Cumanus, for not doing justice upon the murderer.

Quadratus goes his way to Cesarea; thence to Lydda, and so to Jerusalem, to be further inform'd.

Cesar gives Cumanus and the Samaritans a hearing at Rome.

He passes judgment against them, and orders the execution of the sentence.

Claudius dies, and Nero succeeds him.

* Perhaps Genaim. † Felix's. Ruf. ‡ Thirty. Ruf.

troduc'd into the government: notwithstanding that he had at that time a legitimate son, Britannicus, by his first wife Messalina; and a daughter, Octavia, whom he marry'd to Nero. He had also by * Elia Petina another daughter, called Antonia.

Nero the worst, and the weakest of princes.

No man ever made a worse use perhaps of the advantages of a great power and fortune, than Nero did; witness the washing of his hands in the blood of his brother, his wife, and his mother; and then the prosecution of that inhuman cruelty toward his nearest relations; the folly and madness of degrading himself by turning player, and subjecting the imperial dignity to the buffooneries of the stage. But these stories are so generally known already, and so little to my purpose, that I shall rather pass them over in silence, and so return to my business.

CHAP. XII.

Nero's grants and commissions. Felix defeats the robbers, and takes their captain prisoner. A new sort of cut-throats, call'd Sicarii. Jonathan the high-priest the first that fell by their hands. The city in a confusion at it. The danger of enthusiasts. A magician sets up for a prophet, and marches at the head of thirty thousand men toward Jerusalem. Felix meets him, and gives him a total overthrow. The robbers set up for absolute liberty. A tumult betwixt the Jews and the Syrians, about the city of Cesarea. The elders do all they can to pacify them. The cause at last comes to be heard before Cesar. Festus succeeds Felix.

Ant. b. 20. c. 11, 12, 13. Nero's commissions and bounties.

Felix makes war upon the robbers, defeats them, and takes their captain prisoner.

A new sort of cut-throats call'd Sicarii. Their way of conduct and execution.

TO come now to that part of Nero's history that concerns the Jews. He gave Aristobulus the son of Herod the government of the Less Armenia, and annexed four cities more to the territory of Agrippa; that is to say, Abila, and Julias in Perea; and in Galilee, Tarichee and Tiberias, with their dependences. The remainder of Judea he gave to Felix; who no sooner had his commission, but he made war upon the robbers; took Eleazar their captain, with several others, and sent them all bound to Rome; after they had harra's'd the country at pleasure for twenty years together. In fine, what with the thieves that were kept prisoners, or put to death, and the country people that join'd with them, the number of the kill'd and taken was almost incredible.

So soon as the land was well clear'd of these ruffians, there started up another sort of cut-throats, under the name of Sicarii, from Sica, the weapon they us'd. Now these people made no difficulty of doing their work even at noon-day, in the very streets of Jerusalem, and in the face of the sun, especially upon great days, when the town was croud'd with people. Their way was, to carry short daggers under their coats; and mixing with the multitude, privily to stab their enemies; and then as any man fell, none so forward as they themselves to complain of the villany. This practice went on a good while, not only without discovery, but the actors of it were not so much as suspected. The first man that fell by these

assassins was Jonathan the high-priest; after which, not a day pass'd for a good while, without several executions of the same kind. This so startled the city, that the very fear was in some respect worse than the mischief; for it was as dangerous to walk the streets, as to be in a battle. They suspected every man for an enemy at a distance; and durst not trust their friends when they came near them. And after all, this watchfulness and guard was not enough to secure them: so bold and dextrous were these bravo's in the exercise of their profession.

THERE was another sort of miscreants now, that did yet more mischief with their tongues than the other did with their weapons. 'Tis true, they spilt no blood, but they destroy'd more with their doctrines, than the other did with their daggers; and utterly corrupted the happy and the orderly state of the city. These were impostors and seducers, that under the colour of religion, set men a madding after strange opinions and innovations. They withdrew the people into woods and solitudes, upon pretence that God had a work in hand to set them at perfect liberty; and that he would reveal himself further to them by tokens from heaven, that would give them an infallible assurance of it. Felix saw manifestly what they were a doing, and found it necessary to nip the design of a rebellion in the bud; so that he sent out a body of horse and foot after these enthusiasts, and destroy'd a great number of their disciples.

THIS mischief was follow'd with that of an Egyptian pretender, that fell heavier upon the Jews than the other. This Egyptian was a magician, but pass'd for a prophet; he had inveigled at least thirty thousand men into his congregation, whom he led about by the way of the wilderness, and so to mount Olivet; proposing to march thence to Jerusalem; beat out the Roman garison, and make himself master of the place and country: with his friends and guards about him all this while to assist in the enterprize. Felix, finding it to be a growing evil, advanced up to the Egyptian with his Roman legions, and a considerable body of the Jews to join him. Felix gave him battle, and totally defeated him; the Egyptian himself, with some few of his followers, saving themselves by flight. There were great numbers of his people kill'd, others taken and put in chains, and the rest dispers'd to their own homes.

IT is with a distemper'd nation as in the case of an ill habit of body, one trouble is no sooner remov'd but another immediately succeeds it: for the magicians and the robbers were now comploting how they might set up for absolute liberty, and engage the multitude in a resolution to shake off the Roman yoke. This they attempted, both by argument and menace; threatening death without mercy for any man to own that jurisdiction: proposing to reduce those by terror, that would otherwise subject themselves to a voluntary slavery. This party dispers'd itself all over the country, plundering great mens houses, cutting of throats, and burning wherever they came; so that Judea was brought to the last extremity of desperation with dread and trou-

Jonathan the high-priest was the first that fell by these ruffians. The city in a dismal fright and confusion at it.

The danger of enthusiasts and impostors under colour of pretended revelations.

Felix defeats a body of the seducers.

A magician sets up for a prophet, and marches at the head of thirty thousand men towards Jerusalem.

Felix encounters him upon the way, and gives him a total rout.

The magicians and the robbers set up for absolute liberty.

* Agrippa in Ruf.

ble, the war growing every day more cruel than other.

An outrageous tumult betwixt the Jews and the Syrians, about the city of Cesarea.

THERE was at this time another tumult also that broke out about Cesarea, upon a quarrel that arose there betwixt the Jews and the Syrians living promiscuously together. The Jews would have it to be their city; arguing that a Jew was the founder of it, meaning king Herod. Their competitors could not deny a Jew to have been the builder of it; but insisted upon it on the other hand, that it belonged to the Gentiles; for if it were the Jews city, they would never suffer temples and statues to be erected in it. They fell into such heats upon this dispute, that they betook themselves to hostile violence; and not a day pass'd but there was mischief done, more or less, betwixt the forward men of the two parties. The elders did all that was possible to be done, by authority and advice, to quiet the Jews on the one hand, but they were wholly ungovernable; and the Greeks on the other hand, thought themselves too good to truckle to the Jews. The Jews, 'tis true, were look'd upon to have more wealth and courage, but the Greeks had a much greater interest in the soldiery: for a great part of the Roman army being drawn out of Syria, they were the readier to assist them, both as their countrymen and kindred. The magistrates and officers did all that was to be done too, by the uttermost severity of discipline to quash the tumult; as taking the incorrigible and obstinate into custody; whipping and chaining them up, and the like. But the exemplary sufferings of some wrought nothing upon the spirits of others that were more harden'd, nay, on the contrary, that which they thought would have discourag'd or over-aw'd them, made them still worse and worse.

The elders do all they can by fair means and foul, to quiet it.

FELIX at last, when he saw nothing would bring them to reason, commanded the faction away out of the city by proclamation, upon their uttermost peril. But divers staying behind in contempt of authority, the governor sent a party of soldiers in among them, that kill'd several of them and seiz'd their goods. But the sedition still continuing, the governor dispatch'd away commissioners to Nero; some of the principal men of both parties, to plead their cause before Cesar. Festus succeeded Felix, and fell very hard upon the highwaymen that were most troublesome to the province, taking and killing a great many of the thieves.

The cause comes at last to be heard before Cesar. Festus succeeds Felix.

C H A P. XIII.

Albinus succeeds Festus. A corrupt and a tyrannical governor. Albinus a lewd man, but nothing to Gessius Florus that came after him. Albinus and Florus compar'd. Cestrius Gallus governor of Syria. A heavy complaint to Gallus against Florus. Florus does what he can to make the Jews rebel. Cesar's decree in favour of the Cesarean Greeks. The rise of the Jewish war.

Ant. b. 20. c. 15, 16. Albinus succeeds Festus. A corrupt and tyrannical governor.

ALBINUS succeeded Festus; but he did not govern like his predecessor. He was a man so universally wicked, that there was no ill he boggled at: as corruption, avarice, extortion, oppression; and this in all

cases too, as well private as publick; bribery in civil causes, bribery again in personal; and the nation heavily oppress'd under the burden of arbitrary tributes. Was any man in the hand of the law for rapine and violence, either upon conviction before the present magistrate, or upon the sentence of former judges? There needed but a friend and a piece of money to set him at liberty: and no man was ever found guilty by this governor, that had but money to make him innocent, and purchase his freedom.

THERE was at this time a faction at Jerusalem, that had set their hearts upon a change of government, and those of the party that had wherewithal, compounded with Albinus before-hand to be easy to them in case of a broil. But there was a popular mixture of men also, that could not be quiet themselves, so long as the state was at peace; and these people were taken into the interest of Albinus. The heads of this mutinous medley had every one of them a troop of resolute fellows at his command, of his own complexion, while the governor himself was only the most illustrious thief of the band, with his guards about him to do execution at pleasure upon those that were not in a condition either for resistance or defence. It came to this upon the main, that the oppress'd durst not open their mouths to complain; and those that escap'd, were glad to give part of what they had for the saving of the rest; and the receivers themselves worse at last than the thieves. In fine, "there was no faith left upon the earth", and the multiplicity of tyrants was evidently the foundation of a slavery to come.

THESE were the manners, and this the character of Albinus; but Gessius Florus his successor, was such a foil to him, that the former look'd like an angel upon the comparison. Albinus indeed was false, but yet close and secret in his iniquities, which had something like modesty in it; but Gessius made an open profession of his cruelty and injustice; insomuch, that he valu'd himself upon the merit of his crime, and made it his glory to declare himself a profess'd enemy to the whole nation. He behaved himself in the province more like an executioner than a governor; for he treated the whole body of the people like common criminals, without setting any bounds, either to his rapine, or to his tyranny. He had neither pity in him, nor sense of honour; but was merciless to the miserable, and utterly void of shame, in cases so foul that impudence itself would have blush'd at. No man ever put truth out of countenance with paradox and imposture as this man did; neither did ever any man find out such artificial ways of address for the doing of mischief. The destroying of a whole nation, man by man, would not serve his turn neither, without sweeping away whole cities intire, and cutting off the neck of the common body of the people at a blow. He gave such liberty and encouragement to spoil and pillage, that it fell little short of a proclamation of allowance to all people to take what they could get, provided he might but go a share in the booty. And then for his avarice, he drain'd the province into so starving a degree of poverty, that the inhabitants left it in effect, a desert, for want of

Albinus a lewd man, but nothing to Gessius Florus that came after him. Albinus and Florus compar'd.

of bread, and transplanted themselves into foreign provinces.

Cestius Gallus
governor of
Syria.

CESTIUS GALLUS was at that time governor of Syria; and in his days there was not a Jew that durst so much as open his mouth to him in a complaint against Florus. But however, upon his coming up to Jerusalem, upon the feast of unleavened bread, the multitude, to the number of at least three hundred thousand, made their application to Gallus to take pity of a miserable people, and deliver the province out of the hands of Florus, that pest of a governor. Florus was within hearing of this outrage; but so far from being mov'd, or out of countenance at it, that he turn'd it all to ridicule. Cestius in the mean time, did what he could to pacify the people, by telling them that Florus should deal better with them for the future; and so he went back again to Antioch. Florus brought Gallus onward of his way as far as Cesarea, telling him a thousand lies as they pass'd; but, at the same time, contriving within himself the necessity of a war with the Jews, as the only way to lie undiscover'd and bring himself off. In the case of a peace, the Jews, he thought would lay hold of such an opportunity to bring the cause before Cesar, which would be dangerous; whereas if he could but once work them to a revolt, the greater mischief would take off the envy of the Iews: for which end he endeavour'd every day, all that lay in his power, to force them by degrees into a rebellion in his own defense.

A heavy com-
plaint to Gal-
lus against
Florus.

Florus does
what he can
to make the
Jews rebel.

Cesar decrees
in favour of
the Cesarean
Greeks.
The rise of
the Jewish
war.

THE Cesarean Greeks had at this time carried their cause against the Jews before Cesar, and obtained a decree in their favour; which sentence gave rise to the Jewish war. It bore date the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Agrippa, in the month* Artemisius.

C H A P. XIV.

Cesarea was the occasion of the Jewish war. The Jews affronted in their Synagogue. The bribery and perfidy of Florus. A mock sacrifice. A violent commotion. Jucundus endeavours to compose it, but in vain. The Jews remove the books of their law. They petition for relief, and are punish'd for it. Florus makes matters worse and worse. The Jews fall heavily upon him for so doing: but with the face however of a seeming respect. Florus turns them off with scorn. The barbarous proceedings of Florus. The sobriety and moderation of the Jews. Florus the worse for good advice. His bloody orders and executions. Several of the nobility whipt and crucify'd. Six hundred and thirty Jews murder'd by Florus's men in one day.

Ant. b. 20. c.
15.
The business
of Cesarea
was the occa-
sion of the
Jewish war.

THE tyranny of Florus was indeed a dangerous temptation to a rebellion: but the Jews stood firm against that provocation, and afterward it was the business of Cesarea that did the work.

THERE was a certain Greek had a house in Cesarea, close upon the place where the Jews had their synagogue. They would fain have made a purchase of this house, and treated with the master several times about it, offering him much more for it than it was worth: but so far was he from complying with their proposal, that out of pure crossness, instead of giving them more room, he fell to blocking of the way, in a manner, quite up, by crowding so many little shops into the passage, that there was hardly room left for one single body to get into the synagogue. Upon this, some of the hot young men of the Jews went out presently to the workmen, and caution'd them not to go on, at their peril. Florus countermanded that prohibition; so that the Jews had nothing more to do but to try the governor with a sum of money. Several of their principal men met about it, and among the rest, one John, a farmer of the king's customs; who contracted with Florus for eight † talents to forbid the building. They deliver'd him the money, and he promis'd all things should be done accordingly; but immediately upon the receipt of it, he went from Cesarea to Sebaste, as if it had been on purpose to leave them at liberty for an uproar: as who should say, eight talents is the price of an opportunity for you to cut one another's throats.

The Jews af-
fronted in
their syna-
gogue.

The bribery
and perfidy
of Florus.

THE next day, being the Jews sabbath, when the people were all together in the synagogue, a spiteful Cesarean set an earthen vessel just before the door, with a sacrifice of birds upon it. This contemptuous mockery put the Jews out of all government and patience, to see their laws had in derision, and the place prophand. The more moderate and considerable men of the party, were for appealing to the governors for justice and redress: but for the seditious hot-brain'd young fellows of the faction, nothing would satisfy them but ri- baldry and blows; and the Cesareans, on the other hand, were as ready for the encounter: the sacrifice of birds, being purposely design'd to draw on a quarrel. And here began the action.

A mock sa-
crifice.

A violent
commotion.

JUCUNDUS, a captain of horse, and one that was left to keep the peace, coming in just upon this nick of time, order'd the earthen vessel above-mentioned to be taken away: and then apply'd himself toward the allaying of the tumult. But the Jews finding Jucundus over-born by the Cesareans, presently took up the books of their laws, and carry'd them off to || Nabata, a province of that name, about sixty ‡ furlongs from Cesarea. Twelve of their chief men, with John the publican, went to Florus at Sebaste, with a complaint for what had pass'd, and a petition for redress; not forgetting to remind him by-the-by, (tho' very tenderly) of the eight talents. Florus caus'd them immediately to be taken up and bound, for presuming to remove their laws from Cesarea. That was the pre- tence.

Jucundus a
horse officer,
endeavours to
compose it,
but in vain.
In this diffi-
culty the
Jews remove
the books of
their law.
They petiti-
on for relief,
and are pu-
nish'd for so
doing.

* i. e. in the month of May.

† Eight Jewish talents weighed nine hundred and twelve pounds six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to two thousand seven hundred and thirty seven pounds ten shillings, and in gold to forty three thousand eight hundred pounds English money.

|| Nabata. Ruf.

‡ Sixty furlongs (as has been before observed) amounted to seven English miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces.

Florus makes
matters worse
and worse.

The Jews
outrageously
fall upon
Florus.

They offer
him however
the compli-
ment of a
seeming re-
spect.

Florus turns
them off with
scorn.

THIS action of Florus provok'd the Jews of Jerusalem to the highest degree of indignation: but they found it convenient for the present to smother their resentment. Florus, just as if it had been his proper office to blow the coals of dissention, and inflame the Jews to a quarrel, sent in Cesar's name for seventeen talents out of the treasury, and for the emperor's service. This put the Jews in such a confusion, that they run up and down the city, and to the temple, like mad-men; crying out all the way upon Cesar, Cesar, as loud as they could bawl, to be delivered from the inhuman barbarities of Florus; pursuing him with clamours, mockeries, and maledictions of all sorts: as there was one of the mutineers had gotten an alms-basket at his back, and went about the streets begging of broken meat for the poor miserable Florus, in derision of him. But all these taunts and abuses had no other effect upon him, than that they made his avarice still more spiteful, as well as more insatiable. And then instead of putting a check to the first heat of the sedition at Cesarea, and removing the causes of the tumult as he ought to have done, both by duty and contract; he takes his march with an army of horse and foot to Jerusalem, and makes the power of Rome only subservient to his private passions and lusts, either of pride, profit, or revenge; filling the hearts of the people wherever he came, with confusion and terror.

THE multitude however, after all manner of indignities cast upon them, put on the countenance still of an officious respect, in going out to receive him upon the way, and preparing to entertain him with all semblances of honour and esteem, usual in such cases. While they were in this disposition, to give him a seeming welcome into the city, Florus prevented their compliment, by sending Capito a centurion to them with fifty horse to put a stop to their journey; who deliver'd his message to them in these terms. "I am to command you," says he, in the name of Florus, to go your ways home again: and to let you understand that the man you have made so bold with, both in earnest and jest, is not to be cajoled into better opinion of you by a parcel of fair and false words. If you are in truth, as you would be thought to be, men of resolution and courage, call that man all those scandalous and reproachful names to his face, that you did behind his back; and assert that liberty by your arms, that you have made such a noise with in your clamours." What with this rebuke, and the soldiers breaking in upon the multitude, the people ran several ways in a fright, without waiting for the ceremony of saluting Florus, or of paying those offices to the soldiers that are customary in such encounters. They went, in fine, every man

to his own home; and, betwixt care and fear, pass'd the night in anxious vigilance.

FLORUS lodg'd at this time in the palace, and the next day he mounted the tribunal; the high-priest and the prime men of the city being there present. He pass'd bitter reflections upon some lewd and reviling speeches that had been thrown out against him; demanding positively that the authors of them should be found out and produc'd; threatening withal, that he would take his revenge upon those that were there upon the place, if they did not bring him the guilty. The Jews made answer, "That for the body of the people, they were for peace and quiet; and for those that lash'd out with their tongues, they implor'd a pardon from them. For it could not be imagin'd, they said, in so vast a multitude of people, but there must needs be some rash and unexperienc'd men. Neither was it possible to distinguish who were guilty, and who not: for even those that repented of what they had done, would not yet own the doing of it. And therefore they only offer'd it to Florus's consideration, whether any thing could be more for the service of the Roman empire, than to consult the safety of the people and city, by preserving them firm in their allegiance to Cesar: and whether it might not be more advisable (in case of the worst) to spare some few criminals, for the sake of a great many innocents, than to destroy so great a number of innocent men for the sake of here and there one that was guilty." This way of reasoning blew up Florus into such a rage, that he presently order'd away the soldiers to the great market in the upper town, to rifle the place, and kill all they met. When the soldiers found themselves supported in their claim to the pillage by the concurring authority of their commander; they did not only execute their order upon the places and people they were sent to, but all houses were alike to them, and all the inhabitants put to death without distinction; as well those they took upon their flight, in by-ways, and secret passages, as those they found in their houses. No booty, in short, came amiss to them. Several of the nobility, that they seiz'd and brought to Florus, were by his order whipt and crucify'd. The whole number of the slain upon that day, reckoning women and children into the account (as the very infants at the breasts of their mothers did not escape them) was six hundred and thirty. The calamity was grievous in itself, and yet worse for the very novelty of it: for it was never heard of before Florus's time, that ever any of the equestrian order were whipt like slaves and gibbeted: for tho' the persons were by extraction Jews, the dignity was yet Roman.

The barbarous proceedings of Florus.

The sobriety and moderation of the Jews.

Florus the worse for good counsel. His bloody orders and executions.

Several of the nobility whipt and crucify'd.

Six hundred and thirty Jews murder'd by Florus's men in one day.

* Seventeen talents weighed one thousand nine hundred and thirty nine pounds fifteen pennyweights, and their value in silver amounted to five thousand eight hundred and seventeen pounds three shillings and nine pence, and in gold to ninety three thousand and seventy five pounds English money.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice goes to Jerusalem to pay a vow. The manner of performing that duty. She moves Florus in favour of the Jews. The people in a rage against him. They come to themselves again; and Florus is troubled at it. He projects a new broil. Arguments for a compliance. Florus's project succeeds in a terrible destruction. He attempts the castle, and is beaten off. He retires to the palace. The communication cut off betwixt Fort Antonia and the temple. Florus gives over his design, and returns to Cesarea.

AGRIPPA was at this time gone to Alexandria, upon a visit to Alexander, whom Nero had made governor of Egypt. His sister Berenice was then at Jerusalem, and in extreme affliction for the barbarous outrages that were practis'd there; insomuch that she sent several messages to Florus by some of her horse-officers and guards, beseeching him earnestly to hold his hand, and spill no more blood. But Florus had no sense at all, either of the heinousness of the sin, or of the honour of the intercession. His heart was set upon lucre and pillage, and he look'd upon all other things (Berenice herself not excepted) with contempt and neglect. So that the soldiers did not only go on, massacring and cutting of throats, before Berenice's face; but had most certainly kill'd the queen herself, if she had not made her escape into the palace; where she lay waking all that night, with a guard to look to her, for fear of a surprize. The occasion of her coming to Jerusalem, was the paying of a vow to Almighty God; as is usual in cases of providential deliverances from sicknesses and other great dangers. It is customary for people under those circumstances to continue in prayer for thirty days before the sacrifice; abstaining from wine, and shaving the hair. Berenice was now in her diurnal course of devotion; and standing bare-foot before the tribunal, there was she interceding to Florus for the people, but without any success or respect: beside that she ran the risk of her life for the piety of the office. This was the sixteenth of the month † Artemisius.

ON the next day, the people gather'd together in the market-place (in the upper town) outrageously exclaiming against the murderers of their friends that were kill'd there the day before. But the main stress of their rage and ribaldry fell upon Florus. The great men and the high-priests were so sensible of the danger of provoking him the same way over again, that they tore their garments, and went about begging from man to man, not to talk at that rate; for the exasperating of Florus was the way to destroy them all. Upon this application, the multitude was a little more compos'd: partly out of respect to the intercessors, and partly in hope that the governor's spite was over.

FLORUS was not at all pleas'd to see things so quiet again; and therefore he bethought himself of a contrivance how to create a new broil. He sent for the high-priests and some of the chief men of the Jews to come to him, and then told them there were two companies

coming from Cesarea, and it would be a convincing evidence of the people's good affection to the government, if they would but go out, and meet them upon the way. The thing being promis'd and agreed upon, Florus gave it in charge to the centurions, that in case the Jews greeted them with any shew of compliment or respect upon their meeting, they should not pay them any manner of civility in return: and if they should express any resentment at it either in words or looks, they should betake themselves to their arms. The high-priests got the people together into the temple, and there adjur'd them by all means to go out and compliment the Romans upon the way, and to be sure to give them a friendly salute, for fear any thing should be taken amiss. There were several rash heads in the croud against it; and the rest of the multitude, while the slaughter of their friends was yet fresh in their memory, were forward enough to join in opinion with the incendiaries. While this was in agitation, in came all the priests and Levites, exposing the holy vessels and other precious ornaments of the temple: the singing men and organists with their musical instruments, addressing themselves to the people, with earnest entreaties to preserve the honour of the temple sacred, without provoking the Romans by contumelious affronts to the rifling of it. There were also divers of the high-priests with ashes upon their heads, their breasts naked, and their garments torn; applying themselves to all the men of dignity, one by one in particular, and to all together in general, with repeated importunities not to betray their country for so small a matter, to those very people that gap'd after the ruin of it. "For what, said they, will the Romans be the better for it, if you shew them the same respect now that you have done formerly? and what will the Jews now be the better either for the refusal of it? Nay, on the contrary, if you treat them with honour, and according to the forms of good manners, you will leave Florus no pretence to trouble you; and it will effectually amount to a redeeming of your country from the calamities that you have otherwise to fear. You are also to consider the disproportion betwixt the peaceable majority of the multitude, and a few scattered mutineers; and that there is all the reason in the world, that the greater part should over-rule the less." This way of discourse had such an effect upon the people, that, betwixt authority, argument, and menace, the hottest men of the faction were brought over to hear and to do reason. So soon as things were brought to this disposition, the priests and princes of the people marched out to meet the soldiers; and the multitude in very good order follow'd them. When the Jews were advanced within distance of exchanging a ceremony, they saluted the Romans with great humanity; but receiving no return, the angry part of them fell immediately to reviling Florus, as the author and contriver of all their miseries. The soldiers took the hint, and in the same instant fell upon the Jews with clubs and cudgels, put them into a confusion, and upon the pursuit, trampled great numbers of them under their horses feet; so that upon the

Berenice goes to Jerusalem to pay a vow.

The manner of performing that duty.

She mediates to Florus in favour of the Jews.

The people in an uproar raging against Florus.

They are reason'd into a better temper.

Florus troubled at it. His project for the raising of a new broil.

Arguments for a compliance.

The people brought to their senses again.

Florus's project succeeds.

A terrible
destruction.
And a dread-
ful spectacle.

Florus at-
tempts the
castle, and is
beaten off.

He retires to
the palace.

The commu-
nication cut
off betwixt
Fort Antonia
and the tem-
ple.

Florus gives
over his de-
sign, and re-
turns to Ce-
sarea.

whole, betwixt those that dy'd of blows and wounds, those that were crush'd to death in the croud, or smother'd in the gate by pressing who should get out first, and so hindring one another, there was upon the main a miserable destruction, and as frightful a spectacle; for what with bruises, maims and suffocations, the bodies were so disfigur'd, that one friend did not know the face of another, to give him decent burial. In fine, the enemy kill'd all they could come at; and the thing they principally labour'd was to get betwixt the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, being a pass that led to the castle Antonia and the temple. Florus, at the same time, made a sally out of the palace with what troops he had, upon the back of the Jews, in a prospect of forcing the castle; but upon the people's rallying and making head against him, his design fail'd him. For having now got possession of the houses, they annoy'd the Romans to such a degree with stones and darts, from the roofs, that the enemy finding no fence against that way of attack, nor any possibility of breaking through the multitudes of people that throng'd up those narrow streets, Florus was fain to retire with the remainder of his army to the palace. The Jews being now in some apprehension of Florus's returning to the assault, and of his making an attempt upon the temple by the way of the fort Antonia, they went and cut down a certain gallery of communication betwixt the fort and the temple; which was such a mortification to Florus, that finding his project hopeless, and his avarice disappointed, (for the holy treasure was all he aim'd at) he gave over the enterprize. Upon this, he confer'd with the high-priest and the senate; telling them that he was now leaving the city, and ready to assign them what garison they should think fit. Their answer was, in regard that there were to be no innovations, one company would be sufficient; provided it might not be that which the people had had a quarrel with already; for they were great sufferers by them, and lay under a prejudice. Florus chang'd the company, as they desir'd, and went back with the rest of his army to Cefarea.

CHAP. XVI.

Florus complains of the Jews to Cestius, as Cesar's enemies. Cestius is better inform'd, and advises upon it. Politianus pitch'd upon to manage the enquiry. He consults Agrippa; and they are both receiv'd with great respect. They shew Politianus what havock Florus had made; and the loyalty of the Jews to other governors. Politianus goes back to Cestius. The people press for a complaint to Nero against Florus. A healing speech of Agrippa's to the Jews. A dissuasive from sedition. The Romans are lords of the universe; as the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Macedonians, &c. Agrippa touches upon the conscience and religion of the War. The whole body of the Jews is involv'd in one common cause. Agrip-

pa brings the people to some degree of moderation.

FLORUS was no sooner come to Cefarea, but he found out new matter for the inflaming of a war, and sent it in a letter to * Cestius, wherein he charg'd the Jews with a revolt, which was so impudent a falsity, that the very crimes he imputed to the Jews, he was expressly guilty of himself. Now queen Berenice, and the principals of Jerusalem, were so just and candid in this matter, as to give Cestius the particulars of the whole truth, and a punctual account of Florus's unjust administration. Upon the receipt of this intimation, Cestius presently confer'd with the great men about him, what he had best to do. Some were for his marching with an army out of hand into Judea, and to bring the offenders to justice, if the report should be found to be true, or otherwise, to encourage them in their loyalty, if they should appear to be falsely accus'd. Now Cestius himself was rather of opinion for employing some person of honour and address beforehand, to learn out the truth of things, and then to give him a faithful information upon the whole affair. The man he pitch'd upon was † Politianus, a tribune; who meeting king Agrippa near Jamnia, in his return from Alexandria, told him whence he came, who sent him, and what was his business. There were at that time there, several high-priests of the Jews, senators, and others of the first quality, to pay their duty to the king: they had no sooner pass'd the first compliment of respect in course, but they launch'd out into a lamentable remonstrance of the miserable state they were reduc'd to by the inhumanities of Florus. Agrippa thought as they did; but it would not have stood with his dignity to blow the coal; so that he rather turn'd the invective artificially against the Jews, whom yet he pity'd in his heart; out of a desire rather to restrain and sweeten, than to exasperate their passions: for the less they might seem to suffer, the less provocation could they pretend to a revenge. They that had most to lose, and certainly most reason to desire a peace, could not but take that gentle reproach for a signal instance of the king's goodness.

THE people of Jerusalem receiv'd Agrippa and † Politianus, upon the way, sixty furlongs from the city, out of respect, to attend them up to the town; the women all the while bitterly bewailing the loss of their murder'd husbands, and the whole multitude, after their example, bursting out into tears and lamentations as by consent: some of them imploring Agrippa in generosity to take pity of the nation; and others begging of †† Politianus but to go into the city, and see what havock Florus had made there. Upon this they took him into the market-place, and shew'd him how every thing was abandon'd there and forlorn, and the houses all in rubbish. They prevail'd with ** Politianus after this, by the means of Agrippa, to take a view of the city

Florus charges the Jews to Cestius, as enemies to Cesar.

Berenice and some great men give Cestius the truth of the story.

Cestius advises upon it.

And pitches upon Politianus for the manage of the enquiry. He meets Agrippa, and tells him his business.

The people of Jerusalem receive Politianus and Agrippa, at sixty stadia from the town.

They shew Politianus what havock Florus has made up and down the city.

* This Cestius was governor of Syria.

† So in Rufinus. In the greek Νεπολιτανόν τινα πρίμπετον.

‡ Gr. Τον Νεπολιτανόν.

†† Gr. Νεπολιτανός.

** Αλ. Νεπολιτανός.

And the loyalty of the Jews to all other Roman governors.

Politianus goes back to Cestius.

The people press for a complaint to Nero against Florus. The danger of such a proceeding.

Agrippa calls an assembly.

A healing speech of Agrippa to the Jews.

as far as the pool of Siloah, and only one servant along with him; where he should see with his own eyes how obedient the Jews were to all other Romans in authority; but for the horrid cruelties of Florus, they were utterly intolerable. When he had taken a view of the city, and inform'd himself sufficiently in the loyal dispositions of the Jews, he call'd the people together, and went up to the temple; where he enter'd into a declamatory commendation of their approved fidelity to the Romans; and then, after enlarging himself in exhortations and good counsels, upon the subject of the common peace, he gave God praises and thanksgivings, with all veneration for his holy religion; in place and manner according to the law; and so went back to Cestius.

POLITIANUS had no sooner turn'd his back, but the multitude immediately address'd themselves to the king and the high-priests, pressing for leave to send ambassadors to Nero with a complaint against Florus: "For if we," said they, "should sit still, without bringing so bloody an outrage to an examination, and putting the authors of it to the test, it would look as if we ourselves were the criminals, and durst not abide the trial." It was clear on the one hand, that it would be dangerous for Agrippa to refuse them this liberty; and it had at the same time, the face of an invidious prosecution on the other, to turn loose the multitude against their governor by such an invective, under the name of an embassy: so that Agrippa, finding himself divided betwixt the bold and martial humour of the Romans, and the hazard of transporting the Jews into a tumult, call'd an assembly to meet in a great gallery, and after the placing of his sister Berenice upon a chair of state, in the Asmonean palace, which overlooks that gallery from the upper part of the town (the temple and the gallery being join'd by a bridge) he spoke to the people after this manner.

"If I found you now under any sort of disposition to make war upon the Romans, as I am at this time clearly convinc'd of the contrary, and that the greater part of your profession are men of peace and order, I should have sav'd both you and myself this trouble: for what would any application or advice of mine signify to a body of men that labour under an incurable prejudice? But in regard that some people are purely unquiet, for want of an experimental knowledge of the miseries of war; some out of a vain and inconsiderate hope of liberty, others out of avarice, for the advantage of the booty, and making profit to themselves out of a general confusion: in regard, I say, of these corruptions and mistakes, I have now thought fit to call you together; and to tell you what I think convenient to be done under your circumstances, in order to the rectifying of your errors, and to prevent the ruins of a dutiful majority by the intemperate heats of a few desperate libertines. All I desire is only your patience and silence, and to be heard without murmuring and noise, whether you approve what I say or not. As for those that are abandon'd to the spirit of disorder and confusion, and irrecoverably lost, they are still at liberty to follow their own counsels, let my opinion

be what it will. But it is to no purpose for me to speak at all, unless I may be heard by those who desire to hear me.

"I know very well that the faults of governors and the blessings of liberty, are two common topicks for men of art and passion to work upon. Now before I enter upon the disquisition of what you yourselves are, and the force you are pretending to encounter, I must, in the first place, divide two points that you confound, by making them into one. If revenge upon your oppressors (or let it be justice, if you please) be the thing that you contend for, what's the meaning of your crying up liberty at such an extravagant rate? Or, if subjection be in itself so intolerable, what's the quarrel to your governors? For let them be the best natur'd people under the cope of heaven, subjection is but subjection still; and so still as scandalous as it was before.

"TAKE things to pieces now, and consider a little, upon what ground it is that you pretend to calumniate and cavil, and in what manner you are to behave yourselves, even if your governors should be to blame. It is your interest, as well as your duty, to sweeten things with offices of tenderness and respect, and not to treat your superiors with brawls and coarse language. When you make things greater than they are, you provoke those that are over you to make things worse than they would otherwise be; and to turn that male-administration that they were half asham'd of before, into a barefac'd raging tyranny. There's nothing takes off the edge of oppression, like patience: resignation is enough to put persecution out of countenance, even let it be never so violent and unjust.

"ADMITTING that you are in truth extremely abus'd by the Roman government, will you have this to be the act presently of all the Romans; nay, and of Cesar himself too? And there's your quarrel. You cannot imagine that those governors have it in their commission to oppress you; or that Cesar himself can look east and west, and so thorough the four quarters of the world all at a time; when 'tis no easy matter for him to get a faithful account at Rome, even of what is done here. How great a madness is it then, to run the risque of so dangerous a war for trifles; and in very deed, for we know not what! Beside that matters may mend in time; for governors are neither immortal nor perpetual; but they take their turns: and it is reasonable enough to hope, and to promise ourselves, that who succeeds next to the office will be better. Now when a war is once commenc'd, 'tis neither to be discontinued nor carry'd on without miserable inconveniences. As for those that set up for liberty, let them have a care, in the first place, not to run themselves out of it; for the last slavery is always the uneasiest, and to avoid that yoke must be acknowledged a just cause of war; for he that is once a subject, and then falls off, is rather a stubborn slave, than a generous advocate of freedom.

"If any thing could have been done against the might of the Romans, why was it not done when Pompey broke in upon us? But if

The faults of government and the blessings of liberty are the common subjects for art and passion to work upon.

Whether rulers be good or bad, subjection is subjection still.

We owe a duty and respect even to the worst of governors.

A dissuative from sedition.

The b of the nians v able to port th gainst Roman

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" if your fore-fathers and the princes of those
" times, though much your superiors in men,
" money and conduct, were not able to stand
" before so inconsiderable a detachment of
" their power; with what face or sense can
" you pretend now at this time of the day, to
" bid defiance to the whole body of the empire?
" To say nothing of the obligation of an here-
" ditary allegiance of so long a continuance,
" that hath descended from your predecessors
" to their posterity.

The bravery
of the Athe-
nians was not
able to sup-
port them a-
gainst the
Romans.

" WHAT do you think of those brave and
" generous Athenians, that contested for the
" liberty of Greece, to the very extremity of
" laying their country in ashes? Those people
" that brought down the proud heart of the
" vain and insolent Xerxes; put him to flight
" at Salamis, and, having broken the whole
" power of Asia, forced him to shift for him-
" self in a cock-boat: that haughty prince that
" turn'd the sea into land, and the land into
" sea, to make room for his fleets and armies;
" that look'd as if they would have swallow'd
" Europe: and yet the nation that did all this
" are now subjects to the Romans, and the
" metropolis of Greece receives laws from
" Italy.

The Lace-
demonians.

" THE case is the same with the Lacede-
" monians too, after all their famous exploits
" at Thermopylae and Platea, and Agesilaus's
" carrying their victorious arms into the heart
" of Asia. And yet at present these heroes
" own the same masters still.

The Mace-
donians, &c.
had all the
same masters.

" To come now to the Macedonians, with
" their Philips and their Alexanders: a people
" that to this very day propose little less to
" themselves than the empire of the universe:
" has not fortune reduc'd them also to the
" same fate, and of conquerors made them
" subjects? And subjects also to the same go-
" vernors. I might reckon up a great many
" other nations now, much more considerable
" than yourselves, that in the vanity of an
" ambitious contention for liberty, have been
" forced to submit and to obey: and are you
" the only men in the world, do you think,
" that are too good to serve the sovereign lords
" of all other people? Where's your militia,
" or the arms that you depend upon? Your
" fleets to scoury the Roman seas? And where's
" your treasure to answer the expence of this
" undertaking? You fancy an Egyptian or an
" Arabian war perhaps: but you proceed alto-
" gether upon false measures, without com-
" paring the disproportion betwixt your abili-
" ty and your undertaking, and the inequali-
" ty betwixt a weak and a disorderly people,
" and the stability of a formidable empire. 'Tis
" a common thing for you to be over-run and
" surpriz'd by your next neighbours; when at
" the same time the Romans carry'd the whole
" world before them.

The power
and majesty
of Rome.

The Romans
lords of the
universe.

" NAY, and the known world would not
" content them neither; for though they were
" possess'd of the course of the Euphrates to
" the east, the Danube to the north; the Li-
" byan desert to the south, and as far as Cadiz
" to the west; nothing would serve them but
" another world beyond the ocean, and the
" carrying of their arms into Britain; which
" at that time was look'd upon as inaccessible.
" But what is it now that you pretend to all
" this while? Would you be thought richer
" than the Gauls, hardier than the Germans,

" or wiser than the Greeks? or do you take
" yourselves to be hard enough for all man-
" kind beside? Upon what ground is it that
" you are thus bold and confident against the
" Romans? It will be said perhaps, that it is
" an uneasy and an irksome thing to serve: but
" if it be so to you, what must it be to the
" Greeks? Who, over and above a large ex-
" tent of territory, are look'd upon as men of
" the noblest extraction of any people under
" the sun, and the most renown'd for valour:
" and yet these men, great and noble as they
" are, live in obedience to the Romans; and
" so do the Macedonians also; who have un-
" doubtly more right to a claim of liberty than
" you can pretend to. Or what do ye say to
" the five hundred cities of Asia, that peaceably
" submit themselves to a consul, without any
" guard or garison to over-awe them. To say
" nothing of the Heniochians, the Colchians,
" the nations about the Bosphorus, and the
" inhabitants of the coasts of Pontus, and the
" lake of Meotis; people so free in former
" times, that they never had so much as a ma-
" ster among themselves: and yet three thou-
" sand Romans were enough to keep them all
" in subjection; and forty galleys sufficient to
" preserve all those seas in peace and obedience,
" which no body durst ever venture upon be-
" fore.

" HAD the Bithynians, Cappadocians, Pam-
" phylians, Lydians and Cicilians, nothing to
" say for themselves upon the point of liberty?
" for they are at present all tributaries, and
" pay their duties, without soldiers to compel
" them. And how is it with the Thracians
" now, in a large country of seven days jour-
" ney in length, and five over, and much more
" rude, and more defensible than yours; be-
" ing almost impassable for the bitter frosts and
" deep snows there; and yet a guard of only
" two thousand Romans keeps them all in or-
" der. And then for the Illyrians, from be-
" yond the Danube as far as Dalmatia, and
" so likewise the Dacians; they are all under
" the guard only of two legions. Nay, the
" Dalmatians themselves, after so many con-
" tests for liberty, so many baffles in the at-
" tempt, and so many rallies and re-inforce-
" ments afterwards, in prosecution of the same
" design; how quiet and easy are they under
" the command of one single legion?

" BUT after all this, if any pretence what-
" soever might justify a revolt, the Gauls of
" all men living have the greatest encourage-
" ment and temptation to do it, in the very
" situation of their country. For they are na-
" turally fortify'd; on the east with the
" Alps, the Rhine on the north, the Pyre-
" nean mountains on the south, and on the
" west with the ocean. But notwithstanding
" all these advantages, three hundred and
" fifteen nations in the same interest; an in-
" exhaustible source of all good things within
" themselves both for use and commerce, not
" only for their own, but likewise for the
" common benefit of mankind; and yet we
" find these people under the Roman allegi-
" ance; and propounding no other happiness
" to themselves than in that of their masters.
" And this resignation does not arise from the
" want of courage or discipline, or from the
" want of brave examples in their ancestors;
" who had stood a dispute of eighty years for
" the

“ the maintenancé of their liberty ; but find-
 “ ing so admirable a concurrence of fortune
 “ and virtue in the actions of the Romans,
 “ the Gauls were so surpriz’d betwixt the ve-
 “ neration they had for the one, and their
 “ dread of the other, that the Romans gain’d
 “ as much upon them by their goodness as by
 “ their arms ; insomuch, that at this day, with
 “ only twelve hundred men, they secure almost
 “ as many cities in their allegiance.

“ WHAT advantage accrued to Spain from
 “ their golden mines, when they came to con-
 “ tend with the Romans for their freedom ?
 “ Or I might instance in nations more remote
 “ from Rome, both by sea and land ; as the
 “ Lusitanians and Cantabrians ; where neither
 “ valour, distance, nor situation, could war-
 “ rant them against the power of Rome ; tho’
 “ bordering upon a sea so impetuous, that it
 “ is not to be so much as nam’d, or thought
 “ of, without dread and horror. And what
 “ signify’d Hercules’s pillars, or the Pyre-
 “ nean mountains, the interposition of so ma-
 “ ny warlike nations, or any other difficulty,
 “ to the obstructing of the progress of their
 “ victorious arms ? but they were reduced as
 “ well as the rest, and one single legion serv’d
 “ for a guard upon them all.

“ I NEED not tell you that the Germans
 “ are a populous nation, and that their coun-
 “ try is of a vast extent ; the people strong,
 “ and big-limb’d, their courage answerable to
 “ their size and stature, and firm to the very
 “ contempt of death itself. But part of this
 “ you are eye-witnesses of ; for the Romans
 “ have slaves of that nation all over the earth.
 “ In their anger they are more outrageous than
 “ brutes ; and the Rhine is at this day their
 “ frontier. They have a guard of eight Ro-
 “ man legions upon them, that make slaves of
 “ as many of them as they take, and the rest
 “ seek their safety in flight, not in force of
 “ arms.

“ As for those that place so much confidence
 “ in the walls of Jerusalem, they should do
 “ well to consider the walls of Britain, where
 “ the inhabitants are surrounded by the sea,
 “ in a kind of a new world, not much inferior
 “ to the other. They have made themselves
 “ masters of this vast island too, and assigned
 “ only four legions for a guard upon it. And
 “ what shall we say of the Parthians now ? a
 “ powerful and a warlike people, that have
 “ heretofore given laws to so many great na-
 “ tions themselves. What’s the meaning of
 “ sending the flower of their nobility for hos-
 “ tages to Rome, but a tacit acknowledgment
 “ of subjection under the colour of peace ? Are
 “ we the only men in the world to make war
 “ upon the empire, when all other nations
 “ tremble under the apprehension of their arms ?

“ PRAY call to mind the fate of Carthage, a
 “ people that valu’d themselves as branches of
 “ the noble race of the Phenicians, that had
 “ the honour of the famous Hannibal for their
 “ commander. What was the end of that
 “ brave people, but to fall under the conquer-
 “ ing arms of Scipio ?

“ BUT neither the Cyrenians, of the Lace-
 “ demonian race ; nor the Marmaridans, who
 “ stretched their dominion as far as the parch’d
 “ deserts ; nor the Syrtes, so frightful to our
 “ apprehensions ; nor the Nasamonians, nor
 “ the Moors, nor the numberless multitude of
 “ the Numidians, were able to put any check
 “ to the Roman courage. They had reduced,
 “ in fine, the third part of the world to their
 “ subjection, so large that the very nations are
 “ hardly to be number’d, beginning from the
 “ Atlantick sea and the pillars of Hercules, to
 “ the Red sea, and comprizing all the Ethi-
 “ opia’s. All this they took by arms, reserv-
 “ ing over and above to themselves, a yearly
 “ tribute of corn, sufficient to maintain the
 “ people of Rome for eight months, beside o-
 “ ther duties that they pay chearfully and rea-
 “ dily, though there be but one legion in ga-
 “ rison to raise the contribution.

“ BUT here’s no need of recourse to remote
 “ examples, for proof of the uncontrollable
 “ power of Rome, when we may have instan-
 “ ces so much nearer hand. As for the pur-
 “ pose, in Egypt, a kingdom that stretches out
 “ as far as Ethiopia and Arabia-Felix, conti-
 “ guous to the Indies ; and an infinite multi-
 “ tude of people in it, beside those of Alex-
 “ andria ; and yet this mighty populous king-
 “ dom does not think much to be rated by the
 “ poll toward the service of the state, and as
 “ a tributary to the Romans ; but tamely an-
 “ swers the imposition, though not without
 “ some ground plausible enough to murmur at it.

“ How comes it now that Alexandria does
 “ not revolt too ? a strong, a large, and an
 “ opulent city, thirty * furlongs in length,
 “ and ten † in breadth ; prodigiously peopled,
 “ and fortify’d all around it, either with de-
 “ solated deserts, seas without ports, deep
 “ rivers, or boggy quagmires. But the for-
 “ tune of Rome surmounted all these difficul-
 “ ties ; for two legions in the city were e-
 “ nough to secure the ‡ peace of Egypt, and
 “ to bridle the Macedonian nobility. Now
 “ this city paid more tribute in a month than
 “ you do in a year ; and four months provi-
 “ sion in corn for the people of Rome, beside
 “ money.

“ If this be the case, what deserts do you
 “ propound to repair to for companions in
 “ your undertaking ? for all the habitual part
 “ of the world is clearly against you, and in
 “ effect Romans ; unless you flatter yourselves
 “ with hopes of assistance from your coun-
 “ try-men the Adiabenians on the other side
 “ of the Euphrates. But supposing now that
 “ they could be guilty of so gross an oversight,
 “ as to engage in a war so desperate, upon so
 “ unreasonable a ground ; the Parthians them-
 “ selves would never endure such a disrespect
 “ toward the Romans as must inevitably end
 “ in a rupture, by countenancing a war against
 “ them. So that you have no retreat left but
 “ a recourse to God’s power (in truth) against
 “ his providence ; which is most evidently seen
 “ in the advance, establishment, and protec-
 “ tion of the Roman empire.

* Thirty furlongs (as has been before observed) amounted to something more than three miles and three quarters, English measure.

† Ten furlongs amounted to an English mile and a quarter, and fifteen geometrical paces.

‡ See Casaubon’s notes upon Fl. Vopiscus, p. 250.

Agrippa reflects upon the conscience and religion of the war.

"CONSIDER again the conscience and religion of the war, even if you yourselves were the stronger of the two. How can you pretend to dispense with the violation both of God's and your own laws; or to expect a blessing from heaven in the very act of your disobedience? If you * keep the sabbath-day as strictly and religiously as you profess, and as your laws bind you to do you will most certainly be caught in the same snare over again that your predecessors were hamper'd in by Pompey heretofore: that is to say, by taking advantage of your scruples, and falling upon you on those days when you dare not so much as move a hand to defend yourselves. Now if you make no conscience of breaking the laws, in fighting one day as well another, how do you fight for the maintaining of them, and how can you look for any favour from God in the deliberate breach of his own commandments? Who ever made war but in hope of assistance either from God or man? and when both fail, what can be the consequence but a voluntary wilful slavery? If this be your resolution, what have you more to do, but to lay violent hands upon your wives and children, and to lay your glorious country in ashes? The extravagant madness of the action will be some sort of excuse for it: beside that it will save you the dishonour of falling by the hand of an enemy.

"Tis a high point of wisdom, my good friends, and, upon my word, a very necessary point, to foresee and to provide for a storm while the ship is yet in harbour; and it is as dangerous, on the other hand, to put off the consideration of it till the tempest is upon you, and then stand trembling, and at your wits end, which way to turn yourselves. As for those calamities that threaten us at unawares, and by surprize, people that fall into them are to be pity'd; for there's no preventing of evils not to be foreseen: but for men that run headlong into visible hazards, they fall not only unlamented, but with infamy also and scandal.

"Your way of proceeding in this affair would almost persuade any person of common sense and reason, that you are already agreed upon terms with the Romans, how they are to behave themselves in case of gaining their point: that is to say, with tenderness and moderation, and not according to the practice of other nations, with fire and sword; burning your cities, extirpating your whole race, and destroying every man of you, upon the pursuit, that shall outlive the fury of the battle: for which way can you fly, but into the very mouths of your enemies; who are either the subjects of Rome already, or such as live in fear of being quickly made so?

"AND you are not to flatter yourselves that this calamity will stop here neither; but all the Jews upon the face of the earth are to expect your fate, and the whole universe will join as one man, to the punishing of this rebellion. You will remember what I tell you now, when you shall see the streets

run blood, to gratify the impetuous violence of a few turbulent and hot headed counsellors. And the Romans are not to be blam'd at last, for doing only that which you yourselves have forc'd them to; and you are then to consider, on the other side, in case they should spare you, what an impiety you have to answer for, in the abuse of so much humanity and good nature.

"OR if you have no longer any sense now of natural tenderness for your wives and children, have at least some compassion for your capital city, and the sacred walls of it; have mercy even upon the temple, your law, and the sanctuary, which you yourselves are now about to destroy with your own hands; for you are never to hope for mercy again from the Romans, after so ungrateful an abuse of the indulgences you have formerly received from them.

"BUT to conclude, I do here call God and his holy angels, and our whole country, and all that is sacred, to witness; that for my own part, I have done whatever in me lay toward your preservation. If you will do as you ought to do, and follow my counsel, you may yet live in peace: but if you go on in this desperate way of tumult and outrage, I will have no more to do with you."

"THIS discourse of Agrippa was seconded so effectually with the tears of his sister Berenice, who was there present, that they both wept, and the people abated somewhat of their violence, and fell to muttering one with another, that their quarrel was not to the Romans, but to Florus, for the indignities he had put upon them. "And yet, says Agrippa, you do the very same things that the profess'd enemies of Rome would do. Have you not broken down the Antonian galleries; and do you not refuse Cesar his tribute? Now if you would remove all pretence of jealousy, you have no more to do then, without any farther delay, but to pay the one, and to rebuild the other; for this is none either of Florus's fort or tribute."

"THE people seem'd now to be argued into reason, and very orderly waited upon the king and Berenice up to the temple; where they apply'd themselves immediately to the re-edifying of the galleries, and at the same time sent their agents and officers up and down the province to collect the tribute that was unpaid; and the whole arrear, being the just sum of forty talents, was in a short time pay'd in.

"THE violent rage of the tumult being somewhat abated, Agrippa advis'd the multitude to submit to Florus for the present, till Cesar should send them another governor. This put the people in such a flame, that they did not only give him insolent reviling language, but pelted him with stones, and drove him out of the city. The king was sensible of the contempt, to the highest degree; and finding the rabble so insufferably bold and ungovernable, he sent several men of quality to Florus at Cesarea, to make such choice out of them as he thought fit, to serve as collectors for the whole province; and so Agrippa departed into his own kingdom.

Agrippa brings the people in some measure to their wits again.

The cause of the Jews is one common cause.

* See Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 3. c. 18, 19.

† Forty Jewish talents weighed four thousand five hundred sixty two pounds and six ounces, and their value in silver amounted to thirteen thousand six hundred eighty seven pounds and ten shillings, and in gold to two hundred and nineteen thousand pounds English money.

C H A P. XVII.

Massada surpriz'd, and the garison put to the sword. The Jews reject the Romans customary sacrifices. Eleazar the head of the faction, and this refusal the ground of the war. Men of the best quality are for moderate counsels. The impiety of the prohibition. An affront to Cesar himself. Precedents and reports in favour of the practices. They apply themselves to Florus and Agrippa for relief. Agrippa sends troops to Jerusalem. A war begun in the city. A very great slaughter. The festival Xylophoria. The king's troops worsted. The faction quits the upper town, and lays all in ashes. Men of the best quality creep into sinks and vaults. Antonia taken by assault. Manabem heads the Jerusalem rebels. A notable stratagem defeated. The king's people get leave to depart.

Massada surpriz'd, and the garison put to the sword.

The Jews reject the Romans customary sacrifices. Eleazar the head of the faction; and this refusal the ground of the war.

Men of the best quality are for moderate counsels.

The impiety and injustice of the prohibition.

SOON after this, there was a strong party of the rebellious faction gotten by stealth into Massada, a Roman garison; where they surpriz'd the soldiers, put all the Romans to the sword, and placed a guard of their own people in their places.

THERE happen'd at the same time another disorder also, in the temple at Jerusalem. One Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high-priest, a desperate daring young man, and a military officer then in command, press'd some of his friends among the priests, not to receive any offering or sacrifice but from the nation of the Jews. Now this was the very ground and foundation of a war with the Romans: for upon this instance of Eleazar's, Cesar's sacrifices came to be rejected, that were offered up in course for the welfare of the people of Rome. The high-priests, and the men of the best quality, declared themselves extremely unsatisfy'd with the novelty of that prohibition; and with great importunities desir'd the continuance of so pious a custom as the offering up of prayers for princes and governors: but the mutineers were stiff and inexorable, depending upon the strength of their numbers; for all that were for innovations were on their side, Eleazar being look'd upon more particularly as the head of the sedition; a person (as I said before) of courage, and in command. This occasion brought together the princes, the high-priests, and the Pharisees of the first quality, to advise what was best to be done upon the present juncture: for they saw manifestly the mortal consequences that threaten'd the city by this tumult. They debated the point, and came to this resolution; to try what they were able to do toward pacifying the minds of the people. In order to this experiment they call'd the people together in a body, before the brazen gate, (as they call'd it) on the inside of the temple to the eastward: and there they began their discourse, with reflections upon the rashness of the enterprize, and of involving their country in so destructive a war. From thence they proceeded to the unreasonable ground of the dispute, and the injustice of the cause: for so far were their predecessors, they said, from prohibiting or refusing oblations from strangers, (which would have been a very wicked thing) that they were, in some sort, a part of their worship: their presents, as appears to this very day, being preserved in the temple as ornaments, and in honour to the memory of the presenters.

BUT to be now provoking the Romans to a dangerous war, and to the scandal, if not the ruin, of Jerusalem itself, by setting up new methods of religion (for this impious interdiction, to the excluding of all sorts of people but Jews, from offering up prayers and oblations to God in his holy temple, imports no less:) this had the face, they said, of so extravagant an imposition, that the very inhumanity of it were not to be excus'd, even in the case of any private person: but to make it general, and to carry it to the whole people of Rome, and effectually, to the excommunicating of Cesar himself, the affront must needs be unpardonable. But what if this contempt should be turn'd upon us now, and we, that refuse to offer up prayers and oblations for other people, should not be allowed the liberty hereafter of worshipping for ourselves, when the city shall be left without all manner of discipline; all this we are to expect unless we repent, and make satisfaction, before Cesar comes to the knowledge of the uncharitable and foolish things we have been guilty of already.

An affront to Cesar himself

WITH these words several of the best read men they had in the Jewish rites and laws, stood forth with precedents and reports of the practices of former times, upon the point in question; who did all agree and declare, that their ancestors never refused the receiving of oblations from strangers. But the innovators, whose business was war, not peace, gave no heed to what they said; neither did the Levites so much as shew themselves at the altar, being wholly intent upon the war.

Precedents and reports in favour of the practice.

WHEN the men of quality found that their authority had no influence over the multitude, but that the sedition grew stronger every day than other, being sensible that themselves were likeliest to fall first under the lash of the Romans, they laid their heads together, and agreed upon sending deputies with instructions to make things easier to them; some to Florus, among whom Simon, the son of Ananias, was chief; others to Agrippa, the principals being Saul, Antipas, and Costobarus; which last was a kinsman of Agrippa's. Their business was to solicit them both, to come with some troops to Jerusalem to crush the rebellion in time.

They apply themselves to Florus and Agrippa for succour.

THIS was the best news in the world to Florus, who long'd for nothing more than an opportunity to inflame the war, how calamitous soever in itself; as appear'd by the delay of his answer to the deputies, on purpose to give the rebels opportunity to gather to a head. But Agrippa, who was for the common good, had a mind to save both parties the best he could, the guilty as well as the innocent; and by that means to secure the Jews to the Romans, and Judea and Jerusalem to the Jews. Besides, he was well appriz'd how much his own interest was at stake too; whereupon he sent two thousand auxiliary horse; that is to say, from Auranitis, Batanea and Trachonitis; with Darius at the head of them, and Philip the son of Joachim their general.

Agrippa sends troops to Jerusalem.

THE princes of the people, with the high-priests, and all that were for peace, received these deputies into the upper town; the lower part, and the temple, being already in the hands of the faction. They began a skirmish with darts and stones, and so proceeded to bows and arrows on both sides, without intermission: and sometimes upon sallies and excursions,

A war begun in the city.

curfions, they fought also hand to hand. The rebels seem'd to be the more daring; but the king's men were better skill'd in the arts of war. The thing they principally press'd, was the forcing of the sacrilegious faction out of the temple: while Eleazar and his complices labour'd as hard on the other side to make themselves masters of the upper town. The dispute lasted seven days, without any manner of advance on either hand, but with great slaughter on both sides.

A very great slaughter. The festival of Xyphoria.

The king's troops worsted. The faction quits the upper town, and lays all in ashes.

THE festival of Xyphoria (as they call it) now drawing on, which had the name from the custom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep * fire all the year long, they excluded the rebels from their worship. But while a party of the Jews were abroad upon this office, a band of cut-throats (known by the name of Sicarii, from the privy daggers they wore) fell in among these people; and so improv'd the advantage, that the king's troops being overborn, both with hardiness and number, quitted the upper town, and the faction immediately took possession of it. They broke after this, into the house of Ananias the high-priest, and burnt the palace of Agrippa and Berenice to ashes: proposing in the next place, to set fire to the offices of record, and to destroy both together, that creditors might have nothing to shew for their money: not doubting by this contrivance to draw over all the meanest part of the people, and debtors into their interest; and so to turn the quarrel into a direct war of the poor against the rich, under the colour of asserting their liberties. The keepers, in fine, that had these papers and securities in charge, abandon'd their trust, and shifted away for themselves; and both records and offices were all burnt. After this main to the strength and credit of the city, they apply'd themselves more particularly to the prosecution of the war.

Men of the best quality creep into sinks and vaults.

IN this deplorable confusion, several of the nobility and high-priests were forced to fly for their safety into common sewers and vaults; others got into the upper palace among the king's troops, bolting the doors after them, and making good the passage: Ananias the high-priest, Hezekias his brother, and Agrippa's deputies being of the number.

Antonia taken by assault.

THE faction contented themselves for the present with the victory they had gotten, and the mischief they had done; and so lay still a while and paus'd upon it. But the day following being the fifteenth of the month † Lous, they attack'd the castle of Antonia; and after two days they carry'd it by assault, cut the whole garison to pieces, and burnt the place; passing from thence to the palace, where Agrippa's troops had taken sanctuary, they divided themselves into four bodies, and attempted the undermining of the walls; but the defendants were fain to keep close, as not being strong enough to venture a sally. The aggressors all this while ply'd their works, and

several of the faction, as well as the Sicarii, perish'd under the walls. In short, they fought day and night without respite: the faction, in hope of making the defendants desperate by starving them; and the defendants propounding to tire out the faction with the fatigue of a continual duty.

THERE was among these people, one Manahem, the son of Judas of Galilee, a crafty man, and an artificial orator: this was he that formerly upbraided the Jews, under Cyrenius, for professing to worship one God, and yet at the same time owning the Romans for their masters. This Manahem had a design upon Herod's arsenal at Massada; so he inveigled several men of quality into his party; took them along with him, and forc'd the place; arm'd a company of vagabonds and scoundrel fellows out of it; and, attended with them for his guard, he marched directly, like a little king, to Jerusalem; set up for the head of the mutineers, and accordingly gave his orders in form, for the carrying on the siege of the palace.

Manahem heads the Jerusalem rebels.

THE thing they most wanted was machines; for there was no working at the foot of the wall, within view of an enemy over their heads, to gall them from above: so that they began to break ground at a distance, and carry'd on a cover'd way to the foot of one of the towers, which they undermin'd at the foundation, and then propp'd it up with timbers to support the weight. When they had finish'd the work, they set fire to those timbers, and so withdrew: and those pillars being consum'd, the turret fell to the ground. But the king's troops were aware it seems of this stratagem, and ran up another wall immediately, behind the turret, to make the place good. This discovery, upon the fall of one of the towers, and when they reckon'd their work as good as done too, put the besiegers into the greatest astonishment and confusion imaginable. But yet, for all this, the king's people in the palace sent to Manahem, and the other leaders of the rebellion that were with him, for leave to depart: which was presently granted; but only to the king's people, and others of his religion, who forthwith went their way.

A notable stratagem defeated.

The king's people get leave to depart.

THIS put the Romans who stay'd behind, quite out of heart, for they were neither able to deal with so vast a number, neither could they in honour descend to treat with rebels; beside the hazard of lying at the mercy of men, who had neither honour nor faith. In this extremity they quitted the camp as not defensible, and betook themselves to the king's forts; as Hippon, Phasaël, and Mariamne. Manahem's people immediately breaking in as fast as the soldiers quitted, killing all they could lay their hands on, stripping the places of all the furniture, and, in the conclusion, burning the camp. This action bore date the sixth of the month † Gorpheus.

* Viz. The holy fire upon the altar, which originally descending from heaven, was to be religiously preserv'd, and not suffer'd to go out, according to the precept given in Lev. vi. 12, 13. "And the fire upon the altar shall be burning in it, it shall not be put out, &c. The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar, it shall never go out." Which the Jews tell us, never once happened from the times of Moses, till the sacking of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, who amongst other prophanations of the temple, also put out this fire. Whoever has a mind to have any farther information herein may consult Cuneus de Rep. Heb. 2. c. 12. and Doughtey's Analec'ta sacra p. 79, 80, 81, of the second Amsterdam edition.

† i. e. August. ‡ i. e. September.

C H A P. XVIII.

The death of Ananias and Hezekiah. Manahem, a mean scandalous wretch, sets up for a prince. He is assaulted in the temple. The seizure and death of Manahem. The two parties but two factions one against the other. Metilius a Roman general treats upon terms with Eleazar. The agreement ratify'd upon oath and articles. The barbarous perfidy of Eleazar. The prologue to the ruin of the Jews. A sabbath-day's execution.

The death of Ananias and Hezekiah.

ON the day following, Ananias the high-priest was taken up out of one of the links about the court, where he had hid himself, and his brother Hezekiah with him; and both put to death by some of the Sicarii. The faction set strict guards also about the forts; in so much that none of the soldiers could make their escapes. Now, what with the ravaging of so many fortify'd places, and the death of Ananias the high-priest, Manahem was puff'd up into so vain and over-weaning a conceit of himself, that he became the most inhuman and insupportable tyrant upon the face of the earth; as if no man living had the spirit of government but himself. These outrageous insolencies gave occasion to Eleazar, and some few of his confidants, to enter into a discourse one with another upon this subject. "It is insufferable, (says one of them) that any man who has lifted up his hand against the Romans in vindication of his liberty, should betray that liberty again to a private man; and truckle to such a master too, as even, if he were not unqualify'd for government by his cruelty, were yet a scandal to the function by the very meanness of his extraction. If there be an absolute necessity of setting up one man above all the rest, Manahem certainly of all men living is not to be chosen." Having form'd this resolution

Manahem, a mean scandalous wretch, sets up for a prince. He is assaulted in the temple.

they went together up into the temple, where they found Manahem attending his devotions, in the pomp of a prince, both for his dress and train, in his royal robes, with his armed guards about him. While he was priding himself there in the ostentation of his glory, some of Eleazar's people made a violent assault upon his person; which set the people presently a stoning him, upon a fancy that all tumults would cease if he were but dispatch'd. His guards made a shew of some slight resistance, till they saw that the whole multitude were against him: and then every man shifted away the best he could. They kill'd as many as they could take, and after that hunted the rest out of their skulking holes. Some few got privately into Maslada; as Eleazar the son of Jairus for one, who was Manahem's near kinsman: who afterwards exercised a tyrannical government in that place. As for Manahem himself, he was taken pitifully lurking in a place call'd Ophlas; dragg'd out of his hiding-ghole, expos'd, miserably tortur'd, and

The seizure and death of Manahem.

then put to death. His deputies and assistants were serv'd likewise after the same manner, and amongst the rest Absalom, who was the chief promoter of the tyranny.

THE people struck in all this while with the opposers of Manahem; fancying to themselves (as I have said already) that this would be a ready way to the working of an accommodation; whereas that party, in truth, was only an anti-faction to Manahem, that were setting up for themselves; not so much designing to suppress one tyranny, as to erect another. The multitude were at this time very earnest with the commanding men of the faction not to bear so hard upon the Romans, but rather to raise the siege and let them go; but the more they press'd it on the one side, the more were they against it on the other. When Metilius the Roman general, and the people about him had done all that was to be done for the defence of the place, and were now brought to the last extremity, they offer'd to capitulate with Eleazar, and to deliver it up with all that was in it, upon condition only of quarter for their lives. The terms were readily accepted, and Gorion the son of Nicodemus, Ananias the son of Saddaca, and Judas the son of Jonathas, were all three employ'd to ratify the treaty upon oath, and so to sign and seal the articles. So soon as the agreement was confirm'd, and the formalities over, Metilius drew off his soldiers without any manner of trouble or interruption, or the least suspicion of any; so long as the Romans were under their arms. But when, according to oath and compact, they came to deliver up their swords and shields, Eleazar's guards broke in upon them, seiz'd them, and barbarously assassinated them, without either resistance or supplication on the Romans part, or so much as any other reproach in their mouths than the bare syllables of oaths and articles. Metilius at last was the only man that escap'd with his life, and the only man that begg'd it too; which was however granted him upon a promise of judaizing, and submitting to be circumcised.

The two parties but two factions one against the other.

Metilius a Roman general, treats upon terms with Eleazar.

The treaty ratify'd upon oath and articles.

The barbarous perfidy of Eleazar.

THIS outrage was no mortal blow yet to the Romans; for what signify'd the loss of so many troops out of the vast armies they were masters of? But it was evidently a prologue to the destruction of the Jews. For here was in sight a war inevitable, on a just ground too, and a city (the principal in the quarrel) so polluted with perfidy and rebellion, that even if it should escape the vengeance of the Romans, divine justice would most certainly find it out. Never so mournful, so universally sad, and so despairing a face of things; and the innocent so involv'd in the dread of the common fate, as if they themselves were to be answerable for the guilty: and the butchery was so much the more afflicting and grievous, for being executed on a sabbath-day; upon which day we are not allow'd to do any work whatsoever, let it be never so holy.

The prologue to the ruin of the Jews.

A sabbath-day's execution.

C H A P. XIX.

Twenty thousand Jews massacred at Cesarea in one day. Florus sends others in chains to the galleys. A miserable ravage made in Syria and thereabouts. The deplorable state of Syria. Jews against Jews. Thirteen thousand Jews put to death at Scythopolis. Simon's exploits: a man of force and courage. Simon's confession and recantation. He puts his father, mother, wife and children to death with his own hand; and finally himself, rather than submit to the enemy.

Twenty thousands Jews massacred at Cesarea, on the very day and hour above. Florus sends others in chains to the galleys. Miserable havoc made in Syria and thereabouts.

The deplorable state of Syria.

Mere avarice makes people hard and cruel.

Jews against Jews.

UPON the very same day and hour, as divine providence would have it, there was a massacre of the Jews at Cesarea, to the number of above twenty thousand in one day; insomuch, that not a Jew was left in the town: for Florus pick'd up those few that fled, and sent them in chains to the galleys. This butchery made the whole nation run distracted; so the Jews divided into several bodies, and dispers'd themselves. They began with some villages of Syria, and then laid waste several of the bordering cities: as Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Gerassa, Pella and Scythopolis. After this, they brake in upon Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis; laying some places in rubbish, and burning others; and so they advanced to the Tyrian Cedasa, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Cesarea. They over-run Sebaste also and Ascalon, without any opposition: and when they had reduced these places to ashes, they destroy'd Anthedon and Gaza; they rifled also, and laid waste several villages upon the frontiers, and put to death as many of the men as they could catch. The Syrians, on the other hand, made their reprisals upon the Jews, not only in the vast numbers of them that were put to the sword, but the persecution extended to the very inhabitants of their cities. And they did this partly out of an inveterate hatred they bare them, and in part by way of prevention, in the weakening of an enemy. The state of Syria, was at this time most deplorable; for every city had effectually two armies in it, and no way to preserve either of them, but by destroying the other. The days were spent actually in blood-shed, and the visionary fears of worse, made the nights yet more uneasy. The Syrians pretence was only to remove the Jews; but then they were so divided about others, whom they only suspected to be Jewish, that as they thought it hard to put them to death upon a jealousy; so they were afraid to let them alone on the other hand, for fear they should be Jews.

THERE were some again that, of moderate and good-natur'd men before, were now become hard and cruel, out of mere avarice, and the hope of lucre; for they rifled all they kill'd, and had the booty for their pains, as the reward for their virtue; reputing him the bravest man that got most by his trade, for robbery was call'd victory. It was a horrid spectacle to see the streets pester'd with the dead bodies of men, women and children, that lay there, not only unbury'd, but uncover'd, without having so much as a rag over their nakedness. It was the same case with the rest of the provinces too; beside the dreadful prospect of worse calamities yet to come.

THE Jews had hitherto made war only upon strangers, but drawing toward the borders

of Scythopolis, they found the very Jews of that quarter their enemies: so much did they prefer their interest and convenience, above either king or country. For the Scythopolitan Jews joined with the inhabitants of Scythopolis against the other Jews. But this agreement was manag'd with so much heat, that the very eagerness created a jealousy of their good faith. For what, said they, if these people should jointly conspire against them with the other Jews; surprize the town in the night, and then throw all at last either upon a revenge for their sufferings, or the necessity of their condition? The citizens upon this occasion, told the confederate Jews, that if they would prove themselves to be men of integrity and justice towards strangers, they should withdraw for the present with their families into a certain grove there at hand. This they did accordingly, and for the two next days all was quiet at Scythopolis: but upon the third night, their scouts bringing them intelligence how loose they lay, some fast asleep, others careless, and all off their guard, the men of Scythopolis fell upon them in this posture; cut them all off to the number of thirteen thousand, and seiz'd the pillage of their camp.

AFTER this general account, I must not pass over the death of one Simon, that perish'd in this barbarous action. He was the son of one Saul; a person of condition, and a man famous in his time, as well for the strength of his body, as for the greatness of his mind; both which faculties he had employ'd in the favour of the Scythopolitans, and to the wronging of his own country. He did daily executions upon several of the Jews living near that place, and would frequently put whole troops to the rout; insomuch, that his single person was almost equivalent to an army: but in the end, a vengeance overtook him answerable to his crime. For when he saw how the Jews were surrounded with the Scythopolitans, and stuck with arrows and darts all over the grove, Simon drew his sword, and without assailing the enemy (for it would have been to no purpose to have attacked such a multitude) he address'd himself with outcries and exclamations to the men of Scythopolis. "How justly am I punish'd here, says he, for the ills I have done, with and for purchasing your trust and good will the lives of so many of my fellow citizens! Why should strangers be truer to me than I have been to my friends and country? But I am now to die, and it will not become a man of honour to fall by the hand of an enemy, but rather to do justice upon myself: which will be an end and a punishment worthy of me, and agreeable to the reputation of a hero; that is to say, I will not put it into the power of an enemy to glory in my ruin, and to triumph over me in my calamity." Upon the speaking of these words, he took a view of his wife, his children, his ancient parents, and his whole family that were then about him, with both tenderness and rage in his eyes. While he was thus gazing as in suspence, he took his father by the hair, set his foot upon him, and so ran him through. His mother's turn was next, and he kill'd her too; who seem'd willing enough to receive the stroke. After the father and the mother, he did execution likewise upon his wife, and his sons; who appear'd rather to meet the weapon than

Thirteen thousand Jews put to death at Scythopolis.

Simon's exploits. A man of force and courage.

Simon's confession and recantation.

He puts his father, mother, wife and children to death with his own hand.

And finally himself, to prevent the stroke of the enemy.

than to avoid it; and by that means they prevented the enemy. But when he had put all his kindred to death, he heap'd them one upon another; and then advancing himself upon their bodies, he stretch'd out his right hand for all the people to take notice of it, and so plunged the sword into his own bowels. This young man, for the force of his body and the firmness of his mind, deserves to be remember'd with compassion: but whoever considers his fidelity to strangers, and his unnatural inhumanity to his own brethren, cannot but confess, that in the end he was rewarded according to his works.

CHAP. XX.

Several other massacres of the Jews. Agrippa takes a journey to Antioch, and leaves Varus his deputy. Batanea sends seventy deputies to solicit for a garison. Varus cuts them all off upon the way. Agrippa removes him from his government. The rebels make themselves masters of Cypros. The Romans deliver up Macherus to the Jews.

Several other massacres of the Jews.

THIS massacre at Scythopolis was follow'd with several in other places after that example: two thousand five hundred in Askalon; two thousand in Ptolemais; a great number of the Jews put to death at Tyre, and more ty'd in chains: in Hippon and Gadara they cut off all that were stirring and active, imprisoning the rest: and at this rate they were dealt with elsewhere, in proportion as they were hated or fear'd. But in Antioch, Sidon and Apamia, they were safe and quiet in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties: whether it was that they were not strong enough to be dangerous, or out of compassion to a people that did not seem to have any design upon the state, which seems to have been the more probable opinion of the two. As for the Gerasenes, they suffer'd the Jews that had a mind to stay with them, without any molestation; and those who chose rather to depart, they gave them a safe conduct to their own borders.

Agrippa takes a journey, and leaves Varus his deputy. Batanea sends seventy deputies to solicit for a garison. Varus cuts them all off upon the way.

THERE fell out at the same time a very unhappy business for the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa. This prince having occasion to give Cestius Gallus a visit at Antioch, left one Varus, a friend of his and a kinsman of king Sohemus's, to administer in his absence. At that time, the province of Batanea sent seventy of the best men they had, for wisdom and quality, to desire the favour of a garison; to the end that, in case of any commotion or tumult, they might be in condition to suppress it. Varus presently sends out a party of the king's troops to cut them all off upon the way. This he had the confidence to do, not only without the privity of king Agrippa, but much against his liking. It was his extreme avarice, that transported him to this impious outrage upon his countrymen: and after so flagitious a beginning, he stopp'd at no manner of tyranny or iniquity, but went on abusing his power in every thing he did. When Agrippa came to understand, and to consider the havock Varus had made he was loth, for Sohemus's sake, to put him to death, but however remov'd him immediately from his government.

Agrippa removes him from his government.

THE rebels in the mean while, got possession of the castle of Cypros, upon the frontiers of Jericho; put the garison to the sword, and demolish'd the place. At the same time another great body of Jews treated with the Romans in Macherus to deliver up the garison; who chusing rather to part with it by agreement, than stay to be beaten out of it, render'd upon composition.

The rebels make themselves masters of Cypros. The Romans deliver up Macherus to the Jews.

CHAP. XXI.

The Jews much in favour formerly with Alexander the Great; and no less afterwards with the Cefars. A desperate tumult in Alexandria betwixt the Jews and the Greeks; and they had laid all in ashes, if Tiberius had not compos'd it. Tiberius turns his army loose upon them, with a commission to kill, burn, and pillage at pleasure. Fifty thousand Jews kill'd upon the place, and the rest beg their lives. The implacable rage of the Alexandrians.

THE natives of Alexandria bore a mortal antipathy to the Jews there, from the days of Alexander the Great; who in acknowledgment of the services they had done him against the Egyptians, made them free of the city; granting them all manner of privileges in common with the Greeks themselves: and those privileges were continu'd to them by Alexander's successors, and a peculiar quarter assign'd them apart to themselves; where they liv'd in a manner sequester'd from the conversation of other people: being likewise entitled to the honour of calling themselves Macedonians. When Egypt came afterward to fall into the hands of the Romans, the Jews had their old privileges still continu'd by Cesar and his successors; but the Jews and the Greeks were perpetually clashing; and though they suffer'd justice on both sides for their misdemeanours, all this had no other effect yet than to inflame the sedition.

The Jews much in favour formerly with Alexander the Great.

And no less afterward with the Cefars, when Egypt fell into the hands of the Romans.

THINGS were now at this time in extreme disorder and confusion every where; but nothing yet to what they were at Alexandria. The Greeks being met in an assembly, about an embassy to Nero, upon some extraordinary occasion, there came rushing into the amphitheatre a mixed croud of Jews and Greeks. The Greeks set up an outcry that the Jews were enemies and spies; and in the same instant leapt at them in a rage, and fell upon them. They took three of the company, and the rest got away; but those three they dragg'd along, with a design to burn them alive. This commotion brought in the whole body of the Jews to their rescue; who began with casting stones at them at first, and, after that, they ran with flambeaux in their hands up to the amphitheatre, threatening the whole multitude to burn them all to ashes. This they had certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had not a little pacify'd the fury. And he did not effect this by violent ways neither, but by employing some of the most popular men among themselves, to try if they could bring them to reason by gentle means and persuasion; advising them to moderation, and to have a care how they provok'd the Roman soldiers: the Jews all the while turning this formal gravity into ridicule, and venting their

A desperate tumult in Alexandria betwixt the Jews and the Greeks.

They had laid all in ashes, if Tiberius had not brought them to some degree of reason.

their conceits and reproaches upon Tiberius himself.

Tiberius turns his army loose upon him.

With a commission, to kill, burn, and pillage at pleasure.

The Jews scatter'd.

Fifty thousand dead upon the place, and the rest beg their lives.

The implacable rage of the Alexandrians.

WHEN Tiberius found that this uproar was not to be laid without mischief, he presently let loose upon them two Roman legions that were then in the city, and five thousand Libyan soldiers, that came by providence in that nick of time to plague the mutineers. Their orders were not only to kill all opposers, but to seize their goods also; pillage their houses, and then set fire to them. The word was no sooner given, but they march'd away to a quarter of the town that is called Delta: (where the Jews were then gotten together in a body) and there put their orders in execution to the uttermost extremity. The Jews plac'd their best arm'd men in the front; who for a while made a stout resistance: but upon the first disorder, they were scatter'd and cut to pieces; though in the mean time it prov'd a bloody victory. Death and destruction, in fine, never appear'd in so many several shapes: fire, sword, pillage, without either tenderness for infants, or reverence for gray hairs, or any distinction of age or sex; and the whole place overflowing with blood. There were fifty thousand dead bodies pil'd up in a heap; and the rest would have under-gone the same fate, if their stomachs had not been brought down to beg their lives. Hereupon Alexander in pity, bid the soldiers hold their hands; which they did at first word, out of the deference they paid to order and discipline. But the hatred of the Alexandrians was so implacable, that they had much ado to restrain them, even from insulting upon the very carcases. This happen'd at Alexandria.

CHAP. XXII.

The vast power of the Romans. The country comes in to Cestius, upon his march to Ptolemais: Agrippa joins him. Zabulon deserted, plunder'd and burnt. Cestius returns to Ptolemais. Two thousand stragglers of the Syrians cut off by the Jews. Cestius removes to Cesarea. Joppa destroyed; man, woman and child.

The vast power of the Romans.

CESTIUS finding the Jews every where pos-sess'd with a spirit of rebellion, made his advantage of it in a vigorous prosecution of the war. He drew out his troops, and marched for Ptolemais. He took along with him the twelfth legion entire, which he had at Antioch; two thousand chosen men out of the other legions, four wings of horse, beside the king's auxiliaries: that is to say, two thousand horse, and three thousand foot of Antiochus's, arm'd all with bows and arrows; a thousand horse, and three thousand foot of

king Agrippa's; a body of four thousand men of king Sohemus's; a third part horse, and the remainder of them foot, most of them archers. The people came trooping in to Cestius, out of the cities all the way as he pass'd to Ptolemais: not so good soldiers as his own perhaps; but what they wanted in conduct and experience, was supply'd with zeal to the cause, and spite to the Jews.

The country comes in to Cestius upon his march to Ptolemais.

AGRIPPA assisted Cestius both with his troops and counsel, and so the general march'd away with part of his army to Zabulon, the strongest city of Galilee, (otherwise called * Andron) which divides Judea from Ptolemais. When he came up to the place, he found all sorts of provisions there in abundance, but not one man to be seen in the town; for the people were all fled up to the mountains: whereupon Cestius gave his soldiers the pillage of the city. The general stood in admiration at the beauty and curiosity of the buildings; which were built much after the manner of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus; but notwithstanding this, he burnt and raz'd them to the ground. From thence he over-ran the whole country, destroying whatever fell in his way. When he had laid waste the territory, and set all the neighbouring villages in a flame, he left them in ashes, which done, he returned back again to Ptolemais. The Syrians hearts were so set upon booty, especially those of Berytus, that there was no getting them away; but a great many of their stragglers stay'd behind. The Jews took courage upon the retreat of Cestius; and falling upon the plunderers by surprize, cut them off to the number of near two thousand.

Agrippa joins him with his troops and person.

Zabulon deserted, pillag'd and burnt.

Cestius returns to Ptolemais.

Two thousand stragglers of the Syrians cut off by the Jews.

Cestius removes to Cesarea.

FROM Ptolemais, Cestius marched to Cesarea, and from thence sent a detachment out of his army to Joppa, with orders to preserve the place, if they could quietly get possession of it; but in case the inhabitants should put themselves in posture to defend it, they should then wait for the bringing up the rest of the army. The Romans, in fine, assaulted the place both by sea and land, and master'd it without much difficulty. For the people were so far from attempting to dispute it by force, that they had not room left so much as for an escape: but they were all put to the sword, men, women and children; masters and servants, without distinction; the city plunder'd and burnt, and the number of the slain computed to be about eight thousand and four hundred persons. They made the like havock with a body of horse in the neighbouring toparchy of † Nabatene near ‡ Cesarea; where they laid the country waste, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, seized their goods and estates, and bury'd their cities in ashes.

Joppa destroyed; man, woman and child without distinction.

* Or the city of men.
† Nabartane, Ruf.
‡ Samaria, Ruf.

C H A P. XXIII.

Cesennius Gallus commands in Galilee under Cestius. Sepphoris and that neighbourhood side with the Romans. The Romans too hard for the freebooters upon even terms. Gallus moves from Galilee to Cesarea; and Cestius with the army to Antipatris. Lydda burnt and destroy'd. Cestius incamps within fifty furlongs of Jerusalem. The Jews make a furious sally upon the sabbath-day. Cestius and his whole army in danger. The Jews put to a retreat. The Romans draw off, and the Jews fall upon their rear.

Cesennius Gallus commands in Galilee, under Cestius, Sepphoris and the neighbourhood side with the Romans.

The Romans too hard for the freebooters, upon even terms.

Gallus moves from Galilee to Cesarea; and Cestius with the army to Antipatris.

Lydda burnt and destroy'd. Cestius encamps within fifty furlongs of Jerusalem.

The Jews make a furious sally upon the sabbath-day. The seventh-day's scruple laid aside.

CESTIUS sent the twelfth legion also into Galilee, under the command of Cesennius Gallus, with a conjunction of as many other troops as he judg'd sufficient for the subduing of that province. Sepphoris, which is the strongest city they had, open'd their gates to him, and the rest of the towns had the prudence to follow their example: but for the mutineers and freebooters, they withdrew themselves to the mountain of Afamon, that crosses Galilee, and lies just opposite to Sepphoris. Gallus advanc'd upon them in their own post; but so long as the vagabond party kept the upper ground, they were too hard for the Romans, and kill'd upward of two hundred of them upon the encounter. But when the Romans came to take compass, and by little and little to gain the top of the mountain, and to deal with them upon even terms, the fugitives were presently routed: for neither were their ill-arm'd men able to stand the shock, nor they that fled, to escape the pursuit of the horse. Some few there were that sav'd themselves by creeping into fastnesses and crags; but there were above two thousand of them cut to pieces.

GALLUS finding by this time that there was no more occasion for him in Galilee, drew off his troops to Cesarea; and Cestius with the whole army went to Antipatris. He was there given to understand, that a very considerable body of the Jews was gotten into the tower of Aphec, and he sent a party thither to dislodge them. But the Jews not being in condition to stand the attack, abandon'd it to the Romans, who ris'd it, and then set fire to all the adjoining villages.

CESTIUS remov'd from Antipatris to Lydda; where he found only fifty men in the city; the rest were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles. He put those fifty to the sword, burnt the town, and so advanced by the way of Bethoron to a certain place called Gabaoh, about fifty * furlongs from Jerusalem, and there he pitch'd his camp.

THE Jews finding now that the war was brought home to their own door, even to Jerusalem their metropolis, laid aside the strictness of a festival, and stood to their arms. They reckon'd upon it that they had men enough; and in that confidence they sally'd out upon the Romans, with hideous clamours, and in a furious confusion, without scruple or any regard to the sanction of the seventh-day, (for it was now their sabbath, which among them is most religiously observ'd.) But the same rage that made them forget the conscience of

the action, prov'd an advantage to them upon the execution of their extravagancies: for they repuls'd the Romans upon the first charge, disorder'd their front, and made so furious an impression into their main body, that if they had not been supported by a stand of foot that was yet entire, and a party of horse that came in to their succour in the very critical minute, Cestius and his whole army had been in danger of being lost. There fell five hundred and fifteen of the Roman soldiers in this skirmish: four hundred of them horse, the rest foot. There were kill'd upon the place two and twenty of the Jews. The two cavaliers that signaliz'd themselves in this action to the highest degree, were Monobazus and Cenedeus, two kinsmen of Monobazus the king of the Adiabeniens. The next in reputation to these two worthies, were Nlger of Perea, and Silas the Babylonian, who went over from king Agrippa, whom he had formerly serv'd, into the interest of the Jews.

THE Jews being now forced to a retreat, retired back again into the city; while the Romans drawing off also to Bethoron, were press'd upon the rear by Gloras, the son of Simon; who cut off several of them, seiz'd their carriages and baggage that they found upon the way; and carry'd them off to Jerusalem. Cestius continu'd three days after this in the field; for the Jews lay watching for his remove, upon the hills that overlook'd him: and if the Romans had but stirr'd, the enemy, in all probability, would have fallen upon them.

Cestius and his whole army in danger.

The Jews put to a retreat. The Romans draw off, and the Jews fall upon their rear.

C H A P. XXIV.

Agrippa propounds an alliance with the Romans, and sends Borceus and Phebus to manage the treaty. The people rise upon it, &c. Cestius falls upon them, and pursues them to the walls of Jerusalem, bringing the whole army up to the city, &c. The Jews repair to the defense of the walls. The Romans repuls'd upon several assaults. An invention to secure the pioneers, &c. Cestius quits the siege, and the rebels fall upon his rear. A dreadful blow to the Romans, who are not in condition either to fight or to fly. Cestius had been lost, but that the Jews wanted day-light. The Romans steal away to Bethoron; and are beset by the Jews. Cestius saves himself by a stratagem. The Jews pursue them to Antipatris, and so give over the chase.

WHEN Agrippa saw what prodigious numbers of Jews there were upon the hills and eminent places, he could not think the very Romans themselves altogether safe within reach of so formidable an enemy. So that he resolv'd to try, if there were any good to be done upon them by fair words; flattering himself that they might be reason'd perhaps into a better understanding one of another: or however, if he could not perfectly reconcile them, he might possibly be able to divide them, and abate something of the rancour of the quarrel. Agrippa, in pursuance of this resolution, sent two of his friends and officers, Borceus and Phebus, who were men of known fame and integrity, to offer them a league of

* Fifty furlongs amounted to six English miles and a quarter, and seventy five geometrical paces.

Agrippa proposes an alliance with the Romans. He sends Borceus and Rhebus to manage the treaty. This makes the people jealous. They kill Phebus, and the other gets off wounded. Cestius charges, routs, and pursues them to the walls of Jerusalem.

Cestius advances with his whole army up to the city.

And pitches his camp near the palace.

A mortal oversight occasion'd by bribery.

The gates offer'd to Cestius, who slips his opportunity.

The Jews repair upon this to the defence of the walls.

The Romans beaten off upon several assaults. The Romans invention to cover their pioneers.

alliance with the people of Rome, with an assurance of pardon and indemnity for all that was past, upon condition only of taking up other thoughts, and laying down arms. The faction, upon the hearing of this proposal, were so desperately afraid of the people's going over to Agrippa, in hope of this amnesty, that they resolv'd to take off the heads of the ambassadors. They kill'd Phebus before he could so much as open his mouth. Borceus was wounded and got off: but the multitude were so enrag'd at the baseness of so wicked an action, that they forc'd the mutineers with stones and cudgels into the town.

THIS intestine division gave Cestius the fairest opportunity in the world to break in upon the faction: so that he advanced up to them with his whole army; charg'd and routed them; following the pursuit up to the very walls of Jerusalem, and then march'd off again to a place call'd Scopus, about seven * furlongs from the city; and there he pitch'd his camp; where he lay three whole days, without attempting any thing upon the place; hoping perchance, that, upon second thoughts, the people within might come to themselves again. He sent into the neighbourhood indeed for corn and necessaries, and that was all he did.

ON the fourth day, being the thirtieth of the month † Hyperbereteus, he advanced with his whole army in very good order up to the city; where the multitude durst not so much as stir for fear of the faction: nay, and the very heads of the sedition were so startled at the Roman conduct and discipline in their march, that they themselves quitted the skirts and out-works of the city, and withdrew into the temple. Cestius took his way by Bezetha; and in his passage forward burnt Cenopolis, and a place called the Wood-market; whence, advancing to the upper town, he pitch'd his camp near the palace. Now if he had but push'd it to an assault upon that nick of time, how easily might he have carry'd the place, and put an end to the war! But Tyrannus and Priscus, two of their generals, and several other great officers, corrupted with Florus's money, diverted him from his purpose: and this false step prov'd the absolute ruin of the Jews, and the source of all the calamities that afterward beset them.

UNDER these circumstances, Ananus the son of Jonathas, and divers of the principal Jews, call'd out to Cestius, and offer'd to open him the gates; but he delay'd his resolution so long, either out of indignation, or of diffidence, that the plot was discover'd, and Ananus with his companions forced by stones from the walls, to fly for sanctuary to their own houses.

THE Jews dispers'd themselves, upon this, into the turrets, to the defence of the walls, which for five days they made good against the utmost efforts of the Romans, though press'd with a most impetuous violence. On the sixth day, Cestius with the choicest of his troops and archers, gave an assault to the north-side of the temple; but was so bloodily gall'd with shot and stones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were several times forc'd, not only to shrink and give way, but in the end di-

rectly beaten off. After these repulses, the Romans at last bethought themselves of this invention. The front clapp'd their bucklers close to the wall; and so covering their heads and shoulders with them, one after another, they join'd them in order, buckler to buckler, till altogether they made up a cover like the figure of a tortoise; which being proof against all the enemy's darts and arrows, the Romans were now at liberty to sap, and work upon the foundation of the walls, without any further danger: and the next thing they did was to attempt the firing of the temple gates. This put the faction into such an astonishment, that they gave all for lost; and a great many of them quitted the town upon it. The honest party were as much elevated on the one hand, as the rebels were cast down on the other; in-somuch, that they called out to open the gates to Cestius, whom they look'd upon as their friend and preserver. Thus far it went; and if the general had but continued the siege never so little a while longer, the town had certainly been their own; but God in his just displeasure would not suffer this wicked and dreadful war to go off so. For Cestius, without ever heeding, either the good disposition of the people in general, or the desperation of the rebels in the town, by a kind of judicial infatuation, drew off his men all on a sudden, even when their hopes were at the fairest; and so, against all justice and reason, quitted the siege. This unexpected departure of Cestius put the revolvers in such heart again, that they fell upon his rear, and cut off several of his people both horse and foot. He rested that night in a camp that he had fortify'd at a place call'd Scopus. The next day he continued his march with the enemy still at the back of him, as upon a pursuit, and killing him a great many men. The Romans had thrown up a trench with palisadoes on both sides of the way; where the Jews with their darts and arrows annoy'd the Romans extremely, in their march across the passage, without any revenge, or so much as turning their heads to look the enemy in the face. This they did, as not being in condition to secure their flanks; partly out of an apprehension of their mighty numbers, and partly for fear of breaking the order of their march, being heavy-arm'd themselves, and the Jews on the other hand light, and at liberty for excursions and surprizes, upon any occasion. Upon the whole matter, it was a terrible blow to the Romans, and cost the Jews nothing. The ways, in fine, were cover'd with dead and wounded bodies upon this retreat. Among the slain was Priscus that commanded the sixth legion; Longinus the tribune, and Emilius Jucundus major of the horse, beside common soldiers in abundance; but got at last, with the loss of a great part of their baggage to Gabaon; where they had encamped before.

CESTIUS was now at his wits end, and took two days time to consider what to do next. Upon the third day, he found the numbers of the Jews mightily increas'd, and the whole country up in arms, and ready to fall upon him. He was sensible by this time that his delay had not only hinder'd but endanger'd

Another gross mistake.

Cestius quits the siege. The rebels take heart upon it, and fall upon his rear.

A dreadful blow to the Romans.

Cestius in a miserable distress.

* Seven furlongs were eight hundred seventy five geometrical paces, or seven eighths of a mile.

† i. e. October.

him; and that the longer he stay'd, the greater still would be the number of enemies he should have to deal with.

THE general, upon this, order'd the army to be forthwith discharg'd of all encumbrances, for the ease and expedition of the march. The mules, asses, and other beasts of burden he caus'd to be all kill'd, saving only enough to carry arms and machines; which he thought he might have further occasion for; beside the mischief of their being employ'd against him, if they should fall into the hands of the enemy. This was the state and posture of the army in their advance to Bethoron, and himself at the head of them. The Jews gave them no manner of interruption, so long as they continued in an open country; but when they came into hollow ways and defiles, they charg'd them front and rear to divide them from the army, and to force them further into the valley. The Jews in the mean time, from the rocks and the crags, pouring down their shot upon the heads of the Romans. While the foot was in this miserable distress; and considering which way to turn themselves, the condition of the horse was much more desperate; for they could neither advance up to the Jews to attack them upon the mountains, nor secure themselves against them in the vallies; neither could they keep their troops in order against that shower of arrows that was poured down among them. To say nothing of those that perish'd by precipices and other misadventures. They were in such a streight, in short, that they could neither fight nor fly; and in this desponding extremity, the Romans had recourse to all the passionate extravagances of tears, groans and outcries, that are usual in such cases; while the rocks and the vallies rung on the other side with transports of encouragement, joy, insolence and triumph. So it was, in fine, that if the Jews had had daylight, the whole army of Cestius had been totally destroy'd; but night coming on, the Romans made a shift to steal away to Bethoron; where the Jews immediately secur'd all passes thereabouts, to cut off Cestius's retreat.

The Romans not in condition either to fight or fly.

Cestius had been utterly lost if the Jews had but had day-light. The Romans steal away to Bethoron. They are beset by the Jews. Cestius makes his escape by a stratagem.

WHEN Cestius found how he was beset, and the impossibility of his getting off in the face of the enemy, he bethought himself of a stratagem to assist him in his escape; that is to say, he posted betwixt three and four hundred of his bravest men upon the tops of the houses, with orders to call out as loud as they could bawl, to the watches and the guards, like so many centinels, as if the army were not as yet decamped. While this was a doing, Cestius shrunk away silently with the rest of his people, and marched about thirty * furlongs that night. But when the Jews came the next morning to find the place quitted, and the gross of the army withdrawn, they fell immediately upon the four hundred Romans that had betray'd them into that mistake, kill'd every man of them, and then put themselves upon the pursuit of Cestius; but Cestius having gotten a long night's march before them; and losing no time the next day neither, to get off, there was no overtaking them. The soldiers however fled in such haste and confusion, that

they dropt all their machines, their slings, and other instruments for battery and attack, by the way; which the Jews took up and made use of afterwards against the Romans. They follow'd the chase as far as Antipatris: but finding that they were got out of their reach, they took care of their engines, stripp'd the dead, gather'd their booty together, and so return'd to Jerusalem with songs of triumph in their mouths for so great a victory, with so very inconsiderable a loss. There were kill'd of the Romans, and their auxiliaries † four thousand foot and three hundred eighty horse. This happen'd on the eight day of the month ‡ Dios, and in the twelfth year of Nero.

The Jews pursue them to Antipatris, and so give over the chase.

CHAP. XXV.

The Jews quit Jerusalem. Cestius sends Nero word of the miscarriage, and lays the blame upon Florus. A conspiracy at Damascus against the Jews. Tenthousand of their throats cut in one hour. The Jews settle their officers civil and military. Eleazar ingratiate himself with the people. Josephus the historian governor of both Galilees. His principles and inclinations. His method and form of government. A council of seventy. The defensible cities to be wall'd in. The Roman order and discipline to be establish'd. Josephus master of an army to his own wish.

UPON this disaster happening to Cestius, the most considerable of the Jews in Jerusalem quitted the city as a ship sinking in a storm. Costobarus and Saul, two brothers, and Philip the son of Jacimus, formerly Agrippa's general, stole away and withdrew to Cestius; but Antipas their fellow-prisoner in the palace, scorning to save himself by flight, was put to death by the faction. The manner of it we shall shew hereafter. Now Cestius sent Saul and his companions to Nero in Achaia, with an account of his misfortunes; but casting the blame of the whole miscarriage upon Florus. Cestius took this method, in hopes thereby of exempting himself from blame, and diverting the storm upon the other.

The Jews quit Jerusalem like a sinking vessel in a storm.

Cestius sends Nero word of the miscarriage, and lays the fault upon Florus.

So soon as the news of this defeat came to Damascus, the inhabitants enter'd into a confederacy to destroy all the Jews of that place, computing with themselves, that if they could but take them together in the baths, or some other publick place, the design might be easily put in execution. All their fear was, lest their wives, who were most of them attach'd to the Jewish religion, should come to get notice of it. The people, in fine, took their opportunity, when the Jews were at such a meeting; the place narrow, and themselves without arms; and falling upon them, cut the throats of ten thousand of them in one hour, without any difficulty.

A conspiracy at Damascus against the Jews.

Tenthousand of their throats cut in one hour.

THE Jews that had chas'd away Cestius, being by this time come back to Jerusalem, made it their business, both by menaces and flatteries, to draw over as many of the Romans as they could engage into their party. Upon this, they had a meeting in the temple about

* Thirty furlongs (as has been before observed) amounted to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

† In Ruf. five thousand three hundred foot, nine hundred and eighty horse.

‡ i. e. November.

The Jews set-
tle their offi-
cers civil and
military.

the election of officers for the government of the war. So they declar'd Joseph the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high-priest, their governors in civil matters, and the affairs of the city; recommending to their care, in a more especial manner, the rebuilding of their walls. As for Eleazar the son of Simon, though he had in his possession a mighty booty that was taken from the Romans, a considerable sum of money from Cestius, and a mass of publick treasure to a great value over and above, they did not think fit yet to confer upon him any commission at all; looking upon him as a man of an imperious and tyrannical humour, and upon his friends and confidants also, rather as guards than companions. But this did not hinder Eleazar however from insinuating himself, by little and little, into the affections and esteem of the people: and he so far wrought upon them by popular arts, money and address, that they thought no man so well qualify'd for a governor as himself.

Eleazar
makes him-
self popular.

THE commanders that they sent into Idu-mea, were Jesus the son of Sapphas, one of the high-priests, and Eleazar the son of the new high-priest; therewithal commanding Niger, the present governor of that province, to obey their orders. This Niger came from beyond Jordan, from whence he was call'd Peraites.

THEY took the same care likewise elsewhere. As they sent Joseph the son of Simon to Jericho, Manasses beyond the river, and John the Essene to Thamna. And to these were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, to be administer'd in the form of toparchies. John the son of Ananias was made governor of Gophnitis and Acrabatene, and Joseph the son of Matthias, governor of both the Galilees; casting Gama-la also into his command, the strongest place in the whole country.

Joseph the
author of this
history.

THESE governors discharg'd their parts with cheerfulness and prudence, every man according to his commission. As for Joseph, upon his coming into Galilee, the first thing that he propos'd to himself was to make sure of the hearts of the people; an interest, which he knew, even in case of the worst, would atone for small mistakes. He consider'd farther, that the certain way to make great men his friends, was to admit great men into a share of the government; and that the way then to oblige the whole multitude, would be to employ natives and popular instruments in popular cases. Now Joseph's method was this: he chose a council of seventy, out of the elders, men for prudence and wisdom the ablest of the nation. To this council of seventy, he committed the whole government of Galilee, under some few restrictions. He dispos'd of these seventy judges, seven into every city, with a commission to hear and determine all common causes, in such manner and form as he had prescrib'd; reserving to himself the judgment of capital causes, and matters of greater importance.

His princi-
ples and in-
clinations.

His method
and form of
government.
A council of
seventy.

THE seventy being thus distributed, and affairs regulated at home, Joseph took also into consideration what was to be done to secure them from abroad. He made no manner of question but that the Romans would most certainly break into Galilee; and therefore he took care in the first place, to wall in all the defensible cities; as Jotapata, Bersabee, Sela-

mis, Pereco, Japha and Sigoh, Tarichee and Tiberias, with the mountain Itabyr. He fortify'd also the caves about the lake of Genesareth, in the lower Galilee. And in the upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith and Mero, Seleucia, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. Only the Sephorites, being a wealthy, and naturally a martial people, had liberty to build their own walls. John the son of Levi, by Joseph's order, wall'd in Gischala too. As to the rest of the castles, they were fortify'd by the direction and assistance of Joseph himself.

The defensi-
ble cities to
be wall'd in.

HE got upward of a hundred thousand men out of Galilee, and furnish'd them all with old arms that he had pick'd up here and there. He fell to bethinking himself in the next place of the mighty power of Rome, and what it might be that made the Romans so invincible; ascribing it in the conclusion to their obedience to the word of command and discipline. But precept must give way to necessity, and in regard that he had no time at present to train his people up to the latter, he would at least endeavour to inure them to the former. And no better method could he think of, than the Roman way of multiplying officers; dividing and subdividing offices of command into several subordinations, one under another; and that was the course he took. He had his officers over tens, hundreds and thousands; and all these subjected still to other superiors. He taught them the mystery and discipline of all signals, the points of war in the voice of the trumpet, to distinguish an alarm, a charge, a retreat, and one sounding from another; the manner of fighting, and the forms of battles; the order of bringing off or on, or seconding the weak, or relieving the weary'd. He read lectures to them upon the virtues of fortitude, both of body and mind; arming and fortifying them at the same time, against both dangers and fatigue. In all his lessons of war, he still made use of the Roman discipline, as an instance of authority and example. He told his soldiers farther, that if they would have him hope well of them upon the point of obedience in time of war, they should renounce all manner of unlawful violences, and promise him beforehand that they would abstain from robberies, fraud, pilferings and the like; that they would do justice to all people without exception, and not reckon any thing as a gain to themselves, that accrues from the damage of a neighbour. How is it possible, says he, for any war against conscience to prosper, when it is sure to have both God and man for declared enemies! Joseph went on with his admonitions after this manner; having gotten by this time the complement of an army to his own wish.

The Roman
order and
discipline to
be establish'd.

Joseph's ar-
my.

He had sixty thousand foot, two hundred and fifty horse; and beside these, four thousand five hundred mercenaries, which he much depended upon, and six hundred select men likewise for the guard of his person. These men were no great charge to the country; for all but the mercenaries were maintain'd by the cities; who still as they sent out one half of them into the war, employ'd the other half to provide necessaries for their fellows; so that one part of them wrought for the other, and those that were in arms serv'd for a protection to their pourveyors.

C H A P. XXVI.

John of Gischala, an extravagant impostor. His character. He makes Joseph his friend, and then abuses his kindness. He tampers the rabble against Joseph. The honour and justice of Joseph. A scandalous uproar rais'd against him. Joseph stands all trials with a wonderful presence of mind. An artificial insinuation of his to the Taricheans. Joseph gains upon the multitude. He is hard put to it; but brings himself off by a wile. The people come about, and this disappointment puts John upon other treacherous practices. Silas gives Joseph notice of this. Joseph posts away to Tiberias. John counterfeits sickness. Joseph set upon, and escapes narrowly. His moderation. This treason sets all people against John, and brings Galilee wholly over to Joseph. Joseph proposes terms of accommodation. The conditions accepted and executed. Secret plots and practices carried on against Joseph. Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias go over to the enemy.

WHILE Joseph was in the course of his administration in Galilee, (as you have heard) there started up an extravagant kind of impostor. He came out of Gischala, the son of one Levi, and his name John: a fellow false and crafty to the highest degree, and so poor formerly, that he had not wherewithal to be so wicked as he had a mind to be; never without a lie in his mouth, and he was as good at believing false stories as at spreading of them. Fraud pass'd for a virtue with him, and he would cozen his best friends to chuse. He was a great pretender to good nature, and most unmercifully bloody, where there was any thing to be gotten by it. His ambition had no bounds, and the foundation of his hopes was laid in his crimes. He was so naturally addicted to thievery, that he taught himself the trade: for he began single, and so went on, gathering companions by degrees one after another, till he came at last to a train of four hundred men; in which number there was neither a coward, nor a man that did not understand the use of his arms; so scrupulously careful he was of his choice, both for body and mind. The greatest part of his troop was drawn out of the borders and villages of the Tyrians. With this body of men he laid Galilee waste, and put a great many of those to the sword that had withdrawn upon the apprehension of a war. He had far greater things yet in his thought, and nothing hinder'd him but want of money, from putting himself at the head of a form'd army.

WHEN he found that Joseph had a good opinion of him for a man of industry and business, he employ'd his credit with him, in getting him to commit the rebuilding of the walls of Gischala to his care: upon which account he drew large sums of money in contributions, from men of substance and estate. And then he had another invention, which was in truth his master-piece. He got an order from Joseph to all the Jews in Syria, forbidding them expressly to send any oil out into the bordering neighbourhood, but of the composition of their own nation. Upon this prohibition, John engross'd the oil, and sold it again at eight times the value it cost him. Now this being a plentiful year, and Galilee a great oil country,

the monopoly of getting it to himself, and sending so much of it abroad, where there was great scarcity of it, brought an incredible sum of money into his coffers; which treasure he converted afterwards to the mischief of his benefactor. And then, computing within himself how fair he stood for next governor, in case Joseph should come to be remov'd, he gave it in charge to the ruffians under his command, to harass and teize the inhabitants still more and more; which would either exasperate the people into practices upon his person, if he offer'd to controul them; or else expose him to accusations and complaints, if he let them alone. For an introduction to his design, he had already spread a report, that Joseph was in a plot to betray the province to the Romans; with a great many more malicious and mischievous falsties that he had mustered up, toward the inflaming of the rabble against Joseph.

THERE was at that time a parcel of young men of Dabarith, that kept guard in the great plain; and as Ptolemy (king Agrippa's, and queen Berenice's steward) was travelling that way, these men set upon him, took away all his boxes and baggage, to a great value, in rich robes and silver plate, and six hundred pieces of gold. This was a prize not to be conceal'd, so that they carry'd the purchase, whole as it was, to Joseph at Tarichee; who check'd them for the violence they had offer'd to the king's people, and order'd the booty to be deposited in the charge of one Eneas, an eminent man in the city, ready to be restor'd upon demand. This punctilio of honour and justice had like to have cost Joseph his life: for when the pillagers came to understand that they were like to have no share in the prey themselves; and taking it for granted withal, that Joseph reserv'd it entire for the king's use, (as in truth he did) they ran raging up and down through all the neighbouring cities and villages, from place to place, with clamorous and exclamations, that Joseph had betray'd them. This outcry rais'd such an uproar, that by day-light next morning, there was a multitude of an hundred thousand people assembled together, at the Circus at Tarichee, raging and raving against Joseph; some to have him depos'd or ston'd, others to have him burnt as a traitor; John, and Jesus the son of Sapphas, who were at that time magistrates of Tiberias, all this while encouraging the tumult. Joseph's friends and guards were in such a fright, upon this monstrous fury and concourse of people, that they all abandon'd him but four persons. He was at that time fast asleep, and as they were just a setting fire to the house, his four friends awak'd him. Joseph was still present to himself through all this hurry, and not one jot surpriz'd, either at the number of his enemies, or at the desertion of his friends; but frankly presented himself to the view of the people, in rags and ashes, his hands behind him, and his sword about his neck. This generous constancy moved his friends, and especially those of Tarichee, to the highest degree of tenderness and compassion; but the brutish multitude and the borderers, that thought themselves over-tax'd, ply'd him with curses and reproaches for his treachery and oppression; and calling upon him over and over to restore the money, and confess the fact. They gathered, in fine, from

He tampers the rabble against Joseph.

The honour and justice of Joseph.

A scandalous uproar rais'd against him.

Joseph abandon'd, and but four persons stick to him. Joseph stands all trials with a wonderful presence of mind.

John of Gischala an extravagant impostor. His character

He makes Joseph his friend, and abuses his favour.

A monopoly of oil.

from his behaviour, that he was now in a disposition to tell the truth; and by so doing, in a fair way to acquire both pardon and pity. Under these circumstances, he could not do better, he thought, than to divide his enemies, and set them at variance one with another. With this design in his head, he promis'd them a frank confession of the whole matter: so they gave him the hearing, and what he said was to this effect. "It never could enter into my thought, says he, either to deliver up this treasure to Agrippa, or to make any benefit of it to myself. No, no, good people; far be it from me to court the friendship of any prince that is your enemy, or to propound the reaping of any advantage to your prejudice. But, says he to the Taricheans, considering how naked your city looks without walls, and how little able you yourselves are to rebuild them; and then considering again, how the people of Tiberias and several other cities have set their hearts upon this prize, I thought I could not do better than to reserve it for the raising of your walls. If you are of the same mind, you are bound in honour to justify me in what I have done: but if otherwise, I am ready to lay all that I have taken at your feet, to be dispos'd of at your pleasure."

An artificial insinuation to the Taricheans.

THE Taricheans were highly pleas'd with what he said: the Tiberians as much the contrary; as appear'd by their calumnies, menaces, and reproaches: insomuch, that their rage and animosity was now fiercer than ever. For in the heat of this division, the people let fall their joint-quarrel against Joseph; while the two parties enter'd into as hot a contest the one with the other.

Joseph gains upon the multitude.

WHEN Joseph found that he had got the multitude on his side (as there were near forty thousand Taricheans) he took the liberty to tell them plainly how much they were to blame; and that for his part, he was absolutely for employing the ready money they had, toward the fortifying of the town. "Leave it to me," says he, to take care of the other cities too, and to see that you want nothing toward the charge of the work: if you will but follow my direction, agree one among another, and take it where it is to be had, without falling foul upon him that provides it for you." This look'd so fair, that part of the mutineers, though uneasy enough, withdrew upon it: but at the same time, another party of two thousand armed men advanced furiously toward Joseph; who presently slip'd into the house, and made good the passage, while the rioters stood pressing and menacing on the outside of the door. Joseph was now put to his wits once again for another invention, and so he went up stairs to the top of the house, and thence made a sign to the people below for silence: and when the uproar was a little laid, he spake somewhat to them to this purpose: "Good people, says he, what you would have me do I know not, neither is it possible for us to understand one another in this confusion of noises. But this I am sure of, that I am here ready to do whatever you

Joseph hard put to it.

And brings himself off by a wile.

"shall command me, if you will but send any body to me, that we may discourse the business coolly together." Upon this proposal, some of the chief magistrates repair'd to Joseph; where they were presently taken into the house; the doors shut after them, and so carry'd into a remote quarter; where they were torn with rods, till their very ribs and guts were seen. The rabble thought the time long enough, to wait all this while at the door for the issue of the debate; imputing the delay to some difficulties in the case: when all on a sudden, the doors were thrown open, and the commissioners dismiss'd all bloody as they were; which struck the people with such a terror, that those that were highest in their menaces before, were the first now to cast down their arms, and shift for themselves.

THIS disappointment went so to the heart of John, that it exasperated his envy against Joseph still more and more, and put him upon other practices. He counterfeited himself sick, and desired Joseph's leave to make use of the hot waters at Tiberias for his health. Joseph, upon this, gave him recommendatory letters to the governors of the city, that they would be assistant to him in what he wanted; not entertaining the least suspicion of any treachery from him that way. He was no sooner possess'd of the advantages he desir'd, but within two days he was tampering with some, and corrupting others with money and fair words, to abandon Joseph. This practice coming to Silas's ear, who had at that time the charge of the city, he sent advice of it immediately to Joseph; who, upon the very instant of receiving the letter (though late in the night) hasten'd away for Tiberias, and got thither early the next morning; all the people receiving him with great deference and respect, save only John, who suspected the matter, and the faction which he had debauch'd. But John however sent him a complimentary excuse by a friend, for not doing himself the honour to wait upon him; being at that time sick in bed, and in no condition to attend him. The people of Tiberias were now drawn together in the great * place by Joseph's order, with an intent to acquaint them with the advice he had receiv'd. John got notice of it, and sent a band of bravo's arm'd to destroy him; but in the instant of their drawing their swords (being planted ready for the execution) the people gave a shriek: and Joseph taking the alarm, when their weapons were just at his throat, leapt down from a standing of six † cubits high, that he had mounted for his harangue, and so made his escape to a little boat upon the lake, and only two of his guards along with him.

This disappointment puts John upon other treacherous practices.

Silas gives Joseph notice of this. Joseph posts away to Tiberias.

John counterfeits himself sick.

Joseph set upon, and escapes narrowly.

THE soldiers presently betook themselves to their arms, to avenge their general upon these traitors. But Joseph was so afraid of a civil war and the consequences of it, in the exposure of the city upon a private quarrel, that he sent a messenger to his people, with a positive command not to do any manner of mischief to the traitors, but what was of absolute necessity to their own preservation: wherein they follow'd their orders to a tittle.

Joseph's moderation.

* He means a place which consisted of a large plot of ground, which was appointed for public exercises, such as running, wrestling, horse-races, &c.

† Six Jewish cubits amounted to something upwards of three English yards and an half.

his treason
rns all peo-
le's hearts
gainst John.

And brings
Galilee whol-
y over to
Joseph.

Joseph pro-
poses terms
of accommo-
dation.

The condi-
tions accepted
and executed.

Secret plots
and practices
carry'd on a-
gainst Joseph.

So soon as the rumour of this treachery came to be nois'd in the country, with the manner of its contrivance, and the author of it, the neighbourhood gather'd together, and put themselves upon the march to find out John; but he was got into Gischala, his own country, before they could come up to him. There was not a city in Galilee that did not go over to Joseph upon this occasion, and many thousands of armed men along with them, who did all offer their services against John, whom they upbraided with the title of traitor, and common enemy of mankind; undertaking to deliver up that treacherous wretch to the flames, with the city that protected him. Joseph's answer was, "That he was highly sensible of their kindness and good-will; but was however for moderate counsels, where the case would bear it; and that he had rather save an enemy by temperance and prudence, than destroy him by force. But, says Joseph, I should be well enough content to see every man by name, out of the several cities, excepted from pardon, that ever join'd with John in the rebellion; his goods to be confiscated, his house burnt, and his family destroy'd: unless he should in five days after the publication of such a decree, quit the party and interest of John, and return to his allegiance." The heads of the several cities were unanimously forward in the promoting of these conditions; a proclamation formally publish'd, and all things in pursuance of it duly executed. This declaration brought over three thousand of the rebels from John; who cast themselves and their arms at the feet of Joseph. But John, with the remainder, which were about a thousand Syrian fugitives, betook himself to secret plots and practices, when he found he could carry his point no further above board. He had his informers privately at work up and down in Jerusalem, to calumniate Joseph for extravagant levies, upon a design to make himself master of the place, if he were not restrained by a stronger power. They that knew any thing of the matter gave no heed at all to the story: but there was yet an invidious and spiteful party, even of the magistrates themselves, and other principal members of the town, that supply'd John with money towards the maintaining of a war with Joseph: nay, they went so far as to draw up an act in readiness, for the removal of him from his command. And they did not think that enough neither, but sent a detachment of five and twenty hundred arm'd men, and four other persons famous both for law and eloquence: whose business was to try if they could supplant Joseph in the credit he had with the people; and with order if they could get him to come away by fair means, to offer him no violence; but in case of his refusal, to treat him as an enemy. These commissioners were Joazar, a lawyer's son; Ananias the son of Sadoe; Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathas.

JOSEPH's friends gave him a general intelligence of a party of soldiers sent toward him: but the enemy's counsels were kept so close, that they could not inform him with what design; so that there was no place for a particular precaution. Four cities went immediately over to the enemy: that is to say, Sep-

phoris, Gamala, Gischala and Tiberias; but Sepphoris, he was quickly master of them again without blood. Four of the chief men that he had taken, both for arms and counsel, he sent back to Jerusalem; which transported the people to so violent a rage against them, that if they had not made their escapes in time, they would have been all certainly cut to pieces, as well they themselves that were sent, as those that sent them.

CHAP. XXVII.

Tiberias revolts, and is recover'd by a notable stratagem: Joseph, with only seven unarm'd men, does the work. The Tiberians render themselves and submit. Tiberias sends hostages for the performance of articles. The blame of all is laid upon Clitus, and they call for justice upon him. Clitus is sentenc'd to do justice upon himself, and to cut off one hand with the other.

JOHN was all this while in such a dread of Joseph, that he durst not so much as shew his head out of the walls of Gischala. Some few days after this, Tiberias revolted; and inviting Agrippa to take possession of the town, acknowledg'd him for their king. The day being appointed, Agrippa fail'd of his time; and only some Roman horsemen appearing, they fell off from Joseph. When the news of this desertion came to Tarichee, Joseph, that had sent his troops out a foraging, was at a nonplus what to do. For he durst not venture himself alone among the whole body of the deserters, and he durst not stay in the town neither, for fear of being surpriz'd by the king's soldiers; besides that the next day being their sabbath, there was nothing more to be done.

JOSEPH had no way now to manage the revolt, but by putting a trick upon them; and he happen'd upon a stratagem that succeeded to his wish. He caused the gates of Tarichee to be all shut and guarded, to prevent giving any intelligence to Tiberias of what he was doing. Upon this, he order'd all the boats in the lake to be gotten together, to the number of two hundred and thirty in the whole, and four men to every boat. With these vessels he set sail early in the morning for Tiberias; and when he was advanc'd within such a distance of the town, that they might easily discern the body of the fleet, without distinguishing what men they had a-board, he order'd all his empty vessels to come to an anchor and stay behind; while he himself, with only seven of his guards, and those unarm'd too, row'd up towards the town within sight of the place. The people were at this instant railing and reviling him from the walls, after their usual manner; but upon sight of him under those circumstances, and taking for granted, that all the ships they saw were full of soldiers, they presently cast down their arms in a fright; and with all the actions and expressions of submission imaginable, begg'd of him to be merciful to a miserable city and people. Joseph gave them all the hearing, but with many a bitter menace and reproach at the end of it. "What! says he, are you engag'd in a

Tiberias re-
volts.

Tiberias re-
cover'd by a
notable stra-
tagem.

Joseph, with
only seven
unarm'd
men, does the
work.

The Tibe-
rians render
themselves,
and submit.

" war against the Romans, and at the same
" instant in a civil war, endeavour the destruc-
" tion of one another? The very wish of your
" enemies is fallen upon you; and nothing will
" serve ye neither, but the destroying of your
" preserver. Are ye not ashamed to employ
" your walls to the ruin of him that erected
" them for your security and defense? but this
" shall not hinder me yet from passing over, and
" forgiving all you have done amiss, and still
" entertaining a firm and sacred friendship
" with you; if you shall only think fit to send
" such commissioners as I like, to desire it of
" me."

Tiberias
sends hostages
for the per-
formance of
articles.

UPON this they immediately dispatch'd a-
way to him ten of the principal men of the
town, as their deputies to treat with him;
whom Joseph presently order'd to be put a-
board a fishing-vessel there at hand, and car-
ry'd a little out of the way. He sent after-
ward for fifty of the chief senators, as a fur-
ther security, for performance of conditions,
and so inventing one excuse after another, he
still demanded more and more, till he had got
the whole senate into his hands, to the number
of six hundred persons, besides two thousand
of the inhabitants; whom as fast as the boats
fill'd, he order'd to be convey'd to Tarichee,
and there kept in custody.

The people
lay all the
blame upon
Clitus; and
press for ju-
stice upon
him.

UPON this, the multitude set up an outcry
against Clitus; loudly exclaiming against him,
as the sole author and ring-leader of the re-
volt; desiring Joseph, in fine, to make him
exemplary, and to accept of his punishment
for satisfaction. Joseph was not for putting
any man to death; but however, upon the
people's supplication, he order'd Levi, one of
the guards, to go and cut off both Clitus's
hands. The soldier durst not venture upon the
execution, among such a multitude of his ene-
mies: which Joseph took such offence at, that
he was just about to go ashore, and do it him-
self. Clitus perceiving this, made his suit to
Joseph to content himself with one of his
hands. Joseph granted the request, upon con-
dition, that he himself should cut it off; where-
upon, Clitus drew out his sword with his right
hand, and cut off his left: such was the awe
Joseph had over him. Thus was Tiberias re-
cover'd, with only Joseph himself, and seven
soldiers, and a parcel of empty boats.

Clitus does
justice upon
himself; and
cuts off the
one hand
with the o-
ther, accord-
ing to the
sentence.

Not many days after this, upon the re-
volt of Sepphoris, and some other cities, Jo-
seph gave his soldiers the pillage of Gischala
and Sepphoris: but upon the application of the
inhabitants, he caused restitution to be made
of all they could discover, and the like at Ti-

berias: Joseph proposing both to chastise them
for their insolence, and at the same time re-
gain their affections by returning their goods.

C H A P. XXVIII.

*Galilee at peace, and Jerusalem preparing for a
war. The horrible ravages and cruelties of Si-
mon the son of Gioras.*

GALILEE was now quiet; and the Jews
were no sooner at peace one with another,
but they were preparing to embroil themselves
in war with the Romans. Ananus the high-
priest, and the great men in Jerusalem who
stood in opposition to the Romans, hasten'd all
that was possible the rebuilding of their walls;
the providing of military instruments and ma-
chines; weapons of all sorts, as darts, arrows,
and the like: and all hands at work upon war-
like preparations; training up the youth also
to the exercise of their arms. All things were
in strange confusion at that time; men of so-
briety and foresight, with heaviness of heart,
could not forbear weeping at the prospect of
imminent calamities. The countenance of
things was afflicting to any man that wish'd for
peace; and for publick incendiaries, the worse
the better. The city, in short, had death and
desolation in the very face of it before ever
the Romans came thither. Ananus was alto-
gether against the formality of these prepara-
tories for a war; in hope to reclaim the mad-
ness of the mutineers, call'd in those days by
the name of zelots, and to bring them to rea-
son: but he miscarry'd in the attempt, as will
be seen hereafter. Simon the son of Gioras
was at this time at the head of a band of free-
booters, that liv'd upon the spoil in the topa-
rchy of Acrabatane: where they not only plun-
der'd and pillag'd great mens houses; but fell
foul upon their bodies too, and treated the
masters themselves with blows and bastinadoes.
At this rate publicly exercising a bare-fac'd
tyranny. He went on making this havock,
till he was forced by the troops of Ananus and
the magistrates, to shift for himself, with the
small party he had among the thieves of Mas-
sada; and there he continu'd till Ananus and
some of his other enemies were cut off. He
committed such outrages at Idumea, and the
adjacent places, that, for the security of the
country, the government was oblig'd to gari-
son the very villages. This was the state of
affairs in Judea at that juncture.

Galilee at
peace and
Jerusalem
preparing for
a war.

The horrible
ravages and
cruelties of
Simon the
son of Gioras.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Nero's vanity and ostentation. The distracted state of the Roman affairs. Nero gives Vespasian the government of Syria. Vespasian's fitness for such a trust. Vespasian and Titus advance a mighty army. The defeat of Cestius makes the Jews rash and bold. They advance towards Ascalon. The bodies engage, and the Jews totally routed. Ten thousand kill'd upon the place. The Jews not a match for the Romans. Eight thousand Jews more slain upon a second overthrow. Niger the general preserv'd by a wonderful providence. Vespasian hastens away to Ptolemais: and the Sepphorites are very friendly to the Romans.

Nero, with a faint heart, sets up for a man of courage. His vanity and ostentation.



HE news of Cestius's disaster in Judea struck Nero with fear and confusion; but he look'd big upon it however and cover'd the faintness of his heart with an affectation of dignity and disdain. "This, says he, was the fault of my own officer, not the bravery of the enemy." And so he carry'd it on with an air of haughtiness and contempt, as if it were not for the honour of the empire, or of his sovereignty above all other princes, to be so much as touch'd with the common accidents of human life, or the iniquities of fortune. But after all this ostentation of an invincible courage, the cares he had in his head betray'd the weakness of his mind, by the uneasiness he was in for want of a general equal to the mighty necessities of the empire. For the east was at this time wavering and falling off; the Jews deep in a rebellion already; other nations staggering, and the empire all over sick of the same disease. Now how to keep the one quiet; reduce the other, and to prevent the ill humour in the third, from tainting the whole body? This was the question, and the great work that was now necessary to be attended. Vespasian, in fine, was the instrument pitch'd upon, as the only

person that Nero could think competent for the discharge of such a trust. He was now pretty well advanced in years, and had spent the whole course of his life in arms, from first to last. He was the man that settled the peace of the empire in the west, upon the revolt of the Germans. It was he that finish'd the conquest of Britain; which before that, was neither perfectly subdu'd, nor known: and he presented his father Claudius also with the honour of a triumph for it, though he had taken no pains, nor been present in the action. Now considering Vespasian under all these circumstances; his years, resolution, faith and conduct; so many children as he had, so many hostages for his fidelity; and in a vigour of youth to execute their father's orders: beside the concurrence of God's secret providence, with other incidents for the good of the empire. All this together mov'd Nero to make Vespasian general of his forces in Syria. And for his further encouragement, his commission was accompany'd with a great many fair words, after the practice of the world, when they have need of a man. Vespasian had no sooner receiv'd his commission from Nero, in Achaia, but he presently dispatch'd away his son Titus for Alexandria, to draw off the fifth and

Vespasian's fitness for such a trust, was accordingly

Vespasian and Titus draw together a mighty army.

The distracted state of the Roman affairs.

Nero gives Vespasian the government of Syria.

and the tenth legions there; while he himself cross'd the Hellespont, and so took his way by land into Syria: where he came to a rendezvous with all the Roman troops, and the auxiliaries that were sent in by the princes bordering upon that province.

THE Jews in the mean time, were so transported with the unexpected advantage they had got over the Romans under Cestius, that they behav'd themselves like so many madmen; pushing on the war beyond all bounds of moderation and prudence. They drew up what strength they were able to make out of the best troops they had, and with that body marched towards Ascalon; an ancient city, about five hundred * and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem. The Jews had ever an aversion to these people; and for that reason, they made choice of that place for their first attack. They had for their leaders three famous captains: Niger, of Peraita; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Essene; men eminent for strength of body, resolution, and good government.

ASCALON had a wall of a prodigious strength, if there had but been men enow to defend it: the whole garison consisting only of one company of foot and a troop of horse, under the command of Anthony. The Jews thought it long till they could come to blows with the Romans; and so made a too hasty march of it to fall upon them by surprize: but Anthony having intelligence of their approach, without being shock'd either at their courage or their numbers, had drawn his horse out of the town beforehand, to be in readiness for the encounter. Upon their advance, he received their charge with great bravery; and so put a stop to their progress toward the walls of the town. Now the Romans, by the advantage of veterans against raw soldiers; horse to foot, order to confusion; troops well appointed, to people but lightly arm'd; counsel and conduct, against rage and passion; and men, in fine, under discipline and command, against a loose head-strong multitude: the Romans, I say, by these advantages, made no difficulty of putting the Jews to the rout; for their first ranks were no sooner broken by the Roman horse, but they fled several ways; some toward the town, where they were crush'd to death by crouds of their own people; and needed no worse enemy; others scatter'd all over the plain, with the Roman cavalry at their back, and field-room enough for the horse to roam in. Upon this confusion they were all at mercy; some one way, some another; for which way soever they fled, the Romans were upon them; overtaking some, crossing upon others: and some again they surrounded, and dispatch'd with their darts. In this calamitous state of desperation, their vast multitudes were no more than so many single men; and the Romans, at the same time, flush'd with victory, out of their small number, had enow and to spare. The Jews, on the other hand, as they were ashamed of having turn'd their backs, so they did all that was possible toward the recovery of their honour; but the Romans, in the course of their success, without either weariness or intermission, pursu'd their victory the

greatest part of the day, kill'd ten thousand of them upon the spot; two of their generals, John and Silas, being of the number; the rest, most of them being wounded, made their escape with Niger (the only survivor of the three generals) to Salis, a town in Idumea. On the Roman side there were only some few wounded.

THIS was a terrible loss; but so far were the Jews yet from sinking under the burden, that on the contrary, betwixt a desponding sorrow, and the thirst of revenge, their spirits were rais'd upon it; insomuch, that instead of a discouragement drawn from the last defeat, they gather'd matter of hope and comfort from the remembrance of former successes. This confidence drew after it a second overthrow. When they had paus'd a short time, scarce long enough to cure their wounds, the Jews in a most outrageous indignation, got together all the power they were able to make, and in a much greater body attempted Ascalon once again, under the same disadvantages of want of skill and discipline, and with the same fortune as before; for they fell at unawares into an ambush of Anthony's by the way they were to pass; where they were beset, charg'd, and routed by Anthony's troops before they could put themselves in order of battle: they lost eight thousand upon the place; the rest escaping with their general Niger, who acquitted himself several times upon that occasion like a great captain, and a man of honour. But the enemy closely pursuing them, they were driven for sanctuary into a strong castle belonging to a village call'd Bezedel. This castle was look'd upon to be impregnable; so that Anthony, to make short work of it, set fire to the fort, as the only way to destroy the castle and the general both at once. Upon this exploit, the Romans went their way triumphing and rejoicing, making no doubt but Niger was destroy'd in the flames. But he, it seems, to avoid the fire, leap'd down from the top of the castle into a deep vault; and as some of his friends were searching for his body three days after, to give it funeral rites, he presented himself before them yet living; which transported the Jews, out of an affliction almost insupportable, into the most surprizing excess of joy imaginable, to find so necessary an instrument of their well-being deliver'd by so signal a providence.

VESPASIAN being now come with his army to Antioch (the capital of Syria) and without all dispute, for beauty and situation, the third city in the Roman empire; he found in this city king Agrippa, with all his own troops, expecting him. He pass'd from thence to Ptolemais, and there were the inhabitants of Sepphoris, a town of Galilee, waiting to receive him. These were a well affected people, but so well understanding their own interest too, and the formidable power of Rome, that, without staying for the coming of Vespasian, to shew their good affections to the government, they had by anticipation promis'd and protested as much to Cestius Gallus; receiving a garison from him, and acknowledging him for their governor, and binding themselves to serve him cheerfully, even against their own countrymen.

Tenthousand Jews kill'd upon the place.

Eight thousand Jews more slain upon a second overthrow.

Niger preserv'd by a wonderful providence.

The defeat of Cestius makes the Jews rash and insolent.

They advance towards Ascalon.

The bodies engage, and the Jews totally routed. The Jews not a match for the Romans.

* Five hundred and twenty furlongs amounted to sixty five English miles and an half, and an hundred and eighty geometrical paces.

Vespasian did likewise grant them, at their request, such a body of horse and foot for a garison as might be a sufficient security against incursions, if the Jews should make any such attempt. Now Sepphoris being both the largest and the strongest city of all Galilee, Vespasian judg'd it a matter of high importance to have it in good hands.

CHAP. II.

The two Galilees, with a description of them. A description of Samaria. Jerusalem stands in the middle of Judea. A division or distribution of Judea.

The two Galilees, with the situation and description of them.

THERE are two Galilees, known by the names of the Upper and the Lower Galilee, which are encompass'd by Phenicia and Syria. They are bounded on the west by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and by mount Carmel; formerly belonging to the Galileans, at present to the Tyrians; and next adjoining to * Gaba, or the city of the horse-men, so call'd, from the plantation of Herod's horse-men that were there settled, upon their dismissal. On the south, with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan. On the east, with Hippene, Gadaris and Gaulanitis, together with the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and on the north, with Tyre, and the frontiers of the Tyrians.

The Lower Galilee.

THE Lower Galilee stretcheth length-ways from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the sea-coast. It reaches in breadth from Xaloth on the great plain as far as Bersabe; and there begins the breadth of the Upper Galilee, and so goes up to the village of Baca, which divides it from the territory of the Syrians. And as to the length of it, they reckon it from Thella, a village near Jordan, to Meroth.

THESE two provinces are of a large extent, and surrounded with neighbouring princes of several distinct nations; whom upon all occasions of controversy, they have still made head against: for, over and above their being very populous, the inhabitants are bold and warlike, and train'd up from children to exercises of arms; the men neither wanted courage, nor the country good store of provisions. Their lands are fruitful to admiration, and such nurseries of all manner of fruit trees and plants, that it would make any man in love with husbandry. The grounds are all over well stock'd with people and cultivated, and not one foot that lies idle. There are cities and villages in abundance; which must needs be populous in so plentiful a country; for the number of inhabitants is computed to be above fifteen thousand in the least of them. So that though Galilee falls short of the country beyond Jordan, in the compass of ground, it is yet much superior to it in strength and value: for over and above the fertility of the soil, e-

very spot of it is so improv'd, that there's no ground lost: whereas in that vast tract of land beyond Jordan, the greater part of it is dry and barren, and not so proper for corn, and several other necessities for the life and service of man. Not but that in some particular places, as Perea for one, the soil is richer, and as well stored with excellent fruits as any other place; witness the vines, olive-trees, palm-trees, and other plants that we find up and down in the fields, in great abundance and perfection; and they are all water'd and refresh'd with torrents from the mountains, and with quick springs in the excessive heats. The length of this country lies from Macherus to Pella; the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; with Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the west; the land of the Moabites on the south; and Arabia † Silbonitis, Philadelphia, and ‡ Gerasa on the east. Samaria is situate betwixt Judea and Galilee; beginning at a village call'd Ginea, upon the plain, and extending to the toparchy of Acrabatane. The country is much of the nature with that of Judea; full of mountains and plains; of an excellent soil, and which plentifully rewards the labour of tillage and manure; it abounding with great store of fruits, both wild and meliorated or domestick; and though it is naturally dry, yet it is abundantly supply'd with showers: beside the best water in the world; incomparable pastures, and milk no where so plentiful. But the superlative excellency and advantage of these two provinces is yet behind: that is to say, the incredible number of inhabitants. And to conclude, the boundary to them both is Anuath, otherwise call'd the village of Borceus.

A description of Samaria.

THE same village bounds Judea likewise on the north. And the length of it runs from the south side to a village upon the borders of Arabia, call'd Jardan: the breadth from the river Jordan to Joppa. In the middle of it stands Jerusalem; which has been call'd, aptly enough by some the navel, or the centre of the province. Judea, in fine, wants nothing either by sea or land to make it as delicious as it is fruitful, having the advantage of sea ports all the way to Ptolemais. It is divided into eleven parts; Jerusalem the first, as the sovereign head of all the rest: the other ten are distributed into as many toparchies; Gophna, the second, and so Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumea, Engadi, Herodion and Jericho. The neighbouring countries are under the jurisdiction of Jamnia and Joppe; as Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea and Trachonitis, are comprized in the kingdom of Agrippa, but excepted out of the parts first before spoken of. This country is inhabited by the Syrians and the Jews promiscuously, extends itself in breadth from mount Libanus and the sources of Jordan, to the lake of Tiberias; and in length, from the village of Arphas to Julias.

Jerusalem stands in the middle of Judea.

A division or distribution of Judea.

* Gr. Γάμαλα.

† Gr. Σιμωνίτις.

‡ Gr. Γερασα.

But should be Semechonitis. See Bochart's Hieros. part 1. l. 1. c. 6.

CHAP. III.

Vespasian sends Placidus with relief to the Sephorites. Galilee at the mercy of fire and sword. Titus comes up to Vespasian at Ptolemais with a vast army. The order and policy of the Roman discipline. The Roman way of incamping. The trumpet gives every man his orders. The manner of giving the word for a battle. The Roman way of marching. The extent of the Roman empire.

WE have been as brief upon Judea, with the boundaries and confines of it, as the matter would bear.

Vespasian sends relief to the Sephorites, under the command of Placidus.

THE supplies that Vespasian sent to the Sephorites, being a thousand horse, and six thousand foot, under the command of Placidus the tribune, were distributed after the drawing of them up in the great plain, into two divisions. The horse continu'd in the camp, and the foot were quarter'd within the walls, for the security of the city; but not without making daily excursions up and down into the neighbourhood; which gave no small uneasiness to Joseph and his companions, though they continued quiet, without attempting any act of hostility, either by assault or surprize; beside that they pillag'd both city and country of whatever they could come at, and fell so severely upon the inhabitants at every rally they made, that they durst not so much as shew their heads any more out of their gates.

JOSEPH, for all this, ventur'd to make a bold attempt upon the city, in hopes of carrying his point; but finding to his cost that he himself, before his going off from the Galileans, had made the place in a manner impregnable against himself to the Roman power, and that it was not to be gain'd from the Sephorites either by force or policy, he let fall his enterprize. This practice however (out of a natural aversion the Romans have to treachery) made the war ten times fiercer, and the enemy much more outrageous than before; depopulating the country night and day with fire and sword, pillaging whatever they could lay their hands on, putting all to death without mercy, where they found resistance, and making slaves of the rest. Galilee, in fine, was all cover'd with fire and blood; and not a soul but had their part in this calamity, and nothing left them to trust to, but the towns that Joseph himself had fortify'd.

Galilee at the mercy of fire and sword.

Titus comes up to Vespasian at Ptolemais with a vast army.

TITUS was by this time come up to Vespasian at Ptolemais, with the troops he brought from Alexandria; and his arrival was much sooner than upon a winter's march could have been expected. And there he join'd the fifteenth legions which he had brought with him to the fifth and the tenth which were with his father, and were reputed the bravest troops of the empire. They were follow'd also with eighteen companies, and five more to them out of Cesarea; with one troop of horse, and five troops of Syrian horse. Ten of these cohorts had a thousand men each, and the rest six hundred and thirteen foot, and sixscore horse, beside a very considerable enforcement of auxiliaries from the neighbouring princes, as Antiochus, Agrippa and Sohemus, who sent their two thousand foot apiece, and a thousand horse; and Malchus, the king of Arabia, five thou-

sand horse. These troops all together made up a body of sixty thousand horse and foot, beside the train of baggage, and servants that followed the camp; who, for experience, courage, military skill and application (for the most part) were not much inferior to their masters themselves.

THE policy and wisdom of the Romans, in this way of ordering their servants, can never be sufficiently admir'd: for it makes them at the same time not only serviceable to private families, but to the common-wealth also in offices of war and government. And then whoever considers the excellency of the Roman discipline and conduct, in the matter of military order and execution, will find that fortune had the least share in the success of their arms; and that they advanced themselves to the command of the world upon the foundations of their own honour and virtue. They were not then to learn the art of war, when they came to fall under the necessity of using it: but they made it their exercise and practice in times of peace, and handled their arms as naturally as if they had been born with them: so that peace or war was, in that respect, all a case to them; and they were ever in readiness, without troubling their heads about times or seasons. Their very trials of skill look'd like real combats; and not a day pass'd, but every man went through all his exercises, which render'd military duty familiar to them. By this means they were always in order, without feeling the inconveniences either of fear or fatigue. Now for men that keep themselves upon the guard of this habit and discipline, an enemy under less regular conduct is not able to deal with them. But, as I was a saying, their exercises are effectually but combats, without drawing blood; as their fiercest encounters are but bloody exercises. To secure themselves from surprize, upon entering into an enemy's country, the first thing they do is to pitch and fortify their camp, not slightly or disorderly, but with a regard to the condition of the place: levelling the ground where it is uneven, and for the figure of it, in the form of a quadrangle. In order to the dispatch and the execution of all this, they have their smiths, carpenters, pioneers, and other workmen for fortifications, to attend the army. The inner part of the camp is distributed into quarters, or lodgments, for the officers and soldiers; and the outside carries the resemblance of a wall, where they raise turrets at an equal distance one from another: and in the intervals, they have all sorts of weapons to be us'd at a distance, as darts, arrows, stones, &c. and instruments or machines also for the casting of them. This camp hath four large gates for horse and man to pass and repass at pleasure, as there shall be occasion. On the inside of it there are several streets orderly dispos'd, with lodgments in the middle, for the head officers: and within them again, a tent erected for the general, after the form of a little temple; a marketplace, with shops and standings for artificers and tradesmen; courts of justice and tribunals, for the hearing of causes as well military as civil: and, taking it all together, it looks like a city of a matter of one night's growth; so wonderful is the dispatch, where there are great masters to direct, and many hands to execute.

The order and policy of the Roman discipline.

The Roman way of incamping.

execute. And if this, in fine, be not enough for the securing of the quarter, 'tis but running a line of circumvallation about it at last, with a trench of about four * cubits deep, and as many over to finish the work. The soldiers have their arms still about them, and live in a military kind of brotherhood, orderly and peaceably one with another. Upon any occasion of fetching wood, water, forage, &c. they go out in parties: and so for their times of repast, they do not eat now and then separately, when, and as every man pleases, but all together; and the trumpet directs them when to sleep, when to rise, when to set the watch, &c. So it is, in fine, that they do nothing but by rule and command. In the morning the soldiers wait upon their captains, the captains upon the tribunes, and then both captains and tribunes upon the general; from whom they receive the word or signal, and such other orders to be communicated to their subordinates as the occasion requires: to the end that every man may be instructed in his duty, and how to behave himself upon action; how and when to sally out, or to retreat, and to do all things in order whatever they do.

The trumpet gives every man his orders. The Roman way of de-camping.

The trumpet tells them when they are to de-camp; and then they take up their tents, pack up their baggage, and prepare to be gone. Upon the second sounding, they load their carriages and their sumpters, and stand ready to move; watching for the word of command, as people do for the sign at a horse race when to start; and at the same time setting fire to the camp, which may be easily repair'd by throwing up another; beside that the enemy shall make no benefit of it. Upon the third sounding, the army marches, and all possible care is taken to prevent stragglers, and to move every man in his rank.

The word given for a battle.

On the right-hand of the general stands the herald, who with a loud voice puts this question thrice over to the army: Are you ready for a battle? The soldiers in a martial tone and action, return him this answer as often over: We are ready for a battle. Nay, many times they prevent the very demand, by stretching forth their right-hands, and other signs of joy and satisfaction, in hope of coming to that issue. After this, the army advances with as much manly gravity and composure as if it were in the face of an enemy.

The Roman way of marching.

The foot are arm'd with helmets and breast-plates; two swords, one on each side, and that on the left much longer than the other; which is about the size of a dagger. The general's guards carry javelins and targets, and all the rest pikes and long bucklers, a saw, a basket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a rein, a scythe, a chain, and bread for three days: so that the men carry'd little less burden than the beasts. The horsemen wear long swords girt to their right-sides. They carry a lance in their hand, a buckler in a scarf hanging a-cross the horse-side, a quiver with three darts or more in it, broad-pointed, and about the length of a short javelin; their helmets and corslets like those of the foot. And for the cavaliers that attend the person of the general, their arms are the very same with the rest, only being chosen by

lot, the troop that has the luck to be so pitch'd upon has a right of precedence.

This is the Roman way of marching and encamping, with the various manner of their arming. They do nothing in their military enterprizes and combats that is rash and inconsiderate; but their actions are the result of deliberate counsels: by which means, either their failings will be fewer, or those that happen will be more easily redress'd; for, provided that matters be well-weigh'd and digested, they had rather suffer a disappointment by the ill success of a well grounded enterprize, than become indebted to fortune for an advantage contrary to reason. For these blind events give people an ill habit of abandoning all to chance, without any precaution or foresight; whereas men are the wiser and the better for instructive examples, though in cases of miscarriage; beside the comfort of falling with honour and a good conscience, by a calamity which human prudence could not prevent.

This continual use and exercise of arms does not only harden and strengthen the bodies of men, but elevates their very minds also into resolutions more courageous and firm: beside that people are kept in awe under the apprehension of penalties and rigour. It is death by the martial law, for a soldier, not only to desert his station or betray his trust, but for the very least neglect of his duty. Now this is a terrible rigour, and yet the officers are still more inexorable than the laws themselves; for they make amends, they think, in the honours and rewards that they confer upon men of merit for the cruelty of punishing criminals. And such is the reverence they have for the authority of military order and discipline, that a Roman army is certainly the most glorious spectacle under the sun, in a time of peace; and in a state of war, the most dreadful: for every individual of the whole army moves but as a member of the same body, and at the same time in such a harmony of motion, as if they were all govern'd by the same mind. Their ears are always open to attend the word of command, their eyes watching to receive the signal, and their hands ever in readiness to execute the orders of their superiors, in contempt of all difficulties and dangers. When they come to the encounter, and that the battle is once resolved upon, they never trouble their heads with the enemies numbers, or conduct; the difficulties or dangers of passes, nay, nor with the malice of fortune itself; but break through all obstacles, and make themselves as good as sure of the victory before they strike a stroke. Now if their counsels and deliberations be govern'd altogether by political prudence, and sound advice, and follow'd with an answerable vigour of execution; what wonder is it to see the Roman empire mistress of the universe, and stretching itself as far as the Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the fruitful country of Africa on the south, and the Rhine and Danube on the north? And yet, when all is said, the dominion seems still too narrow for the great souls of the possessors of it.

The extent of the Roman empire.

* Four cubits were equivalent to two English yards, one foot three inches and an half.

625

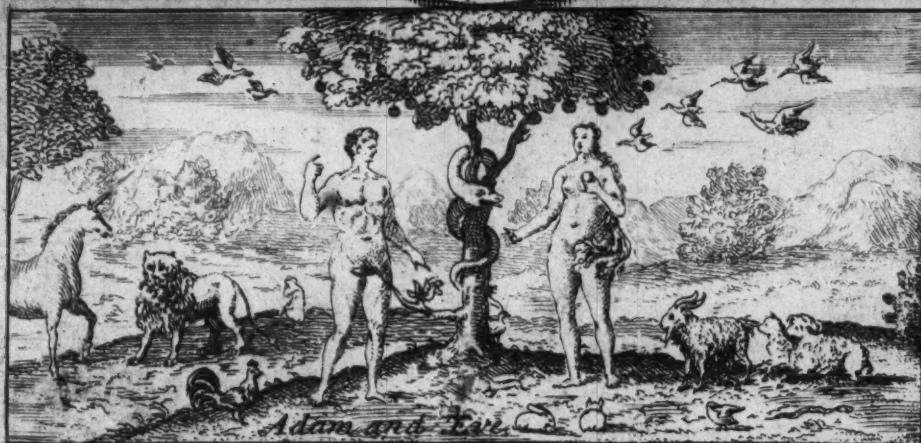


REAVIS JOSEPH

VESPASIAN



TITU



It is not my purpose in what I have here deliver'd, to write a panegyrick to the honour of the Romans; but rather for the comfort of those that are overcome, to shew they have no reason to be ashamed of their masters, and to divert rash innovators and malecontents from attempting impossibilities. Beside that this discourse may perhaps be of some service to the curious, in the light it will give them toward a better understanding of the Roman methods of government and discipline: but I shall return from whence I digress'd.

CHAP. IV.

Placidus breaks into Galilee. He assaults Jotapata, and is beaten off.

Placidus breaks into Galilee.

He assaults Jotapata.

Placidus is beaten off.

WHILE Vespasian was with his son Titus at Ptolemais, he gave all necessary orders for the supply and government of the army; and in this interim, Placidus made an inroad into Galilee, over-ran the whole country, took prodigious numbers of prisoners, and put the greater part of them to the sword. Now these were only a timorous faint-hearted sort of people; but the more resolute part of the Galileans were observ'd to take sanctuary still in cities, and other strong holds that Joseph had fortify'd; which when Placidus took notice of, he resolv'd to set upon them by assault, and to begin with Jotapata; which was the most defensible place they had, making no doubt at all of carrying it upon the first attack by surprize, and thereby opening a way to the taking of other places; which would acquire him a reputation among the other generals: for the very example of Jotapata, being the strongest and most defensible place in all Galilee, would probably draw the remainder after it. But Placidus was much mistaken in his conjecture; for the inhabitants being precaution'd of his design, and that he was already upon his march, went out of the city to encounter him; and falling upon the Romans at unawares, with a considerable body, and in good heart, (their country, wives and children, being all at stake) they put them to the rout, wounded a great many of his men, but kill'd only seven of them, being well-arm'd, and making an orderly retreat. Of the Jews there were only three slain, and some few wounded; for being ill-arm'd, they were fain to content themselves to fight with darts and lances at a distance, without venturing on a close engagement. Upon this repulse, Placidus left the place.

CHAP. V.

Vespasian marches from Ptolemais into Galilee. The order of his march. Upon Vespasian's advance, Joseph's people desert. Joseph gives over the war, and withdraws to Tiberias.

Vespasian marches from Ptolemais into Galilee.

VESPASIAN, being now resolv'd upon an incursion into Galilee, leaves Ptole-

mais, and gives the army their marching orders, according to the institution of the Roman discipline; the auxiliaries being light-arm'd, and the archers advancing before the rest, to keep the enemy at a distance; and, by scouting out into the woods, and other suspected passages, for discovery of their ambushes, to prevent surprizes. These were follow'd with a party of Roman horse and foot; and after them, a detachment of ten men out of every company, with their arms and necessary provisions for the forming of a camp. The next in course were the pioneers, to level and mend the ways, and cut down the trees and bushes that incommoded them in their march. After these came the general's baggage, with that of his great officers, and a strong party of horse for their convoy. Vespasian himself marching next, with a select body of horse and foot, some troops of lances, and six-score of his own men drawn out of so many gross squadrons. The engineers, with their machines and instruments for battery and assault took their place next, and then follow'd the tribunes and other officers, with a choice body of troops about them. Next came the imperial eagle, at the head of all the rest of the Roman ensigns, as the prince of the birds for authority and power; an emblem of government, and a good omen of success in arms. After the sacred ensigns follow'd the trumpets, and after the trumpets the body of the army, six in front, with the proper officers to keep them in rank and file, according to order and good discipline. The servants of every legion march'd along with the infantry, and took care of the carriage and baggage. In the last place were the pourveyors, and other mercenaries, for the service of the army, under a convoy of horse and foot.

The order of his march.

In this order Vespasian advanc'd to the frontiers of Galilee, and there encamp'd with his soldiers about him, earnestly pressing for action; but partly in confidence that the enemy's hearts would fail them upon the very approach of the army, or otherwise, that they might change their minds yet before it came to a battle, he gave them time to bethink themselves; and in the interim, went in hand with his preparations for a siege.

THIS great general was so far in the right, that the Jews fell into such a consternation, with dread and terror upon the very report of his coming, that Joseph's people, who were then encamped near Sepphoris, abandon'd their captain, not only without a blow striking, but without so much as a sight of the enemy. Joseph finding himself thus deserted, and out of condition to encounter the Romans, the hearts of the Jews quite sunk, the greater part of them gone over to the enemy, and the remainder in all appearance ready to follow, he quite gave over any farther thought of the war, and so, consulting his own security, with some few that stood by him, he withdrew to Tiberias.

Upon Vespasian's advance, Joseph's people desert.

Joseph gives over the war, and withdraws to Tiberias.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Vespasian takes Gadara by assault. The Romans put all to the sword. Joseph puts it to the council of Jerusalem, whether to fight or treat.

Vespasian takes Gadara by assault. The Romans put all to the sword.

THE first place that Vespasian attack'd, was Gadara; and he carry'd it, without any difficulty, there being no men in it to make a considerable defence. The Romans, upon forcing the town, put all to death without distinction, betwixt hatred to the Jews, and revenge for the overthrow of Cestius. They set fire not only to the city itself, but to the little towns and villages about it: laying them utterly waste, and making the inhabitants slaves.

JOSEPH'S retiring for sanctuary put the Tiberians all to their wit's end, to consider, that if the case had not been desperate, he would never have fled for it. Nor were they mistaken in their opinion; for Joseph was by this time sensible of the hopeless state of the war, and that the Jews had no way in the world to save themselves but by submission and repentance. As for his own part, he made no doubt of obtaining fair quarter from the Romans if he should desire it: but rather than betray his country and his trust, he would suffer a thousand deaths, without endeavouring to make a particular friend of a publick enemy. Upon this he wrote to the principal and leading men of Jerusalem, a naked state of the case; without making the Romans either greater or less than in truth they were, for fear of puffing them up into insolence upon the Jews for cowardice one way, or provoking the Jews to be rash and inconsiderate in the ostentation of their power, in another. Joseph, in fine, remitted the matter to the council to consider of; desiring them either to send him word immediately, if they had a mind to treat; or, if they were resolv'd to prosecute the war, that they would be pleas'd without delay to send him an army able to give battle to the Romans. This was Joseph's letter, which he sent forthwith by an express to Jerusalem.

Joseph puts it to the council of Jerusalem, whether to fight or treat.

C H A P. VII.

Joseph slips away out of Tiberias into Jotapata. A deserter gives Vespasian notice of it, and that Joseph was in a trap. The siege of Jotapata. A desperate fight all day till night parts them. A combat of five days successively. The situation of Jotapata. Vespasian plies the siege with all possible vigour. The manner of the attack and defense. Joseph's invention to keep off stones and fire. The Romans under a great disappointment.

JOTAPATA was generally look'd upon as the strongest place in all Galilee; and Vespasian taking notice of it, and finding how the Jews in all their difficulties fled thither for sanctuary, he resolv'd the next thing he did to attempt the place; and so sent horse, foot, and pioneers, across the mountains to clear the ways;

which were at that time craggy, and extreme difficult even for foot; but for horse utterly impassable. These pioneers, in four days, cut out a passage for the whole army to march without any trouble.

ON the fifth day, being the twenty first of the month * Artemisius, Joseph slipt out of Tiberias, and convey'd himself into Jotapata: which, in some measure, reviv'd the spirits of the Jews. A certain deserter presently carry'd away the news to Vespasian of Joseph's being come into the town; advising him by all means to make haste and fall on; for Joseph was now in a trap, and if he were but once secured, the war with the Jews would quickly be at an end. Vespasian was so transported at the tidings, that he look'd upon it as an immediate providence from heaven, so far to blind and infatuate the most considerable enemy they had, as to inveigle him into the noose of a voluntary bondage. Vespasian, upon this, detach'd Placidus with a thousand horse, in commission with Ebutius (one of the greatest captains for counsel and execution in the whole army) giving them orders, without delay, to invest the city, and to take all possible care that Joseph should not make his escape.

Joseph slips away out of Tiberias into Jotapata. A deserter gives Vespasian notice of it, and that Joseph was in a trap.

VESPASIAN follow'd the next morning with the whole army, and got up to Jotapata in the afternoon: where he drew up his army on the north-side of the city, about seven † furlongs from the town; encamping upon a hill within view of the enemy, on purpose to terrify them with so dreadful a sight. This was done accordingly, and the people all seized with such an astonishment, that not a soul durst so much as look out of the walls. The Romans had had so hard a march that day, that they attempted nothing farther at present. But Vespasian however order'd the begirring of the town with two great bodies, and a third troop of horse to be posted at a distance to cut off all communication with the place. When the Jews saw how they were streighten'd and coop'd up, their very despairs enflam'd their courage; as there's no daring like that which arises from necessity.

The siege of Jotapata.

THE next morning the Romans began to batter the walls; and the Jews at first made a vigorous resistance: but when Vespasian let loose his bowmen and slingers upon them, with all other weapons of the same kind, to force them from the walls; and when he himself at the same time, with a body of foot, assaulted the wall upon a hill over against the other, which lay more exposed to the danger of a battery; this put Joseph into such a fright for fear of the town, that he himself, at the head of the whole body of the Jews, fell outrageously upon the Romans; beat them from the walls, and follow'd the advantage with a desperate resolution. And yet the mischief they suffer'd was not inferior to what they did; being both sides equally provok'd and enflam'd: the Jews by desperation, and the Romans by indignation and shame, to find the others so near their match. There was skill and valour on the one side, against a brutal rage on the other. The fight was maintain'd all the day till night parted them. Of the Romans there

A desperate fight all day, till night parts them.

* i. e. May.

† Seven furlongs were eight hundred and seventy five geometrical paces; that is, three quarters and half a quarter of a mile.

were several wounded and thirteen slain: and a matter of six hundred of the Jews wounded, and seventeen kill'd upon the place.

A combat of five days successively.

THE besiegers fell on next day again; and in this encounter, they did both sides outdo themselves: the Jews took courage from the repulse they had given the enemy already beyond all expectation, and the Romans from the shame of being held so long in play: for the very delay of a victory was little less to them than an overthrow. They fought it out five days at this rate; the besiegers pressing still harder and harder upon them, and the Jews on the other hand, not only supporting the defense, but at the same time making sallies over and above, without so much as minding the prodigious numbers they were to encounter. Neither did the Romans abate any thing of the vigour of their attacks, for the difficulty and hazard of the enterprize.

The situation of Jotapata

As to the situation of Jotapata, it stands upon a rock utterly inaccessible; saving only upon one quarter: it is encompass'd on three sides of it with such precipices of steep and profound vallies, that it is enough to turn a man's brain and make him giddy, but to look down from top to bottom. There is no coming at it but upon the north; where part of the city is built upon the brow of the mountain: and that way it might be approach'd. But then Joseph had caused this place to be fortify'd and taken into the town, to secure a mountain that overlooks and commands it; which, with other mountains there about, kept the place so close, that there was no seeing of it till a body was just upon it. This was the situation and strength of Jotapata.

Vespasian applies the siege, with all possible vigour. The manner of the attack, and defense.

VESPASIAN, finding that he had the natural difficulties of the place, and the rugged stubbornness of the people to contend withal, took up a resolution of pushing the siege forward with more vigour, and call'd a council of his officers together, to advise in what manner to carry on his attack. The debate came to this issue, that there should be erected a huge terrafs on the weakest part of the town. The resolve being taken, Vespasian presently set his whole army at work, to provide necessities and materials for the raising of such a mount; as vast quantities of stone and timber from the neighbouring mountains, with provisions for hurdles to shelter the besiegers against darts and shot from the town. Under the covert of those defenses they advanced their design, it being impossible for any shot from the town to do execution upon them. As for the earth they made use of, they had it out of the neighbourhood; and so handed it from one to another: insomuch that, what with the vast number of hands to assist them, (for the whole army was engag'd) and the attempt going on still without intermission, the work could

not but advance exceedingly. The Jews in the mean while did all that was possible, by darts and arrows from the walls, and by heavy stones upon their wattles, to divert them from their business: but all they were able to do, was only to make a noise and interrupt the proceeding, but no way to defeat or disappoint it.

VESPASIAN had by this time an hundred and sixty engines at work, casting lances at the defendants; beside larger machines to throw stones and javelins, artificial fires, arrows, &c. which were all manag'd by Arabians archers, and other masters of shooting; and made not only the wall itself, but the whole space also betwixt that and the terrafs, too hot for the defendants to approach. This did not hinder the Jews yet from sallying out upon the Romans in troops, like thieves; stripping them of all their defenses, and then falling upon them as so many naked men, and setting fire to every thing about them that was combustible, and by this means undoing all they had done. Vespasian finding the mischief of the Jews breaking in upon them; and that there was no way to prevent it, but by making their work all of a piece, and filling up the intervals, that there might be no room for them to pass, he went that way to work; and joining his troops in a close body, put a final end to their excursions.

The mount being now brought up almost to the height of the town-wall, Joseph did not think it honourable, to have more done on the one side to destroy the town, than on the other to defend it. So that he call'd the workmen together, and gave order for the raising of the wall, and keeping it up still above the height of the terrafs. But they excusing themselves, upon the impossibility of advancing any work under all that shot, Joseph bethought himself of a contrivance to guard both against stones and fire: which was by driving several great stakes fast into the ground, and stretching up so many raw hides against them; and these to be interposed betwixt the enemy and the bodies of the besieged: the moisture of the skins would resist and damp the flame, and the yielding disposition of them would enfeeble the violence of stones or lances, and render them in a manner ineffectual. Under the protection of this covert, the workmen follow'd it so hard day and night, without either fear or danger, that in a short time they rais'd a wall of twenty * cubits, and fortify'd it with turrets and strong embattlements. The Romans look'd upon themselves by this time to be as good as masters of the town; and it was therefore the greater surprize to meet with so confounding a policy, and so invincible an obstinacy at the same time.

Joseph's invention to keep off stone and fire.

The Romans under a great disappointment.

* Twenty cubits amounted to thirty-six English feet, that is twelve yards.

C H A P. VIII.

Vespasian attempts by starving, what he could not get by force. No provisions wanting in Jotapata but water. The garison flinted. The pit-water near spent. An invention to conceal their want of it. Vespasian betakes himself to his arms again. Joseph finds out a way for a supply. He propounds an escape: the Jews beg of him to stand by them. Joseph reasons the matter with them. The Jews continue their importunities. Joseph deliberates, and enters into action. Vespasian bids his men give over the assault. The invincible courage and resolution of the Jews.

Vespasian attempts by starving, what he could not compass by force.

No provision wanting in Jotapata but water.

The garison flinted.

The pit-water near spent.

An invention to conceal the want of water.

THE Jews took such heart upon this stratagem and the success of it, that they pass'd not a day without incursions, skirmishes, and all sorts of violences, by fire, sword and pillage. Vespasian was equally troubled at the disgrace, and at the disappointment: And therefore, upon second thoughts, gave over the assault, and contented himself to endeavour the starving of the place instead of storming it; reasoning the matter with himself, either that want would bring them to submission, or if they stood it out, that famine in the mean time would do the business of the sword; either by weakening or by wasting them, and putting them out of condition of defence, whereby he might obtain the easier conquest. Vespasian, upon this, blockt them up so close, that there was no passing in or out.

THEY had in the town, corn, and all manner of necessaries in abundance, save only salt. As for water, 'tis true, they had not so much as one fountain about the city, and only rain water for their common use: which, in that hot and dry country, was very scarce, especially in summer; and this was their present case. It was a great affliction to them, the very thought of a drought, and the distress they were already fallen into for want of water. The place being plentifully stor'd with all other provisions, and the men in good heart, Joseph, in order to protract the siege, put the garison to their allowance, to husband the little water they had, and make the stock hold out so much the longer. This order for the stinting of their drink, put the people out of all patience; for it looked as if they were almost drawn dry; and they began to be froward upon it, and would work no longer. This peevish humour of the Jews could not be well kept from the knowledge of the Romans; who were within distance of observing from another hill near hand there, whatever pass'd among the Jews: as the tumultuary thronging together, the measuring of their portions, and their uneasiness about it: several of the Jews being cut off too, upon the place, at that very instant, by shot from the Roman engines. The pit-water being by this time well nigh spent, and Vespasian in an hourly expectance of the town's falling into his hands, Joseph put this amusement upon him. He caus'd a great many parcels of cloaths to be hung up dropping-wet, upon the battlements of the walls within view of the Romans; wherein he gain'd his end of inducing them to believe that there could not be such a scarcity of water, in a place where they were so lavish of it: and upon that presumption, they fell into a direct despondency

of ever taking the place for want of water. Nay, Vespasian himself gave over all hope of carrying it by a siege; and so had recourse once again to arms. The Jews, on the other side, were heartily glad of it; for they themselves, and their city, were both brought to the last extremity, and desir'd nothing more than to exchange a starving calamity, for want of bread and water, for an honourable death in the field. While Joseph was pondering about an expedient to remedy this inconvenience, it came into his head, that, on the west side of the town, there was a forlorn hollow gutter, that lay quite out of the way, so as no body minded it. Joseph propounded by the convenience of this passage to get relief into the town, as water, and whatever else they wanted; and to that end he wrote to some of the out-lying Jews, that liv'd toward that quarter, to send him from time to time what supplies he had occasion for; together with express instructions to cover the messengers with hair-skins, and then to have them creep upon all-fours: so that if the watch should get any glimpse of them, they might pass for dogs, or some other four-footed animals. This had effect till the correspondence was discover'd, and the communication cut off.

Vespasian returns to his arms again.

Joseph finds out a way for relief.

JOSEPH saw by this time, that it was a thing utterly impossible to defend the city, and that it would be certain death to him if he stay'd: so that he himself and several other great men, met presently in council upon it, and consulted how to make their escape. The people had already a jealousy of what they were about; and so came to Joseph in throngs, and begged of him above all things in this world to take care of them, for they had no other friend to trust to but himself. They could never be lost, they said, so long as he was safe; nor their lives better spent than at his feet: or, if they should be all seiz'd upon, it would be recorded to his eternal honour, that he was too brave either to fly from his enemies, or to abandon his friends: which would be much the case they said, as if a man should leap out of a ship in a storm, which he had taken charge of in a calm: telling him that this case of a vessel was the very same with that of their city; for, said they, who shall stand up to defend us and our country, when we have lost the single man, whom we look upon as the only means and hope of our safety?

Joseph propounds an escape.

The Jews beg of him to stand by them.

JOSEPH was not willing to have it thought, that he consulted altogether his particular security; and so gave them to understand in a plausible discourse, that it was more for their sakes than his own, that he had any thought of withdrawing; for either you will be made prisoners, says he, or you will not: and now take it which way you will. If the latter, what will you be the better for my staying with you? If the other, what will you be the better for my dying with you? Whereas, if I were then at liberty and abroad, I might bring an army into the field out of Galilee time enough to raise the siege: now so long as I lie coop'd up here in the town, I shall certainly do you a great deal of mischief without any sort of good; for it will irritate the Romans to a more vigorous prosecution of the siege, so long as they are sure of Joseph for a prize; but if I were out of the way once, they would look no farther after you perhaps.

Joseph reasons the matter with them in a plausible discourse.

The Jews
continue
their impor-
tunities.

THE people were so far from coming over to him upon this discourse, that they came still pressing upon him with more and more importunity: men, women and children; mothers with their infants at their breasts all in tears, embracing his knees, and casting themselves at his feet; begging of him with outcries and supplications, not to forsake them in their distress. And this they did not, I presume, out of envy to his being at ease; but upon some secret impulse, as if the very presence of Joseph would be a kind of protection to his friends.

JOSEPH'S heart was so far soften'd toward these people, betwixt gratitude and compassion, that he put it to a question within himself, whether to stay or go. "If I appear to stay willingly, says he, it will be taken as the power of the ascendant they have over me. But what if I should refuse, and then be forc'd to do it at last by being made a prisoner?" Upon this deliberation, Joseph resolv'd to stand it out with them, and bear his part in the common desperation of the city. "This, my good friends and countrymen, says he, is the true time to shew ourselves brave in, when there's no hope of safety but in our arms; when we are sure to receive honour in exchange for our lives, and for acting like good patriots, to have our memories celebrated to posterity for our country's devotees".

Joseph deli-
berates and
enters into
action.

FROM these words Joseph advanc'd to action, and putting himself at the head of the bravest men he had, charg'd the enemy's guards, beat them from their trenches, and push'd them up to the very camp: one while tearing their skins to pieces that cover'd them in their works; another while setting fire to the works themselves: and this they did time after time, for three or four days and nights successively, with an insuperable boldness, and an indefatigable labour.

Vespasian
bids his men
give over the
assault.

WHEN Vespasian saw how hard it went with the Romans upon these encounters; for when they were worsted, they were ashamed to turn their backs; and when they got the better of it at any time, they were too heavy arm'd to pursue the advantage: so that the Jews never fall'd but they did some mischief or other before they retreated: when Vespasian, I say, found upon what terms they were, he commanded his troops to give over the attack, and not cast away their lives against men that did but desire to die, under the provocation of an incurable despair. Their rage, he said, was but like a blaze that would go out of itself, if it wanted but matter to entertain it: beside, that the case of the Romans was quite a different thing from that of the Jews; the former fought only for dominion, the other, for life and liberty; and the one had a great deal more need of victory than the other. But in the mean time the Arabian and the Syrian slingers, archers, engineers, &c. were all at work with their stones, arrows and lances: and nothing, in fine, of that kind ceased, as the Jews found to their cost. But all this was so far from staggering the Jews, that on the contrary, they press'd through all difficulties to single out the Romans, body to body; and there fought it out, without quarter on either hand; and the living on both sides, stepping up to supply the place of the dead.

The invinci-
ble courage
and resolu-
tion of the
Jews.

CHAP. IX.

A description of the battering engine the ram. The manner of ordering it. A contrivance to defeat the force of it. The Jews have recourse to fire. A brave action of one Eleazar. Two glorious heroes. Vespasian receives a slight wound on the ankle. The strange force of battery. A bloody night, for the loss of brave men. The Jews stand firm to the last.

BETWIXT the length of the siege, and the perpetual excursions of the besieged, Vespasian was as good as besieg'd himself: but having now carry'd up his works near the height of the walls, he resolv'd to bring it then to an issue by the dint of battery, and order'd the battering ram to be brought up to the place of action. This ram is a machine of a prodigious bulk and size, like the mast of a ship, fortify'd with a strong piece of iron at the top of it, like the head of a ram: from whence, and from the manner of pushing in the use of it, like the butting of that creature, it took the name. This engine is hung up by the middle, with great cables or ropes, fasten'd to cross timbers, well cramp'd together and strongly supported. There it lies upon a poise, like the beam of a pair of scales: and as it hangs balancing thus in the air, it is mov'd backward and forward by the force of many hands, and falls with such a violence upon the place, where it is to batter, that no fortrefs or wall is able to stand the continu'd repetitions of its attack.

A description
of the ram.

VESPASIAN grew impatient with delay, and the siege seem'd a kind of idleness to the Romans; whereas the Jews at the same time were still doing of mischief; so that the general's heart was now set altogether upon dispatch. The first thing he did in order to it, was to bring his slingers, archers and ordinary machines closer up to the town, to beat the defendants from the walls, and to make way for the ram; which was then immediately brought on: that is to say, so soon as the archers and slingers had repuls'd the Jews from the walls. It was cover'd with hurdles, and wrapt up in hair skins, for the security both of the managers, and of the machine. The very first stroke of it put the people into an uproar, as if the town had been taken; and Joseph finding that their battering still in the same place, would bring down the wall over their heads in a very short time, he order'd several sacks of chaff to be provided, and let down by ropes from the battlement against the place where the engine play'd: and still as the Romans chang'd their battery, the Jews encounter'd them with their sacks; by which means they did generally either miss their mark, or fail of the effect.

The manner
of ordering
the ram.

A contri-
vance to de-
feat the force
of the ram.

THIS invention was a mighty hindrance to the Romans; for which way soever they point-ed the engine, the Jews would be sure to meet them with their chaff-bags, which screen'd the wall from receiving damage from the blow; till the Romans found out another way to defeat the contrivance. That is to say, they got a provision of long poles, with sharp iron hooks fasten'd to the ends of them, like paring knives; and with these they immediately cut the strings of the bags; and upon this disappointment, the machine did its office again; and the wall being

The Jews
have recourse
to fire.

being but newly repair'd and not yet settled, could not possibly withstand its force. Joseph and his companions had now nothing left them to trust to but fire, so that getting together all the combustible matter they could lay hands on, beside pitch, sulphur, and the like; they divided it severally into three parcels, and set fire to the Roman machines, huts, and all materials that would take it, in three several places at the same time. The rage of the flames and of the Jews was so terrible, that there was no place for relief, and the danger equal of perishing both ways. The conflagration, in fine, was so dreadful, that it destroy'd all in a moment that the Romans had been so long a doing, and with so much labour and hazard.

The bravery
of one Eleazar.

THERE was one Eleazar of Paab in Galilee, the son of Sameas, who signaliz'd himself upon this occasion by an action never to be forgotten, and hath consequently a right to a part in this history. He took up a mighty stone and cast it down from the wall upon the machine, with so prodigious a force, that he broke off the iron head of it: and then leaping down into the middle of his enemies, carry'd it off without any apprehension of danger, to the foot of the wall; where he stood a while, unarmed as he was, a common mark for the enemy, till he had five arrows stuck in his body. In this condition, he remounted the wall; where he stood for a short time a glorious spectacle, without any change either of countenance or behaviour, till at last he dropp'd down dead with the anguish of his wounds, and the head of the machine in his arms, which he would never quit to the last.

Two glorious
heroes.

THERE were also two brothers of Ruma in Galilee, * Netiras and Philip, that were as brave as it was possible for men to be. They fell once upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, with such an impetuous fury, that they broke into the Roman army, and drove all before them that made head against them; while Joseph at the head of a troop of men, with firebrands, burnt the machines, huts, and works of the fifth, and likewise of the tenth legion; and those that follow'd made the same havock with what was left.

Vespasian re-
ceives a slight
wound on the
ankle.

By the evening of the same day, the Romans were at work with the same engine again, upon that part of the wall that had been shattered and broken before: Vespasian at the same time receiving a shot upon the ankle by an arrow out of the town; but it prov'd a slight wound however, for the arrow was spent. They that were within distance of seeing their general's blood, put the whole army into such a fright with the alarm, that the very commanders themselves quitted their posts, and came thronging to the head quarter to learn the truth of the matter; Titus himself, in the first place, out of an impatient tenderness for his father: but this generous

zeal cast the multitude into a consternation. Vespasian however quickly eas'd both Titus and the army of their fears, by shewing himself openly, and upon the main making little or nothing of the disaster. So that the anxiety and sorrow they labour'd under before, for fear of a mortal calamity, was now turn'd only into the transport of an honourable revenge: Vespasian encouraging the soldiers, and they one another, to fall on and renew the assault, in defiance of all opposition. The enemies stones and arrows destroy'd great numbers of the Jews; but Joseph and his people made good the wall still; and with fire, sword, and other instruments of mischief, lay galling the managers of the battering engine. The Jews now, with all their bravery, advanc'd little yet, in regard that they were forced to fight in sight of the enemy; and the fire they made use of against the Romans, gave the enemy light against themselves: so that they stood so fair a mark, that there was no missing it on the one side, and no avoiding it on the other; for they could not so much as see the very machines from whence the weapons came. By the force of stones from those engines, the very battlements and the corners of the towers were broken down; and where they fell into a body, they carry'd away whole files before them. But whoever would be inform'd of the wonderful effect of these machines, needs never look farther than into the history of that night.

The strange
force of
these batter-
ing engines.

THERE was one of Joseph's friends, who, as he was upon the walls of Jotapata with him, had his head struck off with a stone from one of these engines; which was carry'd three † furlongs from the place, as if it had been thrown out of a sling. And another, coming cross a big-belly'd woman, carry'd the child within her half a ‡ furlong from the body. Now taking all this together; the prodigious violence and the terrible clattering of these machines, and of the weapons they cast; the frequent noises of the dead and wounded falling from the walls; the shrieks and cries of women within the town, answer'd by the groans of dying persons from without; the town-ditch flowing with blood and fill'd with piles of carcases, sufficient to mount an enemy to the assault; and the echoes from the mountains, after all this, redoubling the miserable story: there was nothing wanting that sorrowful night, in fine, that might strike the eye or the ear with an inexpressible horror. There was a prodigious slaughter of brave men in that night's action, in a most heroic defence of the liberty of their country; which they maintain'd all night against the uttermost efforts of the enemy's machines, till break of day; and then the wall fell to pieces. But the Jews even in this dismal extremity made the breach good yet, with their bodies and their arms, before the Romans could pass their men over the ditch to the attack.

A bloody
night of
brave men.

The Jews
stand firm to
the last.

* Or Neritas.

† One furlong consisting of one hundred and twenty five geometrical paces, three must amount to three hundred and seventy five, which were equivalent to two thousand and two English feet and an half, that is, to six hundred and sixty seven yards, one foot and an half.

‡ Half a furlong was something upwards of an hundred and eleven yards.

CHAP. X.

Vespasian makes ready to renew the assault. Joseph prepares for the encounter, and gives his people their lesson. A horrid confusion of outcries upon the approach of the army. Joseph's men keep to their orders. A bloody conflict. The Romans advance up to the wall under covert of their bucklers. The Jews pour scalding oil among them. The strange courage and constancy of the Romans. Vespasian orders the raising of his platforms. The Jews are forced to quit the breach.

Vespasian makes ready to renew the assault.

WHEN the Roman army had a little refreshed themselves next morning after the fatigue of so severe a night, Vespasian put everything in a readiness for an assault, taking care in the first place to keep the Jews from daring to shew themselves in the breach. To this end, he dismounted a party of the best horse he had; armed them at all points, and so ranged them in three divisions, with pikes in their hands, to make good the breach; and they themselves, upon the advance of the bridges, to be the first to enter the town. These horse were to be seconded by a body of choice foot, and the remainder of the horse to be distributed quite round the mountainous parts of the city, to make sure that, upon the taking of it, no person should escape. The next in order were the archers, ready prepar'd with their bows and arrows; as also the slingers and engineers. Others were employ'd with ladders, to attempt the scaling of some parts of the wall that were entire; which was intended only for an amusement, and to draw off assistance from other places that more needed it, and to force them by this diversion to abandon the attack.

Joseph prepares for the encounter.

JOSEPH was so well informed of the Roman's purposes and designs, that he employ'd only men that were either over-much fatigu'd, or superannuated, for the guard of those parts of the wall that were sound; well knowing there was little or no danger from that quarter. But wherever there was the least crack or flaw, not a man was made use of for that duty but of approv'd courage and resolution; and he himself with six more at the head of them, to receive the first shock of the enemy; giving them in charge not to mind the outcries of insulting clamours, but rather to shut their ears against them; for they were all but noise. As for their archers, the shields over their heads were the best defence against their arrows: or they might retreat a little till they had empty'd their quivers. "But, says Joseph, if they come once to lay over their bridges, there's nothing then to be thought of but fighting; and not as people in defence of a country that is to be preserved, but for the honour and vindication of a country that is already lost, and to make the authors of your ruin pay dear for their purchase. For what can you expect, upon the subduing of your city, but that your adversaries will gratify their cruelty, with the blood of your fathers, your wives and your children?" After this manner Joseph divided himself.

WHEN the common people, the women and the children, saw the town surrounded by three armies, (and no force sent out to encounter

them) the enemy marching up with their drawn swords towards the demolish'd side of the wall, the mountains round about glittering with arms, and the Arabians prepar'd with their arrows, they set up such an howl, as if the city were not only in danger of ruin, but already taken. These clamours were so moving, that Joseph presently order'd the women to their houses, and to silence at their peril, for fear of disheartening the soldiers; while he himself hasten'd to that part of the town that fell to his lot, passing by the scaling ladders without so much as minding them; his thoughts being altogether taken up with the enemy's way of attack by their darts and their arrows.

A horrid confusion of outcries on the approach of the army.

UPON the sounding of their trumpets, the giving of the signal, and the military shout of the army, the very sky was darken'd with a cloud of arrows. Joseph's companions did not forget their instructions, but stopp'd their ears against the clamours, and covered themselves with their shields against their shot. But upon the least advance of the bridges, they flew upon the Romans like lightening, to put a stop to the design, either by keeping them from approaching, or by beating them off and disputing every inch of the possession. For as fast as the Romans endeavour'd to mount the bridge, the Jews violently push'd them down again, with signal instances both of their skill and courage, in the conduct and execution; shewing themselves as bold and intrepid in the extremity of danger, as the Romans were where there was none at all; nay, the greater hazard, the firmer was their resolution; and when they were once engag'd, there was no parting them without the death of the one or the other. But the Jews being kept upon perpetual duty, and no enforcements to relieve them, whereas the Romans had a continual supply of fresh men, and as one party was weary'd, or worsted, another at hand ready to take the place, numbers must of necessity carry it at the long run. The Romans were sensible of the advantage they had; and so pressing as close together as one could stand to another, they threw their long bucklers over their backs, and making an impenetrable figure, they drove the Jews before them, as if the strength of the whole army had been united into one entire body; and so they advanced up to the very wall.

Joseph's men keep to their orders. A bloody conflict betwixt the Jews and the Romans.

IN this distress, Joseph, upon advice with his necessities and despairs, resolv'd upon a trial of this experiment. The Jews having a great deal of oil by them, Joseph order'd the boiling a considerable quantity of it; and so to cast it down scalding hot upon the soldiers under the wall, together with the very pots and vessels it was boil'd in. This was done accordingly, and passing between the bucklers, and over the bodies of the Romans, it utterly broke their order, and destroy'd the men, by forcing them down from the wall in extreme torture: for the oil flowing under their arms from head to foot, and so all over the body, consum'd the flesh like fire itself; being naturally apt to take heat, and long a cooling. And then their armour being brac'd and buckl'd to their bodies, there was no getting clear of the torment: some of them leaping and springing in their pains; others drawn double, and all falling from the bridge down to the ground.

The Romans advance up to the wall, under covert of their bucklers.

The Jews pour down scalding oil among them.

And for those that attempted to get off to their own people, they were easily master'd by the Jews at their backs.

The strange courage and constancy of the Romans.

IN the whole course of these calamitous circumstances, there was no failing either of courage in the Romans, or of prudence in the Jews. For the Romans, notwithstanding the misery they endur'd by the scalding oil, had the heart yet to press upon those that pour'd it among them, and not without a competition who should be foremost. The Jews, after this, put another check to the progress of the Romans by casting boil'd fenugreek upon the boards of the bridge; which made them so slippery that the Romans could not keep their feet upon them; so that they could neither fight nor fly. Some fell at their length upon the planks, where they were trampled upon by their own people; others fell lower, where they lay at the mercy of the Jews shot. Vespasian found his people so hara's'd out by this way of fighting, that toward evening he call'd them off; having lost several men, and more wounded. Of Jotapata there were only six men slain, and upwards of three hundred hurt. This action passed the twentieth of the month Desius.

Vespasian orders the raising of his platforms.

VESPASIAN was so sensible of the miscarriage of this assault, that he treated the army with an excusatory compliment upon that occasion; but finding the soldiers so far from being dejected, that they were rather inflam'd, and that they had more mind to be fighting than talking, he order'd the raising of his platforms, and the erecting three wooden towers upon them, of fifty foot high a piece, cover'd all over with iron to keep them steady with the weight, and make them proof against fire. In these turrets were the choicest of his marksmen and engineers, with their machines, instruments and arms. The people in them had this advantage of the besieged, that they were out of sight and reach of the others: whereas those upon the wall were easily seen and wounded from the turrets. So that the Jews, being neither able to avoid the arrows from above, nor so much as to see who hurt them, quitted the breach; but still upon all attacks made a vigorous and a brave resistance. At this rate did Jotapata defend itself, tho' with daily loss of men, and with much more hazard and mischief to themselves than to the enemy.

The Jews are forc'd to quit the breach.

CHAP. XI.

Trajan sent to reduce Japha. The people meet him on the way to give him battle. The Jews put to flight, and driven into the first enclosure. The misery of those that were coopt up there. A prodigious slaughter. Trajan desires Vespasian to send Titus to the finishing of the work. Titus brings his troops to Japha. The Romans mount the walls, and enter the town. A bloody street-fight of six hours. Not a soul spar'd but women and children.

VESPASIAN being given to understand, that Japha, a neighbouring city to Jotapata, after the example of the other, was falling off from their duty, being encouraged thereto by the famous defence of that place, that held out beyond all expectation;

he sent Trajan the commander of the tenth legion, with two thousand foot and a thousand horse, to reduce them. But finding the town impregnable fortify'd, (for beside the natural strength of the situation, it was encompass'd with a double wall) he was encounter'd upon the way, by the inhabitants of the place, in a posture to give him battle. The bodies join'd, and after a slight resistance, Trajan put them to flight, and pursu'd them so close to the out-wall (which was the place they made to) that they fell in with them pell-mell into the first enclosure; but upon pressing up to the second wall, the townsmen shut the gates upon them, for fear of taking in both friend and foe, one with another. This extraordinary way of delivering up the Galileans into the hands of the Romans, was a most judicial providence of heaven; for these men to be shut out of their own gates by their own people, and given up for a sacrifice to an enemy that thirsted for their blood. They crowd'd in throngs up to the gates, call'd to the officers by their names, and begg'd admittance; having their throats cut at the same time, with their very prayers betwixt their lips. The Romans kept one gate, and the citizens the other; and of those that were coopt up in this enclosure, some laid violent hands upon themselves, others fell by the swords of their companions; besides an incredible number, that fell by the hands of the Romans; and not a man amongst them that had the heart to lift up a hand, or so much as offer at a revenge: for over and above the dread of an enemy, their spirits were taken down with a sense of treachery among themselves. They dy'd, in fine, to the number of twelve thousand persons; and all cursing the Jews, not the Romans.

Trajan sent to reduce Japha.

The people meet him on the way to give him battle.

The Jews put to flight, and driven pell-mell into the first enclosure.

The misery of those that were coopt up.

A prodigious slaughter.

TRAJAN took it now for granted, that their martial men were in a manner all cut off; and for those that were left, that they were so dispirited as not to have the heart to resist: so that he sent away presently to desire Vespasian, that his son Titus might have the honour of finishing the work. Vespasian understood it of something considerable that remain'd yet to be done; and so Titus was dispatch'd away accordingly, with an enforcement of five hundred horse and a thousand foot; which he divided immediately, upon his arrival, into two attacks; that on the left-hand he gave to Trajan, and the right-hand division he commanded himself. The first thing that the Romans did, after this, was to plant scaling-ladders, and then to mount the wall upon all quarters at the same time. The Galileans made some faint resistance for a while; but soon quitting the wall, Titus with his party presently leap'd down after them and enter'd the town. It came now to a desperate street-fight; which, betwixt ambushes, and sallies from nooks and narrow pass'es, where a great number of sturdy fellows were got together, and annoyances of all sorts that they receiv'd from the very women upon the tops of the houses, continued for six hours. But the soldiers being by this time all cut off, the remainder of the multitude, whether at home or in the field, young men and old, were all destroy'd indifferently, and not a male left alive but infants, who were carry'd away captives with the women. The number of the slain in the city, and in the first

Trajan desires Vespasian to send Titus to the finishing of the work. Titus brings his troops to Japha.

The Romans mount the walls, and enter the town.

A bloody street-fight of six hours. Not a soul spar'd but women and children.

encoun-

encounter, was fifteen thousand, and two thousand one hundred and thirty prisoners. This judgment befel the Galileans on the twentieth of the month * Desius.

C H A P. XII.

The Samaritans upon mount Garizim meditate a rebellion. Vespasian sends Cerealis to take care of it. The Samaritans in a formidable body. A mortal drought for want of water. An indemnity offer'd by Cerealis, and rejected. The people put to death every man of them.

The Samaritans upon mount Garizim meditate a rebellion.

THE Samaritans bore their part also in the publick calamity. They had their meeting upon mount Garizim; (the holy mountain, as they counted it) and there they waited in their places for the event of things: but in the mean time the very air of the assembly, and the manner of their behaviour, look'd with a seditious aspect, and gave to understand what they would be at. For they were never the wiser for example and experience: but, without considering either their own weakness, or the mighty and prosperous power of the Romans, they were at that time running headlong into a rebellion; but Vespasian took an early care to prevent the mischief. For though the whole province of Samaria was in a manner beset with garisons, he was not yet without some apprehension of what such a multitude of people, and such a conspiracy of ill affections, might produce; so that for fear of the worst, he sent away Cerealis, a tribune of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot, to take care of the publick.

Vespasian sends Cerealis to take care of it.

The Samaritans in a formidable body.

A mortal drought for want of water.

An indemnity offer'd and rejected. The people put to death every man of them.

WHEN Cerealis came up with his troops to this mountain, he found the Samaritans gather'd together there in so vast a body, that he did not think fit to attack them upon that post; but rather intrench'd himself round about them at the foot of it; where for that day they were as good as besieg'd. It so fell out, that being now in the height of summer, and a very hot season, the Samaritans were in great want of water (the country having made no provision to supply it) inso much, that there died some or other of them daily of a parching drought; others went over to the Romans, chusing rather to suffer slavery, than so miserable a death. Cerealis being informed by deserters, that they that stood it out were as much broken and out of heart as their fellows, he advanced up the mountain, and besetting the enemy round with his army, did not only offer them life and liberty, upon condition of laying down their arms, but intreated them, with all the courtesy imaginable, to accept of the indemnity that was offer'd, upon an assurance that it should be made good. But they were not to be prevail'd upon; and so they were all put to the sword, to the number of eleven thousand and six hundred persons. There escap'd not so much as one man of them: this happen'd on the twenty seventh of the month * Desius. And thus were the Samaritans humbled.

C H A P. XIII.

The Romans works are now finish'd. A deserter gives Vespasian intelligence of the state of the town; with advice to fall on about break of day. Vespasian considers of it, takes his time, and carries it. The particulars of the action. An inhuman cruelty. A base and a treacherous murder. Forty thousand men kill'd in the siege; the city ras'd, and the castles burnt.

THE people of Jotapata held out a long time, and stood firm against all extremities, with a constancy to admiration. But upon the forty seventh day, when the Romans had carry'd up their works above the height of the walls, Vespasian had an account brought him by a deserter of the state of the town: which was, that what with the loss of men, watching, and hard duty, the garison was so weaken'd, that with one sharp assault more, the Romans might certainly carry the place; or, which would be the easier way, it was but taking the right opportunity to surprize them. So the deserter advis'd Vespasian to take his time about break of day; when he might be sure to find them less watchful; and the guard so drowsy and tir'd, that he could hardly fail of carrying his point.

VESPASIAN was so well acquainted with the obstinate fidelity of the Jews one to another, and with the greatness of their resolution in case of force or torments, that he gave little or no credit to this fugitive, for the sake of an instance he had seen of a wonderful constancy of mind in one of that city already. He was a prisoner of Jotapata; and being put to the question about the condition of the town, he stood all manner of tortures, even to fire and the cross itself, to the contempt of death in all forms, rather than make the least discovery. But the thing not being very unlikely, Vespasian thought with himself that it might yet possibly be true; or, at the worst, that he should run no risque at all in seeming to believe it. Upon this consideration, he order'd the informer to be taken into custody, and every thing to be made ready for the assault.

AT the hour assign'd, the army made a silent march up to the walls; Titus at the head of it, with Domitius and Sabinus, and some chosen men out of the fifteenth legion. They kill'd the centinels, cut the throats of the guards, enter'd the city; and after them follow'd Sextus Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, with the troops under their command. The Romans were now in possession of the fort, masters of the town; and though it was broad day-light, yet the garison were so spent with labour and overwatching, that to this instant they did not so much as know the town was taken. Nay, those that were awake, were almost as much to seek too as the rest: for there fell such a mist at that very instant, that either they saw nothing at all, or they did not know what they saw. This fogg continu'd till the whole army were enter'd the place: the people never waking till they felt the danger, and till they were convinc'd by

The Romans works being now finish'd, a deserter gives Vespasian notice of the state of the town, and advises him to fall on about break of day.

Vespasian considers of it, takes his time, and carries his point.

The particulars of the action.

* i. e. June.

A merciless cruelty, without sparing so much as one man.

dying that they were undone. The Romans had suffer'd too much in the siege, to have any sense of mercy or tenderness upon the storm. Some were thrown head-long down, in the heat of the action, from the top of the fort to the bottom; others, that wanted neither goodwill nor resolution to revenge themselves, were press'd to death in crowds, or forced down precipices, or dash'd to pieces with ruin from over their heads. This was the case of several of Joseph's select friends; who chose rather to die by their own hands, than by the hand of an enemy; and to lay violent hands on themselves, when they could not have the satisfaction of taking a Roman along with them. This was it that mov'd divers of them to withdraw together into a remote part of the city, and there to do the last office one for another.

A base and a treacherous murder.

THOSE of the guard that took the first notice of the town's being lost, got into a certain turret toward the north; where they were assaulted, and for a while made resistance: but being overborn with numbers, they offer'd to treat; and finding no terms would be allow'd them, they were cut to pieces upon the place, and fell like men of bravery and honour. This action clos'd the siege; and the day had pass'd without one drop of Roman blood, if it had not been for the death of Anthony a centurion, who was basely and treacherously kill'd. There were several of the Jews that fled into caves; and one of them call'd out to Anthony for quarter, and his right-hand upon it, as an obligation of honour for the performance of the condition. Anthony unwarily stretching forth his right-hand for the Jew's satisfaction, the other stabb'd him into the groin with a spear, and so destroy'd him.

Forty thousand men kill'd in the siege; the city ras'd, and the castles burnt.

THE Romans kill'd all they met that day, without sparing so much as one man: and for some days following, they search'd all the hiding-places, vaults, and cellars they could hear off, for fugitives; putting all to death they could lay hands on, saving only women and children. The number of the prisoners was twelve hundred, and of the slain from the beginning of the siege to the end was forty thousand. Vespasian order'd the city to be ras'd, and the castles to be all burnt. Jotapata, in fine, was taken the first of the month * Panemus, in the thirteenth year of Nero: and this was the manner of taking it.

and Titus to the empire. Vespasian seems not to heed it at first, till the truth of the prediction comes afterward to be confirm'd. Vespasian returns to Ptolemais, and so to Cesarea.

THE Romans every where made a most strict and diligent search after Joseph; partly out of a personal animosity to him, and in part out of an officious forwardness to oblige Vespasian, who look'd upon him as the main support of the war. They search'd for him both among the dead and living, and in all places where the body of a man might be conceal'd. But it was his good hap, upon the taking of the town, to make his escape through the very middle of his enemies, and to get at last into an old deep pit, with a passage that led out of it into a large cavern, which was not to be discern'd from above. In this cave, Joseph found forty eminent persons under his own circumstances, with provisions about them for several days. Now the enemy being master of the whole country thereabouts, Joseph was fain to keep close in the day-time; but went abroad still in the night, to observe the enemies guards, and see what possibility there was of making an escape. The watches, it seems, were so strict and vigilant, that there was no getting away; and that it was for his sake too that they made this scrutiny. Upon this, he went back again to his retreat, and there lay still a while. On the third day after this, he was betray'd by a woman that was taken up; and Vespasian, immediately upon this discovery, sent two tribunes to him, Paulinus and Gallicanus, to invite him out of his hole; with an assurance, upon the general's word and honour, that he should be fairly treated. Joseph durst not trust so far to the Roman generosity, as to venture himself upon the general's parole; but, being conscious to himself of the mischief he had done them, he had more reason, he thought, to expect a revenge than a favour; and so excused himself from complying with the proposal. Vespasian, after this, sent him a third tribune, one Nicanor, Joseph's old friend and acquaintance. This Nicanor treated Joseph at large, upon the generous humanity of the victorious Romans towards those they had subdu'd: assuring him moreover, that they were so far from bearing him any ill-will for the hurt he had done them, by the bravery and gallantry of his conduct; that, on the contrary, they had a high esteem of him for his virtues. "And besides, says Nicanor, what should Vespasian need to stand expostulating with Joseph upon conditions, when he has it absolutely in his power to do whatever he will with him already? Vespasian loves a worthy man, and he has a mind to oblige Joseph, as a person of that character. Or can you imagine now, that if the general had any mean and dishonourable view, he would ever have employ'd a friend to execute the office of a rascal; or have wrapt up so black a villany under so illustrious a covert? Or do you think again, that even I myself, if I had been put upon it, would ever have submitted to be an instrument in so foul a treachery?" Notwithstanding the reasonableness of Nicanor's arguments, Joseph still made difficulties

A strict search for Joseph, dead or alive.

Joseph and forty more conceal'd in a vault.

Joseph betray'd by a woman. The general invites him out of his hole, upon terms of fair quarter. Joseph pauses upon it.

Nicanor, Joseph's old friend, reasons him into a compliance.

CHAP. XIV.

A strict search for Joseph, dead or alive. He and forty more found conceal'd in a vault. Joseph betray'd by a woman. The general offers him quarter, &c. Joseph delivers himself up to the Romans. A generous exclamation against Joseph. The desperate resolution of the Jews. Joseph deliberates with his companions. The horrid impiety of self-murder. The Jews not to be reclaim'd. They draw lots for their lives. Joseph, and one more submit to live. Joseph conducted by Nicanor to Vespasian: who orders him to be kept close. Vespasian speaks to Joseph in private. Joseph highly in favour with Titus. Joseph foretels the succession of Vespasian

* i. e. July.

of

The soldiers
irrag'd at
Joseph's re-
fusal.

Joseph calls
to mind
dreams and
revelations of
times past.

Joseph deli-
vers himself
up to the
Romans.

A generous
investive a-
gainst Joseph.

The despe-
rate resolu-
tion of the
Jews.

of coming over, and hesitated so long, that the Roman soldiers had certainly in a rage set fire to the cave, if Vespasian had not restrained them, by a suggestion that he was resolved to get Joseph alive into his hands. Nicanor all this while continued to press Joseph into a compliance, with instances more and more: the rage and menaces also of the soldiers still encreasing with their number. This brought to Joseph's mind certain dreams he had; wherein God had revealed to him the miserable calamities that were to betide the Jews, and the prosperity and greatness of the Romans. For Joseph had an extraordinary gift of expounding dreams, and the faculty of interpreting many of those secrets that God had been pleased to couch under veil and mystery. As he was a priest himself, and of the sacerdotal race, he was a person perfectly well skill'd in the writings of the holy prophets: and in this very instant, as if the spirit of God had taken possession of him, the whole course and order of his visions recurr'd to his mind; and particularly those horrid images that he had lately seen, as well as the rest. And in this rapture, he address'd himself in a prayer to almighty God to this effect. "Great God! (says he) since it is thy blessed will to depress the Jews, and to exalt the Romans, and to make me the instrument to foretel thy purpose, I submit myself to thy providence, and to the acceptance of my life upon condition of rendring myself to the Romans: but in the presence of thy sacred majesty, I do likewise declare, that I do it as the minister of thy good pleasure, and not as a betrayer of my country."

JOSEPH had no sooner surrendered himself to Nicanor, but all his companions in the cave came up to him, and attack'd him with clamorous invectives and exclamations. "What is become of the laws of our country, they cry'd, or of the honour of our profession? The spirit of our ancestors, and that primitive vigour of the Jews, that with the first breath of life drew in a contempt of death? and can Joseph be so fond of that life too, as ever to think of looking the sun in the face, and see himself a slave? why does he not act according to the doctrine and practice he has taught? He has hitherto preached and recommended liberty to others, and now renounces it himself. You were certainly very much mistaken, they cry'd, in the measures you took of true wisdom and courage; either if you could hope for quarter where you have so little deserv'd it, or if you can sink so low as to accept of life upon dishonourable terms. But however the fortune of Rome may fright you into a forgetfulness of yourself, it shall never make us depart from the duty we owe to the good of our nation: and we have yet hearts and swords ready to stand by you in that quarrel. Or if you are otherwise resolv'd, you have it now at your choice, whether you will die a general of the Jews, or the death of a coward and a traitor. Fall upon your own sword, and you do the former; or leave it to us, and it will be the latter: for the work is to be done however."

They had no sooner utter'd these words, but they all drew upon him, and threaten'd to kill him that instant, if he submitted to the

Romans. Joseph had so scrupulous a fear upon him, lest he should be taken off before he could acquit himself of what he had in charge from almighty God to communicate to the nation of the Jews, that he enter'd into a reasoning of the case in words to this effect.

"WHAT can be the meaning, my good friends and companions, of this desperate resolution you have taken of laying violent hands upon yourselves, and of setting the two dearest friends in nature at variance, the soul and the body? But am I chang'd, do you say? Ask the Romans. Is it a glorious fate to die in war? It is so undoubtedly, if it be in a war that is manag'd according to the law of arms: that is to say, where a man falls by the hand of the conqueror. Neither should I make any more conscience of killing myself than of desiring a Roman to do it; but yet if the Romans have a mind to spare an enemy, shall that enemy on the other hand be so cruel as not to spare himself? Or so foolish, as to be more rigorous in his own case, than he would have an enemy to be. No man dies so great, 'tis true, as he that sacrifices his life to his liberty; but then it must be in arms, and in the act of contending for it; and that life taken away in the contest, by the competitor that would take away that liberty. But we have to do with an enemy at present that neither kills us, nor fights with us, for the quarrel is over. Now he is as faint-hearted a wretch that presses to die when he should not, as he that is afraid to die, when his honour calls him to it. And pray what is it at last but the fear of death that keeps us from going to the Romans? and shall we cast ourselves into a certain death one way, for fear of an uncertain death another? But it is, you'll say perhaps, to avoid slavery: and do you reckon yourselves now to be at liberty? But it is look'd upon as the part of a brave man to take away his own life with his own hand: and what would you think of the master of a vessel now, that for fear of a storm a coming, should sink his ship before it comes? would you account that man a brave captain? to say nothing of the affront that is offer'd to the common instinct of providence in the nature of things; for the desire of self-preservation is a principle implanted in all living creatures; and for any thing to destroy itself, is contrary to nature, and consequently a sacrilegious wickedness against God himself. There is no creature that seeks or covets its own death, in opposition to the universal impulse of a desire to live: and therefore we pronounce those people our enemies, that would take away our lives, and punish those that lie in wait to destroy us. It is from God that we have receiv'd life, and it is to him again in his good time, that we are to render it: and what can be more provoking and ungrateful now, than the despising of his gifts? Our bodies are all mortal, and so are the materials of which they are compounded: but the soul is a divine particle, infused into the flesh by God himself, and it can never die. If any man shall imbezzle or abuse a depositum betwixt man and man, we can say nothing bad enough of him: now the soul is effectually but God's depositum: and shall

Joseph expo-
stulates the
matter with
his compani-
ons.

Against self-
murder.

"we presume to rob the divine majesty, and
 "think to come off at last without either dis-
 "covery or punishment? We find it reason-
 "able enough to punish run-away servants,
 "though it be from the worst of masters: and
 "shall we at the same time, that forsake a
 "gracious and a righteous God, pretend to
 "justify ourselves? As for those that govern
 "themselves according to the instinct of na-
 "ture, and pay the debt of life back again to
 "him that gave it, whenever he commands
 "it; do not you know that everlasting ho-
 "nours attend the memory of those blessed
 "souls from generation to generation; which,
 "after a certain number of ages in the heav-
 "ly mansions provided for them, shall return
 "and animate bodies, pure like themselves?
 "whereas the deepest pit of hell is reserv'd for
 "self-murderers; and God will revenge the
 "iniquities of the fathers upon the children in
 "after ages. They are hateful to God, and
 "the wisdom of our great law-giver hath been
 "so severe upon them, that the self-murderer
 "is not allow'd burial till after sun-set; though
 "a privilege never deny'd to an enemy. A-
 "mongst the people of other nations, the
 "right hands of them who kill themselves are
 "cut off from the bodies of the dead, as arm'd
 "against themselves: for it was reasonable
 "that the hand that parted the soul and the
 "body, should be divided from the body it-
 "self. It is a great blessing, my good friends,
 "to make a right judgment of things, and not
 "to render our condition worse than it is, by
 "blaspheming and incensing our maker. If
 "we have a mind to live, what hinders us;
 "for life can be no dishonour to us, where
 "we have given so many signal proofs of our
 "virtue? But if nothing will serve us but
 "dying, let us fall by the hands of those that
 "have conquered. I am not for going over
 "to the enemy in such a manner, as to fool
 "myself out of my life, by doing the same
 "thing to my destruction, that a deserter does
 "to save himself. If the Romans should be
 "treacherous and break faith with us, it would
 "be no more in some respects, than what a
 "body might honestly wish for; as it yields
 "matter for a steady and a generous mind to
 "work upon; not only in the sufferance, but
 "in the contempt of death: for the very base-
 "ness of the perfidy will be some sort of com-
 "fort to us, when we consider, that the au-
 "thors of our ruin have made themselves in-
 "famous and odious to eternity."

The Jews not
 to be re-
 claim'd.

JOSEPH was in hope by this, and a great
 deal more that he said to this purpose, to
 have diverted his companions from the impi-
 ous resolution of destroying themselves: but he
 found them deaf to all sober counsels, as men
 absolutely devoted to destruction; and in such
 a transport of rage, that they press'd upon him
 with their swords drawn one after another, and
 with menacing words and actions, accompany'd
 with the vilest reproaches in nature. In this ex-
 tremity, Joseph behav'd with all the skill and
 address imaginable, treating them one while
 in the stile and character of his commission;
 (as authority carries a kind of reverence along
 with it) arguing with one man by his name,
 taking another by the hand, soliciting a third,
 reasoning with another: so that in the conclu-
 sion, by this prudent application to the dis-
 tracted variety of humours, he diverted the

blow. It was much with him, in fine, as it
 is with a wild beast in the middle of a troop
 of huntsmen, that turns his head still to him
 that is next. This did not hinder yet but that,
 when it came to the point of execution, sever-
 al of the mutineers' hearts fail'd them: and
 the veneration they had for their general made
 them drop their swords, even in the depth of
 his distress.

BUT Joseph acted all this while, like a
 wise, as well as a good man; and casting him-
 self upon the providence of the Almighty, he
 determin'd at last to put his life to the hazard.
 "Well! says he, since death is the thing you
 "are resolv'd upon, what have we more to
 "do now, than to cast lots one after another
 "for our lives? and he still upon whom
 "the lot falls, to be kill'd by the next man;
 "and so every man to take his fortune round
 "after this method. This will prevent the
 "self-murder; for it would be unreasonable,
 "when part of us are dead, that any of the
 "rest should repent and escape." They were
 all pleas'd with the equity of the expedient: and
 so according to the proposal they cast lots;
 and the persons upon whom they fell, were
 successively put to death by the next men: not
 doubting but it would come to the general's
 turn at last, and pleasing themselves with the
 hope of dying in his company; which they
 valued more than life itself.

They draw
 lots for their
 lives.

IT came to this at last (whether by fortune
 or by providence) that there was only Joseph,
 and one more, remaining of the whole number.
 Hereupon Joseph enter'd into this delibera-
 tion. "If we cast lots once again, says he,
 "either my friend must kill me, or I must kill
 "him, and dip my hand in the blood of my
 "countryman." So that Joseph, in this dif-
 ficulty, prevail'd with his companion to submit
 to live, upon his engagement for his security.

Joseph and
 one more
 submit to
 live.

WHEN Joseph was now deliver'd out of all
 his troubles, as well from the Romans as from
 his own people, he gave himself up to Nica-
 nor; who conducted him to Vespasian. There
 was a prodigious multitude of people assem-
 bled together, who press'd to see him; and a
 strange confusion of humours. Some were o-
 verjoy'd that he was taken; others threatening
 him: some crowding to get nearer him; and
 others, at a distance, crying out for justice up-
 on him as a publick enemy. They that were
 gotten near enough to observe the person of
 the man, and at the same time reflecting upon
 the wonderful things he had done, and the state
 of his present condition, were in amazement at
 the change. But, after all this, there was not
 any one of the generals, how much soever pre-
 possess'd against him before, but, upon the
 very sight of him, relented: Titus especially;
 who was a person, above all the rest, that had
 the greatest esteem for Joseph's character and
 person, and the insuperable dignity of his mind
 in the worst of accidents; comparing also what
 he remember'd of him in the war, with what
 he saw of him now in the hands of his ene-
 mies, he could not but make his observation
 upon the power of fortune, the variable chance
 of war, and the uncertainty of human affairs.
 These were Titus's thoughts of Joseph:
 and he brought over all that heard him to be
 of the same opinion; not excepting his own
 father, with whom he was very instrumental
 towards Joseph's preservation.

Joseph set at
 liberty, and
 conducted by
 Nicanor to
 Vespasian.
 All the dis-
 course is of
 Joseph.

Titus hath a
 high esteem
 for Joseph.

VESPASIAN

Joseph kept a close prisoner. Vespasian speaks with Joseph in private.

Joseph foretells the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the empire.

Vespasian gives little heed to it.

The truth of Joseph's predictions confirmed.

Vespasian returns to Ptolemais, and so to Cesarea.

VESPASIAN commanded Joseph to be kept in close custody, as if he intended to send him to Nero; who thereupon desired private conference with him. Vespasian, upon this intimation, ordered all out of the room but himself, Titus, and two friends, and then gave him his audience; Joseph delivering himself in terms to this effect. "Sir, says he, you have now in your hand Joseph, a prisoner; and your present thought perhaps looks no farther: but I am here a messenger sent by God himself, about a matter that much more concerns you: and if it had not been for this commission, I could not have been here at present, contrary to the duty of a Jewish general, alive, in the hand of an enemy. But what am I to be sent to Nero for, when Vespasian himself is so near the empire, that I can hardly distinguish betwixt Vespasian and the emperor, or Cesar? beside that his son Titus is to succeed him. Keep me as close as you please, provided I may be Vespasian's prisoner; who is not only my master, but in effect the lord of the universe. This is the truth of what I have in charge to deliver: and whenever I shall be found so sacrilegious an impostor, as to make use of God's name to a lye, make an example of me.

THIS discourse of Joseph's look'd so like an invention to save himself, that Vespasian did not seem to give much heed to it at first; till upon laying together certain impulses that he had himself, with other tokens and predictions that seem'd to favour what Joseph had prophesied; and then comparing this story with Joseph's exactness in other cases, he came by degrees to give entire credit to the presage. Upon which, a friend and confident of Vespasian's (one of the two above-mention'd in presence) expostulated with Joseph about the credibility of what he had declar'd. "If you are so good at divining, says he, how came you to know nothing of the destruction of Jotapata, and of your own imprisonment; which would have sav'd you a great deal of trouble? Well! says Joseph, I foretold the inhabitants very particularly what was to befall the town and myself; that the former was to be destroy'd upon the forty seventh day, and that I myself was to be taken prisoner by the Romans." Vespasian caus'd a strict enquiry to be made in private, of the truth of this relation; which he found verifi'd by the prisoners; and so came to have a better opinion of the rest. But Joseph was not at all eas'd yet in the strictness of his restraint; but, to all other purposes of accommodation and convenience, treated with great courtesy and respect, by Titus in a more peculiar manner.

ON the fourth of the month * Panemus, Vespasian return'd to Ptolemais, and thence went to Cesarea on the sea-coast; which is the fairest city of Judea. The greater part of the inhabitants were Greeks: so that Vespasian and his army were welcome upon a double account; partly out of the love they had for the Romans, and partly out of the aversion they had for the Jews. The latter were so violent, that they press'd Vespasian with clamorous im-

portunities to put Joseph to death. The general consider'd this tumultuary address, only as the act of a rash multitude; and so dismiss'd the petitioners without an answer. He look'd upon it as a commodious winter-quarter, and so lodg'd two legions in it; sending the tenth and the fifth legions to Scythopolis, out of a tenderness not to overcharge Cesarea. This town is situate upon a plain near the sea, extremely hot in the summer, and temperate in the winter.

CHAP. XV.

Joppe a den of thieves and mutineers. Vespasian takes the town by surprize. The inhabitants put themselves aboard their shipping. The description of Joppe. A furious storm. Joppe taken the second time by the Romans. The castle fortify'd and garison'd. Not a man left alive upon the place. Joseph said to be slain, and universally lamented: but when they found him living, and in credit with the Romans, he was as much envy'd and detested, as he was before esteem'd.

THERE was now a prodigious multitude of people got together, part of them revolvers from the Romans, and part fugitives out of some conquer'd cities of the Jews. This rabble fell to work upon the rebuilding of Joppe, which Cestius had demolish'd; and for want of subsistence in the country, which he had laid waste, they resolv'd to try their fortunes at sea, and put out with a fleet of privateers; scouring Syria, Phenicia, and the coasts of Egypt; pillaging all traders in those seas, and wholly obstructing the commerce. Vespasian, being well inform'd what they were a doing, sent a body of horse and foot to Joppe; which being loosely guarded, they enter'd the town in the night with much ease. The inhabitants were so disorder'd upon this surprize, that, without daring to attempt any thing upon the Romans, they went all aboard in a hurry, and lay that night off at sea, somewhat more than a bow-shot from the town.

As to the description of the place, it is a sea-town without any manner of port; the shore steep and craggy, with two pointed rocks, one on each side, stretching out a good way into the sea, and a little bending, in the form of a half-moon; which makes a very tempestuous sea there in foul weather. Here are the marks still to be seen of Andromeda's chains, for the credit of the old fable. A cross wind upon that quarter dashes the waves and the rocks together in so dreadful a manner, that nothing can be more hideous or dangerous.

WHILE the men of Joppe were riding in this station, there arose a furious storm by break of day; which is known to the people of the place by the name of the Black-north. This wind batter'd their vessels to pieces; some against one another, others against the rocks: and then there were great numbers of them, that, labouring against the tide to put to sea, were over-turn'd and swallow'd up. So that their choice was certain death, either to fly or

Joppe a nest of rovers and mutineers.

Vespasian takes the town by surprize.

The inhabitants put themselves aboard their shipping.

The description of Joppe

A furious storm.

* i. e. July.

stay: the one for the rocks, the other for the enemy. This was their condition, betwixt the winds at sea, and the Romans a-shore. The shrieks and outcries of the people, and the clattering of the vessels, was a most dismal hearing: but upon the whole, some were drown'd; others dy'd a-board the wrecks: some fell upon their swords, as if it had been to prevent the sea; several were wash'd away by the billows, and beaten to pieces against the rocks; till the water was discolour'd with the blood, and the whole coast cover'd with dead bodies: the soldiers waiting all this while upon the land, to dispatch those that were driven a-shore. They reckon'd, in fine, upon four thousand two hundred bodies cast up with the tide.

Joppe taken the second time by the Romans. The cattle fortify'd and garrison'd.

THE Romans being now masters of Joppe, without being at the expence of a battle, they ras'd it to the ground: and this was the second time of their taking it in a very short time. But Vespasian, for fear it might come to be a nest of pirates yet once again, fortify'd the castle, and put into it a foot-garrison sufficient to maintain it; leaving there also a considerable body of horse, to scour, burn, and lay waste all the towns, villages, and country thereabouts; which orders day after day were executed accordingly.

The action of Jopata not believ'd at Jerusalem at first.

Not a man left alive to carry the news.

WHEN the news of Jotapata's being taken came to Jerusalem, the story was so extraordinary, and the fact so ill attested, that little or no credit was given to it. Now there was not, in truth, so much as one man of the place left alive to carry the tidings: but the fame of it spread among the neighbourhood, as ill news commonly flies swiftly. But how doubtful soever it might seem at first, it came by little and little to pass for current; and to such a degree of credit, that people believ'd more than all, and swallow'd the whole truth with additions. For it was confidently given out, that, upon the taking of the city, Joseph was slain, to the infinite affliction of Jerusalem, and of all that was considerable in that city. Some were lamented by particular families; others by friends, relations, or their own people: but the general, being a publick loss, was the subject of an universal mourning: insomuch, that for thirty days there was no intermission of sorrow, and no cost spar'd for the celebration of the funeral ceremony and pomp. But when time brought truth to light, and gave the world the history of Jotapata just as it was in fact: that is to say, when it came to be known that Joseph was not dead as reported, but yet living, and in so great credit with the Romans, that their generals, instead of treating him as a slave, crown'd him with all the honours they could confer upon him; the veneration they had for him, while they look'd upon him to be dead, was now turn'd into the most virulent envy and hatred. How many cowards and traytors did they call him for abandoning the cause! And how did the whole city join with his detractors in the calumny and reproach! It is the part and practice of wise men to make use of one misfortune for a precaution against another, and to keep themselves upon their guard: but these people, on

Joseph said to be slain, and universally lamented.

Joseph as much hated, when they found him living, and in credit with the Romans.

the contrary, when they are once out of their way, pursue their error, and make the end of one mischief the beginning of another. At this rate the Jews were now transported into a greater rage against the Romans than ever; as if the wreaking of their malice upon them, were the nearest way to their revenge upon Joseph. These were the troubles of Jerusalem at this time.

CHAP. XVI.

Agrippa treats Vespasian and his army twenty days at Cesarea Philippi. News of Tiberias and Tarichee, that the one is wavering, and the other revolted. Vespasian orders some troops to Scythopolis, and encamps at Ennabris, within sight of the rebels. The general gives Valerian his instructions, to speak them fair. The faction falls upon Valerian by surprize. Vespasian at the instance of Agrippa, pardons the affront. Trajan takes possession of the castle. Vespasian marches up to the city, and is receiv'd with acclamations.

KING Agrippa having invited Vespasian to pass away a little time with him in his country, and to bring his army along with him, partly out of generosity and kindness, and partly in hope by his means to bring some mutinous malecontents into better order, the general embraced the motion with great respect, and marched from Cesarea upon the sea coast to Cesarea Philippi; where he staid twenty days, refreshing himself and his troops, and giving God thanks with feasting and rejoicing for the blessings of his successes. Vespasian was there given to understand, that Tiberias was at that time wavering, and Tarichee already revolted; both places being dependencies upon the kingdom of Agrippa, he thought he could not have a fairer opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Agrippa, than by reducing those people to their allegiance, especially being resolv'd within himself to press hard upon the Jews. So he sent away his son Titus for the troops that were quarter'd, at Cesarea, to bring them to Scythopolis; a place not far from Tiberias, and much the largest town in the canton of Decapolis. Vespasian got thither first, and there staid for his son: advancing afterwards with three legions within thirty * furlongs of Tiberias, and there encamped at a place call'd † Ennabris, within sight of the rebels. From thence he order'd out Valerian, a captain, with fifty horse, to try what might be done with fair words towards the bringing of them to their duty. His instructions were to tell them, that the general took the people to be peaceably enough inclin'd, if it were not for some seditious incendiaries that were among them. When Valerian was come up almost to the town, he alighted from his horse, and commanded his companions to do the like, that there might be no colour of any jealousy of an ill intention. The faction, under the command of Jesus the son of Tobias, a captain of a band of robbers, fell furiously upon Valerian and his people, without giving

Agrippa treats Vespasian and his army twenty days at Cesarea Philippi. News of Tiberias and Tarichee, that the one is wavering, and the other revolted.

Vespasian orders some troops to Scythopolis. And encamps at Ennabris, within sight of the rebels.

The general gives Valerian his instructions to speak them fair.

The faction falls upon Valerian by surprize.

* Thirty furlongs (as has been before observed) amounted to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

† Gr. Σένναβρις.

them time so much as to speak one word. Valerian was not a little surprized at the affront; but durst not however engage with them, contrary to his general's order; even tho' he had been sure to have got the better of them: beside, that there was no venturing a battle upon that odds. Valerian, in fine, and five of his men, made their escapes a-foot, being forced to leave their horses behind them; which Jesus and his crew carry'd off in triumph into the town, as the trophies of a victory rather than a scandalous booty.

THE mean and unmanly coarseness of this action put the sensible and the sober men of the town into such an apprehension for fear of a revenge, that they went presently out to the Roman camp, under the countenance and conduct of king Agrippa, and cast themselves at Vespasian's feet for mercy and pardon; begging of him not to impute the crimes of particular persons to the whole body of a people, that never wanted veneration for the Romans; and likewise to spare the innocent, and punish the authors and promoters of the defection. Vespasian could hardly forgive the town the seizure of the horses; but however, for Agrippa's sake, and upon his mediation, he granted their request. So soon as Vespasian had pardon'd them, Jesus and his crew did not think it requisite to continue any longer at Tiberias; and so they mov'd off to Tarichee.

VESPASIAN sent Trajan the day following with a party of horse, to take possession of the castle, and to found the common people if they were of the same peaceable disposition with their deputies. Upon finding that they were well dispos'd, Vespasian march'd up to the city with his whole army; the citizens opening their gates to bid him welcome, and receiving him upon the way with gratulations and acknowledgments, as their benefactor and protector. But the gates being too narrow for the troops to march at liberty, Vespasian caused a part of the south-wall to be beaten down, to widen the passage; but with a command, upon the uttermost penalty, not to offer any sort of violence to the people whatsoever. This was for Agrippa's sake, he said; and so it was also, that he spar'd the remainder of the wall, upon the king's undertaking for the people's good behaviour for the time to come. This was the end, for the present, of the troubles of Tiberias.

C H A P. XVII.

Vespasian encamps betwixt Tiberias and Tarichee. Tarichee a nursery of seditious people. The strength and situation of the place. The faction breaks in upon the Roman pioneers. The Romans pursue the Jews up to their shipping. A vast number of Jews in a body; and Titus sent out for discovery. Titus's speech to his soldiers. The utter destruction of the Jews. A violent faction in the city: Titus within hearing of it, makes advantage of the occasion. Titus enters the town by the lake, and carries all before him. Titus sends his father an account of the action, and orders the building of ships to look after the fugitives.

VESPASIAN was now gone from Tiberias, and encamped betwixt that and Tarichee; where he fortify'd his camp with a wall, reputing with himself that the taking of

that place would be a work of time. For it was wonderfully strong both by art and nature; and beside, that it was fortify'd by the lake of Genezareth, it was look'd upon as the receptacle of all the desperate turbulent people of the faction. It stands like Tiberias, upon a mountain; and Joseph had run up a strong wall round about it, save only on the lake side: but somewhat less than that of Tiberias. At the beginning of the revolt, there wanted neither men, monies, nor provisions for the making of it impregnable: and there was over and above to spare also, for Tarichee. The besiegers had likewise a fleet of armed boats in readiness upon the lake, for a retreat, in case of a blow at land, or to serve for a naval fight, if there should be occasion.

WHILE the Romans were fortifying and intrenching, Jesus and his fellows made a furious attack upon them; scatter'd the pioneers, and overthrew a good part of their works, without any dread either of the Roman discipline, or their numbers. But upon the Romans advancing toward them in a gross body, they got off safe to their party without any damage; the Romans pursuing them to the lake, where they cast themselves a-board their vessels; and when they were gotten out of the reach of the Roman darts and arrows, they came to an anchor; and there they lay ranged in as good order of battle against their enemies a-shore, as if they had been drawn up in form for a combat.

WHILE this was a doing, Vespasian had an account brought him of a great body of Jews gather'd together on the next plain; and thereupon sent out his son with a detachment of six hundred choice horse for discovery. Titus march'd, and finding himself so mightily over-number'd, sent an express to his father that he had occasion for an enforcement. This vast multitude stagger'd several of the party; but Titus finding the greater part of his men chearful and hearty, in despite of all inequality and disproportion, he took up a standing where he might best be heard, and spoke to his soldiers after this manner:

"ROMANS, says he, for I cannot begin my discourse more auspiciously than by putting you in mind of your race, and by telling you whence and what you are, and whom you have to do withal. As to the Romans, the whole world allows them to be invincible upon undeniable proof and experience: and I have this to say for the Jews too, that though they have been often vanquished, they would never own themselves to be overcome; so that we have no more to do, than to stand as firm at least in our prosperity as they do in their adversity. I read chearfulness and courage in the very faces of you, and it joys me to see it: but yet I am uneasy sometimes, for fear the vast numbers of your enemies should strike a secret damp into that resolution. Wherefore let every man duly consider his own force, and that of his adversary. The Jews, 'tis true, are generally bold, and fearless of death; but utterly unacquainted with military conduct and discipline, and may be more properly called a confus'd rout than an army: whereas nothing can be more regular, or instructive, than our order and experience. What are we the better for the practice of

Tarichee a nursery of seditious people. The strength and situation of the place.

The faction breaks in upon the Roman pioneers.

The Romans pursuing the Jews up to their shipping.

A vast number of Jews in a body, and Titus sent out for discovery.

Titus to his soldiers.

Vespasian, at the instance of Agrippa, pardons the affront.

Trajan takes possession of the castle. Vespasian marches up to the city, and is receiv'd with acclamations.

Vespasian encamps betwixt Tiberias and Tarichee.

“arms in time of peace, if it does not help us
 “to supply the want of numbers, by skill and
 “address? Or, what’s the benefit of a perpe-
 “tual exercise of war, if it gives us no advan-
 “tage over men that are raw and unexpe-
 “rienc’d? Do but consider what it is to en-
 “gage naked men with men in arms, foot with
 “horse; men that understand nothing of go-
 “vernment, with eminent commanders; and
 “that we are as good as double the number
 “we appear to be, at that rate of advantage,
 “and the enemy not half so strong as we take
 “them for. It is not number alone that does
 “the business in war, let the combatants be
 “never so stout; but true courage, as we see
 “every day, does wonders with a few: for
 “moderate numbers are manageable to the
 “best advantage of the party; but great bo-
 “dies are liable to disorder and confusion,
 “and more mischievous to themselves many
 “times than an enemy. The daring, despe-
 “rate, and brutal fierceness of the Jews does
 “a great deal, I must confess, in a prosperous
 “course of fortune; but, upon the least check
 “of a disaster or disappointment, that impe-
 “tuous ardour abates and comes to nothing:
 “whereas virtue, resignation, obedience, and
 “true valour, will support us in all our for-
 “tunes good or bad, without ever puffing us
 “up, or deceiving us. Beside that we have
 “a greater interest at stake than the Jews; for
 “theirs is only a popular quarrel, for liberty,
 “and their country; but we contend for glo-
 “ry, and for the fame of an immortal memo-
 “ry; and not without some indignation nei-
 “ther, after the conquest of the whole world
 “beside, to find ourselves hamper’d in a com-
 “petition with the Jews. You may observe
 “again, even in case of the worst, that we
 “shall run no great risk neither in the contest;
 “being sure to be well seconded with so ma-
 “ny of our allies, so strong, and so near us.
 “But what have we more to do now than to
 “anticipate the victory, and ingross the honour
 “of it to ourselves, without waiting for the
 “enforcement we expect from my father?
 “the glory will be the greater when it comes
 “home to us entire, without sharing. The
 “point at present in question is no less than the
 “character of my father, myself, and my fel-
 “low-soldiers; that is to say, whether or no
 “my father deserves the honour the world has
 “done him. And am not I his son then, and
 “are not you my soldiers? My father hath
 “been so wonted to victory, that I should
 “never dare to look him in the face again af-
 “ter I had been once vanquished; and would
 “not you be as much ashamed of a repulse on
 “the other hand, where the general leads the
 “way? The first post of danger shall be mine;
 “do but you stand by me, and commit the rest
 “to God’s providence: only remember what
 “I tell you, that a close fight will be mostly
 “to our advantage.”

The utter de-
 struction of
 the Jews.

THE soldiers were so elevated, and so he-
 roically dispos’d upon this discourse, that it
 look’d as if they had been inspir’d with quite
 another soul. Only Trajan’s coming up with
 four hundred horse before the battle, put
 them a little out of humour, to think of having
 partners in the glory of the day. Vespasian at
 the same time sent Antonius Silo, with two
 thousand archers, to take possession of a moun-
 tain over against the town, and to beat the de-

fendants from the wall; which was perform’d
 accordingly. Titus, having a mind to be
 thought stronger than he was, drew up his ar-
 my in a line to answer the front of the enemy;
 and was the first man himself that charg’d in up-
 on their body; his men following him with ex-
 ultations and outcries. The Jews were not a
 little surpriz’d at the boldness and manner of
 this attack; yet for some inconsiderable time
 sustain’d the fury of it, till they were beaten
 down, and trampled upon by the horse; and
 so dispers’d, shifting away into the city the
 best they could, a great many being kill’d up-
 on the place. Titus all this while pressing up-
 on the backs of some of them, crossing upon
 others, and cutting them over their faces,
 overtaking some, and forcing others back again
 that made for the walls, and tumbling them
 one over another; insomuch that few or none
 escap’d, but those that got into the town.

THERE happen’d at this time a terrible fac-
 tion in the city, betwixt the natives and the
 strangers: the former were uneasy both for
 their own sakes and for the city’s. They were
 ever against the war, they said, but yet their
 greatest quarrel was the ill success. But the
 strangers, that were very violent and numerous,
 broke out into clamours and outrages, as if they
 were already at daggers-drawing. They were
 so loud in the city, and Titus so near the wall,
 that he was within hearing of them; and up-
 on that occasion, call’d out to his men: “The
 “time is come, my fellow soldiers, says he,
 “if we have but the hearts to make use of it;
 “for God hath deliver’d up the Jews into
 “our hands, and we may have a victory for the
 “taking of it up. Do you not hear what dis-
 “cord and contention is among the very men
 “that have escap’d our hands? the city is our
 “own, if we do not slip the opportunity. But
 “this is a business that requires resolution as
 “well as dispatch; and great things are not
 “to be done without hazard. Why do we
 “not take the advantage of this mortal ani-
 “mosity, and fall upon them before their ne-
 “cessities force them to unite? and why do
 “we not fall upon them too, before our aux-
 “iliaries come up, to rob us, not only of the
 “credit, but of the profit also of the action?
 “for, beside the reputation of so gallant an ex-
 “ploit with such a handful of men, we shall
 “have both the credit and the spoil to our-
 “selves.”

A violent
 faction in the
 city.

Titus within
 hearing of it,
 and improves
 the occasion.

WITH these words he mounted his horse,
 and gallop’d away to the lake; where he was
 the first man that enter’d the town, and his
 troops follow’d him. The defendants were
 struck with such an astonishment at the bold-
 ness of this enterprize, that not a man had the
 heart either to oppose his person, or to obstruct
 his passage. Jesus and his companions made
 away into the fields; some fled toward the
 lake, and fell into the very mouths of the Ro-
 mans; others endeavour’d to save themselves
 by their boats, but were cut off by the way:
 others again, by swimming, but sunk in the
 attempt; and the slaughter was yet more ter-
 rible in the town. The strangers that could
 not get off with Jesus, made some resistance;
 but the natives none at all; in hope that the
 Romans would consider them as only passive
 in the case, and forc’d into the war contrary
 to their judgment and inclination.

Titus enters
 the town by
 the lake, and
 carries all be-
 fore him.

So soon as Titus had master’d and destroy’d
 the

Titus sends his father notice of the exploit.

And orders vessels to be built to look after the fugitives.

The quality and description of the lake Genezareth.

The river Jordan, with the head and course of it.

Genezareth famous for fruits and plants.

the faction, he gave quarter to the natives. The town being now taken, those upon the lake withdrew as far from the enemy as they could; and Titus immediately sent a party of horse express to his father, with the welcome tidings of this glorious exploit: for the main difficulty of the war was look'd upon to be now over in the reducing of this city. The next thing Titus did, was the appointing of a strict guard round about the city, and setting a watch upon all the avenues to prevent escapes. The day following he went to the lake, and order'd vessels to be built, and sent out in pursuit of those who had got off that way. These boats were quickly made ready; for they had workmen and materials in abundance at hand.

C H A P. XVIII.

The quality and description of the lake of Genezareth. The river Jordan, with the head and course of it. Genezareth famous for fruits and plants. The fountain of Capernaum.

THE lake of Genezareth is so called from the country about it. The breadth of it is forty * furlongs; the length an † hundred; the water is sweet and potable, much clearer than fen-waters generally are, and vastly preferable both in taste and colour. It lies upon a gravel, and so more conveniently to be drawn, and gentler than either a river or a fountain water. And with all this it is so cold, that the people of the place cannot warm it by setting it in the sun in the hottest season of the year. It hath in it great variety of fish; which, for taste and shape, are not to be found any where else; and the river Jordan runs thro' the middle of it. The ‡ head of this river has been thought to be Panion; but, in truth, it passes hither under ground; and the source of it is Phiala, an hundred ** and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, a little on the right hand, and not much out of the way to Trachonis. It is called Phiala, from the round figure of it; and the water in it stands always at a stay; the basin brimful, without either shrinking or overflowing. The first discovery of this secret was from Philip the tetrarch of Trachonis, by casting straws into Phiala, that came out again at Panion, which till that time was taken for the head of the Jordan. This Panion is naturally lovely by situation, but most magnificently beautify'd and enrich'd by the royal bounty of Agrippa. This river, in fine, that seems to take its original from this recess, crosses the bogs and fens of the lake Semechonitis: and, after a course of an hundred and twenty furlongs farther, passes under the city of Julias, and so over the lake of Genezareth a great way into the desert, till it disembogues itself into the lake of Asphaltitis.

THIS lake takes the name of Genezareth from the country that surrounds it; which is fruitful and agreeable to admiration. As to the fertility of the soil, there is no plant comes amiss to it; beside that it is improv'd by the skill and industry of the inhabitants to the

highest degree, and by a strange felicity of the climate, every thing prospers there; as nuts, palms, figs and olive-trees, that flourish here in perfection, though they require a quite different temperature of air in the nature of them; which looks as if providence took delight in this place to reconcile contradictions; and as if the very seasons themselves were in a competition which should be most obliging. And the production of strange varieties of excellent fruit is not all neither, but the conserving of them so long quick and sound is another curiosity. Figs and grapes hold in season there ten months in the year, and other fruits the whole year about. And the place is not more famous for a delicious air, than it is for a crystalline flowing fountain, called by the natives Capernaum. Some take it for a little gut of the Nile, because of a certain *† fish in it, that is no where else to be found but in Alexandria. The length of the country along the lake is thirty †† furlongs, and the breadth twenty. Let this suffice for a description of the place.

The fountain of Capernaum

C H A P. XIX.

Vespasian encounters the enemy upon the lake. The miserable state of the Jews. Vespasian calls a great council, where sentence is pass'd upon the prisoners.

WHEN Vespasian's boats were all ready, he went aboard himself, and took as many men along with him, as he thought sufficient to deal with the fugitives that had shifted away to the lake: so that there was no possibility of their escaping; for the whole country a-shore was their enemy, and they were in no condition upon the water for a sea-fight: their boats being rather for piracy than combat, and neither of a size nor of a strength to come to a shock with the Romans: beside that they were better mann'd, and in better order. All they could do was by insults, sometimes at a distance, and sometimes near at hand; one while pelting them with stones, another while provoking them to handy strokes: while they themselves were the greatest sufferers both ways still; for the Romans being well arm'd, the stones made only a noise and a clatter where they fell, without doing any execution; while the other lay open and expos'd to the Roman arrows: or, if they attempted any thing nearer hand, they were cut off before they could effect it; their boats overturn'd, and their men drowned. The enemy dispatch'd some of them at a distance with their darts; others they boarded, and destroy'd with their swords: some again were hemm'd in, and taken, vessels and all, as they were lock'd up betwixt the two fleets. As for those that were tumbled over-board, and dabbling for life, they could no sooner shew their heads above water, but they were immediately taken off by a lance, or over-run by the enemies boats and sunk: or if any of them in the rage of their despairs did but make toward their ad-

Vespasian encounters the enemy upon the lake.

The miserable state of the Jews.

* Forty furlongs were five English miles, and sixty geometrical paces.

† An hundred furlongs were twelve English miles and an half, and an hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

‡ Others make this river to have two heads, the one call'd Jor, and the other Dan. See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byz. v. Πάρις.

** An hundred and twenty furlongs were fifteen English miles, and an hundred and eighty geometrical paces, that is, almost a quarter.

*† See the Greek Κορυνθίωνος.

†† Thirty furlongs were equivalent to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces; and twenty furlongs to two English miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been frequently before observed.

versaries, they were sure to have their hands or their heads chopp'd off. There was nothing, in fine, to be seen, but death and destruction in all the varieties of horror, till they were totally broken and routed, pressing through the middle of their enemies to get a-shore. In this confusion, there were abundance of them kill'd upon the water, great numbers more at land; and nothing to be seen upon the lake, or the borders of it, but blood and carcases; for not a man escap'd. These putrid bodies in a few days tainted the air, to such a degree of malignancy, that the case was not only dreadful to the sufferers of the calamity, but offensive to the very actors themselves. This was the issue of the naval battle, and the whole number of the slain in both actions, (that in the city, and this upon the lake) amounted to six thousand and five hundred persons.

Vespasian
calls a great
council.

WHEN the fight was over, Vespasian took his place upon the tribunal; and separating the strangers that were the cause of the war from the natives, who were only passive in it, he call'd a great council of his officers about him, to consider what was to be done with these people, and whether or no they were to be treated all alike. The council was against the saving of the strangers; for they would never be quiet, they said, as they had no home to trust to, and would be dangerous and troublesome to any prince whatsoever that should receive them. Vespasian was thoroughly satisfy'd that they deserv'd to die, and that they would rebel against their preservers; but the difficulty was, in what manner to get rid of them; for the inhabitants would lay it to heart to

see so many people put to death, after a promise of quarter upon their mediation; beside Vespasian's scruple, upon a point of honour and justice, of breaking faith with his prisoners. But his council insisted upon it, that he was not ty'd up to those punctilio's with the Jews; and that where strict honesty and policy are inconsistent, the common good ought to have the preference. Vespasian was over-rul'd by his friends, and gave the strangers leave to depart, upon condition they kept the way that led to Tiberias. People are apt to believe what they wish; and in this confidence they march'd for Tiberias, without the least apprehension of any violence in their passage, either upon their persons or goods. Now the Romans had so beset the way that it was impossible for a soul to escape. When they had them in the town, they made them all prisoners; Vespasian causing them afterward to be shut up in the amphitheatre, where he order'd both old and young, to the number of twelve hundred, that were not able to bear arms, to be put to death; six thousand of the strongest body'd men among them to be sent away to the Isthmus to Nero. Thirty thousand four hundred were sold for slaves, beside what Vespasian gave to Agrippa, whom he left at liberty to do what he would with, as being his own subjects; but the king sold them too. The rest were Trachonites, Gaulanites, Hippenians, and a great many Gadarites; most of them incendiaries and fugitives, and promoters of war, because they could not live in peace. They were taken upon the eighth of the month * Gorpicius.

Sentence
pass'd upon
the prisoners.

* i. e. September,



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The siege of Gamala, and the manner of it; with the situation and strength of the city. Vespasian advances up to the place. The Romans take Gamala by assault, and are beaten out of it again with a prodigious loss. The generosity of Vespasian, and his presence of mind. A notable action of Gallus a centurion. A glorious speech of Vespasian to his soldiers. A second attempt upon Gamala.



HE towns and places in Galilee, that revolted from the Romans upon the taking of Jotapata, came back again to their duty, upon the loss of Tarichee: so that the Romans were now masters of all the cities and strong holds, but Gischala, and the mountain of * Itabyr. And there joined in the rebellion with these also, the city of Gamala, which stands upon the lake over against Tarichee, and belongs to the government of Agrippa. Sogane revolted likewise, and so did Seleucia, after their example: which were both of the province of Gaulanitis: Sogane in the upper part of it, which is called Gaulana, and Gamala in the lower. Seleucia stands upon the lake Semechonitis; which is sixty † furlongs in length; and thirty over: and the fenny borders of it reach as far as Daphne. This is a delicious country in many respects; but more especially for the curious springs in it, that feed the lesser Jordan, (as they call it) and then take their course to the great Jordan, at the foot of Jupiter's golden temple. King Agrippa, at the beginning of this defection, enter'd into an alliance with

the people of Sogane and Seleucia; but Gamala, depending upon its own strength, as being a much tougher place, and more arduous of access than Jotapata, refused to be of the party. This Gamala is erected upon the cliff of a rock, that rises out of the middle of a high mountain; and in that posture of elevation, with crags before and behind it, has some resemblance of the figure of a camel; from whence originally it took its name: but time and custom have corrupted the way of writing it. Upon the front, and the two sides, are deep inaccessible vallies. The part that joins the mountain is not of itself so difficult of access; but as the inhabitants have fortify'd it with trenches and defences, it is next to impregnable. The houses stand so thick, and shelving upon the steep of the hill to the southward, that they look as if they were ready to drop into the precipice. And there is also a hill of so prodigious a height, that it may serve for a citadel to the valley in the bottom. And there was also a fountain within the circumference of this city, and there the town ended.

The situation of Gamala, and the impregnable strength of the city.

The Romans victorious.

The lake Semechonitis.

The head of the river Jordan.

* Or Tabor.

† Sixty furlongs amounted to seven English miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces: thirty to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as has been before observed.

BUT still, after all that nature had done toward the making of this place invincible, Joseph was not yet satisfy'd without environing it with a wall, and casting up artificial works, trenches and fortifications, for a farther security. The inhabitants were much more confident in the defensible condition of the place, than the men of Jotapata; though neither so many, nor so good soldiers: but the difficulties of the attack made amends for the want of numbers: Not but that the city was well mann'd; for it was made the sanctuary of all the refugees; insomuch that king Agrippa spent seven months before it without any manner of advantage.

Vespasian advances up to the place.

VESPASIAN at this time decamped from * Ammaus near Tiberias; so called from a hot fountain there, of a sovereign virtue against several diseases: and so came to Gamala, where he found it impossible to draw a regular line of circumvallation about it: but he set guards however upon all the passes he could come at, and possess'd himself of the mountain above. The Romans, according to their custom, fortify'd their camp, carry'd up a wall about it, and so intrench'd. The fifteenth legion was posted against a tower, eastward, upon the highest part of the town; the fifth, toward the middle of the town, and the tenth was appointed to level the ditches and other hollow places.

King Agrippa hurt with a stone from a sling.

WHILE things were in this posture, king Agrippa drew close up to the wall, to try if he could bring the people to surrender the place, and reason them into a sense of their duty. But in this instant he receiv'd a terrible blow with a stone from a sling, upon his right elbow; his friends thronging immediately about him to bring him off; and the Romans in a direct rage to consider how barbarously these people would treat strangers and enemies, that could be thus inhuman to their own prince, their country-man, and a friend that advis'd them for their good; this provok'd them to press the siege with all possible vigour.

notemid effi
clamed to
mi est bu
idlagan
to dragm

BETWIXT many hands, and diligent applications, the works were not long in raising: and the next thing to be done, was the mounting of their machines. Chares and Joseph (two of the most considerable men in the town) had the ordering of the defence; and so led up the soldiers to the wall, with exhortations and encouragements to behave themselves like men of honour. But wanting water and other necessaries, they had no great stomach to the action; for they found they could not hold it out long. Upon the advance of the Roman machines, they made some sort of resistance at first; but so soon as ever they came to throw their stones and their arrows among them, they retir'd with precipitation into the town. The Romans batter'd the wall with their rams upon three attacks; and upon disputing a breach, what with the outcries without and within the town, the clang of the trumpets, and the clattering of arms, nothing could be more hideous. The defendants stood the first shock with great bravery, and put the Romans to a stand; but being overborne in the end by the force of numbers, they all fled, and betook themselves to the highest parts of the city, with the Romans all this while at their

The Romans take Gamala by assault.

And are forced out of it again with a terrible loss.

backs. But the Jews, finding themselves press'd, return'd upon their pursuers, drove them down precipices before them, and through difficult passages; where they did execution upon them at pleasure. The Romans finding the disadvantage of contending with enemies over their heads, and that there was no avoiding them as they lay pushing at them from an upper ground, they cast themselves for sanctuary into some of the enemy's houses below; but they were so overcrowded with numbers, that they sunk under the weight; so that the fall of one brought down another, and that, a third. There were a great many Romans that perish'd under the ruins, and yet in this extremity they chose rather to commit themselves to the hazard of those tottering houses, than to lie open and expos'd for a publick mark. Some there were that were crush'd all to pieces with the timbers, others maim'd in attempting to escape; and some again that were suffocated with the dust. At this rate there perish'd great numbers of the Romans, some one way, some another. But the people were so far from being troubled at the loss of their habitations, that they reckon'd themselves gainers by the fall of so many of their enemies in exchange: and still as one house fail'd, they press'd the Romans into another to bring down that too. As any of them lost their foot-hold, they were sure to be taken off with weapons from above; which the very walls and dead bodies furnish'd them with in abundance: the one with stones, and the other with arrows: for the swords of those that were kill'd, were made use of to dispatch the rest, and every thing contributed to the common fate. Some cast themselves down headlong from the tops of the houses, to avoid being squeez'd to death in the fall of them. Others had a mind to fly, if they had but known how or whither: but being strangers to the passages and ways, and blinded with the dust in this confusion, they fell foul one upon another. Some there were however that had the good fortune to escape, and get out of the town.

IT was no small mortification to Vespasian, to see his army thus broken by the ruins of a city that they had taken; so that without any regard to the safety of his own person (as it was his constant custom to be foremost in all hazards) he posted himself privately in a station at the upper part of the town, where he was left with some few resolute men about him, in the greatest distress imaginable: his son Titus being abroad at this time in Syria, upon a commission to Mutianus. His condition was such, that it was neither safe nor honourable for him to turn his back. So that calling to mind the glorious history of his past actions, and resolving to make his life all of a piece, he took this wise method for the obviating of the present difficulty; which look'd more like a divine inspiration than a common council of flesh and blood. That is to say, he planted himself with the few people he had, as close one to another as they could croud together, and, covering themselves with their arms, stood firm against all attempts of violence from above. The Jews were so startled at this prodigious obstinacy, that they look'd upon it as a providential impulse; and in dread

Vespasian's bravery and presence of mind.

The Jews' distress

The Jews' distress

* See Bochart's Chanaan, l. 2. c. 16. and his Hierozoicon, l. 2. c. 21. part 1.

A bloody fight.

A great action of Gallus a centurion, and the occasion of it.

A glorious speech of Vespasian to his soldiers.

of opposing a divine power, abated somewhat of the vigour of the action. Vespasian, taking notice that the fury of the enemy slacken'd, drew off by little and little, and never turn'd his back till he was got out of the walls. There fell a great many Romans, both officers and common soldiers, in this combat: and among others, Ebutius a Decadarch, who as he had liv'd, so he dy'd, like a man of honour, and had given the Jews many sensible proofs of his courage.

THERE was one Gallus, a centurion, who with ten Syrian soldiers lay close concealed in a house; as the people of the family were talking together at supper what course they intended to take with the Romans, Gallus and his company, being all Syrians, overhearing and understanding them, fell upon them in the night, kill'd every man of them, and got off safe with his company to the Romans.

THIS was the severest blow that ever the Romans had as yet receiv'd; and Vespasian finding the soldiers cast down upon it, (their confusion being greater too for deserting their general) he bethought himself how he might give them some sort of comfort, without making mention of himself, or intermixing any thing of reproach. "Well! says Vespasian, "since misfortunes cannot be avoided, let "them be generously borne: and it is not for "any one sort of men to expect an exemption "from the common lot of mankind. Whoever "ver considers the nature of war, will find "that victory is not to be gain'd without "blood, and that fortune is variable; and "that this loss is but a small reprisal for the "thousands of Jews that we have slain before. "But as it is vanity and weakness to grow "insolent upon prosperity; so it is the mark "of as mean a soul to be cast down with adversity. Consider again, says he, how insensibly the change passes from one extreme "to the other, and that no man is truly great "but he that stands his ground, and keeps up "the same dignity of mind in all conditions, "correcting the malignity of the one, by the "prudence of the other. We are not now to "impute our present miscarriage either to the "want of resolution on our parts; or to the "valour of the Jews: for, if they fought "better than usual, or we worse, the true reason was the odds of the ground we fought "upon. But if you were to blame for any "thing in this engagement, it was in truth, "for your rashness in pursuing the enemy, "when they fled up the town from you. You "should have held your hands, and contented "yourselves with the possession of the lower "town, till necessity should have forced them "down to engage you upon safer, surer, and "more equal terms. But you were so impatient of conquest, that you never minded the "right way of obtaining it. Now the Romans are a people of order and discipline, "and not for this impetuous and inconsiderate "way of making war, like the Jews and Barbarians. Wherefore let us have recourse to "our own methods of sobriety and resolution, "and act like men that are rather animated "with an indignation for what we have done

"amiss, than sink under the burden of it. Every man hath this satisfaction in his own power, if he will but set his own hand to the work, and give himself the comfort of revenging the loss of his friends upon the heads of those that destroy'd them: in this prospect and confidence you shall find me still, as you have done already, the first and the last in all dangers." This discourse of Vespasian's put a new life into the army.

THE men of Gamala could not but take heart at first upon the flush of so unexpected a success; but when they came afterward to consider upon second thoughts, and find that they were now past all hopes of agreeing upon terms, and in no possibility of escaping, (for their provisions fail'd them) their spirits sunk again, and their despairs almost distracted them: but they went on nevertheless, doing all that was possible to be done for the defence of the place, by setting their best men to look to the breaches, and others in general to take care of the rest.

THE Romans by this time, having repair'd their platforms, and made ready for another attack, divers of the citizens stole away by passages so intricate and uncouth, that it was thought superfluous to set any guard upon them. Others convey'd themselves into sinks and vaults, where they lay starving for fear of being taken; the provisions being wholly reserv'd for those that bore arms. But these miserable people stood firm yet in all their distresses.

Another attempt upon Gamala.

CHAP. II.

A faction in a body upon mount Itabyr. Vespasian sends Placidus with a party to reduce them, who destroys them all, by encountering one with another.

VESPASIAN, though sufficiently engaged and busied in this vexatious siege, found time, nevertheless, in that very hurry, to send out Placidus with a party of six hundred horse to mount * Tabor, to disperse a multitude of people that were gotten together there. This mountain lies betwixt the great plain and Scythopolis: the ascent of it is reckon'd to be about thirty † furlongs, no coming at it on the north-side, and on the top of it an open plain of twenty ‡ furlongs over; the whole encompass'd with a wall, which, as large as it was, cost Joseph but forty days the building: he brought water and other necessaries up to it from below, for the people had none but rain water for their use.

WHEN Placidus was come to the place according to his order, and found that there was no possibility of getting up the mountain to them, he allur'd them with hopes of peace and pardon, and brought several of them down to him, who pretended that they were wrought upon by the reason of his address: but in truth they had a design to draw him into a snare and to surprize him; as Placidus had the same plot upon them too, if he could but get them off into the plain field, and seize them at unawares:

* *Itabyr* or *Itabyr*. See Casaubon's Exercit. xv. Ann. xxxiii. N. xxix.

† Thirty furlongs amounted to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

‡ Twenty furlongs amounted to two English miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been more than once observed.

Placidus de-
stroys a body
of Jews at I-
tabyr, by a
wile.

They made a countenance of complying with the fairness of what he said; but Placidus, for all this, was too cunning for them in the conclusion. The Jews began the battle; and Placidus and his men, as dismay'd, betook themselves presently to flight, and the Jews after them, continuing the chase till the pursuers were dispers'd all over the field. Placidus took this opportunity, and turning quick upon them, kill'd several, put the rest to flight, and not one man of them could get back to the mountain. Some of them quitted Itabyr, and fled to Jerusalem; but the natives finding themselves destitute of water, render'd themselves and the place to Placidus, upon security for their good behaviour.

CHAP. III.

The destruction of Gamala. The fall of a tower puts the people into a panick terror. Titus enters the town without any opposition. A dreadful execution.

An obstinate
defence.

THE boldest of the Gamalites were now glad to hide their heads, and they that were unfit to bear arms ready to starve; but the men of action still persisting in the defence of the place, till the two and twentieth of the month *Hyperbereteus; upon which day three soldiers of the fifteenth legion secretly stole out before break of day, to the foot of the highest tower that was upon their quarter, and undermin'd it so privately, that the guards (it being in the dead of the night) never in the least perceived them either coming or going. They made no noise, but only tumbling down five mighty stones that they had loosen'd in the foundation, they leap'd away in that instant and retir'd. The turret immediately fell to the ground with a most dreadful noise, dashing the guards and all that were in it under the ruins. The horror of this accident frightened all the other guards from their posts that were within hearing of it; some of them falling into the very mouths of the Romans; in which number there was one Joseph, that was shot dead with a dart from a broken wall. But in the city the terror and confusion was so amazing, that one would have thought the whole Roman army had been enter'd the town. Chares was at that time very sick, and so terribly affrighted at this accident, that it was believ'd it hasten'd his end.

The fall of a
tower strikes
the people
with a panick
terror.

THIS was a tempting occasion to invite the Romans into the town; but they pay'd so dear for their late temerity, that they forbore till the three and twentieth of the same month to make any farther attempt upon the city. Titus, it seems, was now come up; who found himself so gall'd at the thought of the disaster the Romans had receiv'd in his absence, that he drew out a body of foot, and two hundred choice horse, and, in a grave, sober march, enter'd the city without any opposition. The watch were the first that took and gave the alarm, and the news was spread all over the town in a moment. No sooner was it certainly known, but the citizens, in a confusion, like so many distracted people, fled yelling and howling up to the castle, hauling their wives

and their children along with them. Some were cut off by Titus's soldiers; others that could not get into the castle, and went they knew not whither, fell into the hands of the Roman guards. There was nothing, in fine, but wounds and groans and death to be seen or heard of, in all forms; and the very streets flowing with blood.

THE next thing Vespasian had now to do, was to attack the castle; to which end he drew up his whole army thither. It stood upon the point of a rock prodigiously high and steep, and well nigh inaccessible, with a multitude of crags and precipices round about it. Upon this disadvantage, it was impossible for the Romans either to avoid the stones and shot of the Jews that were cast down upon them from above, or to reach the Jews from below. But by a wonderful providence, in favour of the Romans, and for the destruction of the Jews, there arose a sudden and violent gust of wind, that drove the Roman arrows directly in the face of the defendants, and kept off the other from the Romans, or blew them askew beside the mark. The blast at the same time was so strong too, that the besieged could not stand steady where they were to make their defence, nor so much as see the people they had to cope withal. So that the Romans, with the help of these advantages, made themselves masters of the mountain, which they surround immediately; and in a rage of revenge for their former miscarriage upon that attack, they put all they met with to the sword, indifferently, whether they resisted or not: beside that, in the horror of this desperation, there were that cast themselves with their wives and children down the precipice from the castle, to the number of five thousand persons; that of the slain being only four thousand: so much more merciful were the Romans to the Jews, than the Jews were to themselves. The Romans, in this heat of fury, threw the very infants down the rocks, without sparing so much as one single creature; two women only excepted, the daughters of the sister of Philip, who was the friend of one Joakim, a man of eminent quality, and formerly a general under Agrippa. Now these two sisters were not so much beholden to the clemency of the Romans, for their preservation, as to the good hap of lying undiscover'd till the rage and fury of the action was over. The rebellion of Gamala broke out the four and twentieth of the month † Gorpheus: and the place was destroy'd the three and twentieth of the month Hyperbereteus.

A cruel execution.

CHAP. IV.

Gischala taken by Titus. The people well dispos'd, but seduced. Jerusalem a strong and a populous city. Vespasian provides against all hazards. The generous tenderness of Titus. Titus offers a peace and an amnesty. John of Gischala seemingly accepts of the conditions. John makes his escape. Titus receiv'd into Gischala, which puts an end to the conquest of Galilee.

THE province of Gamala was now wholly reduc'd, save only Gischala, where the

Titus enters
the town.

* i. e. October.

† i. e. September. See Dr. Beveridge's chronology.

The people well dispos'd, but seduced by a feditious impostor.

people of themselves, were, upon the main, peaceably inclin'd: being most of them husband-men, whose hope and interest lay in plantations and tillage. Not but that they were tainted also with a considerable and seditious mixture of libertines that liv'd upon robbery; and there were some citizens also of the first quality that were corrupted with that leaven. The chief leader of this faction, and the perverter of the people, was one John; a wicked and deceitful man, a rank impostor; unsteady and ambitious; a great master in the art of bringing his ends about; a wretch of no conscience, and certainly known to be a promoter of broils for the making of his own fortune. He was, in fine, the son of one Levi, and the head of the rabble in Gischala. If it had not been for him, the people would probably have sent their deputies to the Romans, with proposals of an alliance; but upon his instigation, they were prevail'd upon to put it off, till the war should be brought on.

Jerusalem a strong and populous city

Vespasian provides against all hazards.

VESPASIAN, upon this juncture, sent away Titus to Gischala with a thousand horse; and the tenth legion to Seythopolis; returning himself with the other two legions to Cesarea for refreshment, by preparing both their bodies and their minds for difficulties that were yet to come. For Vespasian foresaw that Jerusalem would find him work enough; not only as it was a powerful, populous, and the capital city; but as it was a place of refuge to all the fugitives of the faction from elsewhere: a nursery of bold and daring men; naturally strong, and, over and above, well wall'd; though next to impregnable in the very situation of it. Vespasian took all these things into consideration, and accordingly train'd up his soldiers, like champions, in the practice and exercise of their arms, to keep them in heart, and prepare them for the prize.

The generous tenderness of Titus.

TITUS went up to Gischala on horse-back; and finding upon the view that it was not a place to stand an assault, he reflected upon it at the same time, that the soldiers would undoubtedly treat Gischala as they had done Gamala; destroying the innocent with the guilty, if ever they should come to take the town by storm: so that, out of a generous compassion for the people, and the horror he had for those inhuman cruelties, he rather bethought himself how he might gain the place by treaty. The walls being now cover'd with soldiers, and the majority within the town being of the faction, Titus call'd out, and, raising his voice, spake to them after this manner. "It is a wonderful thing to me, says he,

Titus offers them a peace and an amnesty, and the exercise of their religion.

"that, when all the rest of your towns are gone, and places much better manned and fortify'd than yours is, and taken without any difficulty too (many of them at the very first attack;) you should be now so inconsiderate as to think of standing out: especially when you may yet be safe, easie, free and happy, upon a fair return to your duty. And this, I dare undertake, shall be made good to you; and all your insolencies pardon'd, and pass'd over, and imputed only to an inordinate desire of liberty. But if you do not know when you have beneficial

offers made to you, and refuse to cast yourselves upon the faith and honour of the Romans; if you shall resolve at last, I say, to run head-long on to your certain destruction, and to contend with impossibilities, you must expect to feel the weight of the Roman power and displeasure; and you will find, before you are aware, that your wall will fall like dirt before their engines: so that this is the way to shew yourselves to be the most arrogant slaves of all the Galileans."

THIS pass'd without one word from the town in answer, none of the inhabitants being suffer'd to come up to the wall; for the faction were masters, and had clapt guards upon all the gates, to see that none should pass in or out, to promote a treaty. But John at last cry'd out to Titus, in the name of the people, "That he accepted the conditions, and that the town should agree to them likewise, or he would force them to it. Only he made him him this request, in regard of the inviolable strictness of the Jewish law for the observance of their sabbath, (which would no more suffer them to treat of peace, than to fight a battle) that he would indulge them that day: it being a case wherein either the complying on the one hand, or, as the Romans knew very well, the enforcing them on the other, would be equally unwarrantable: beside, that there could be no danger in putting off the treaty to another time; for, if they imagin'd that any man would attempt to make an escape that night, it would be an easy matter, by clapping guards upon all the avenues, to prevent it: over and above the reputation he would get by shewing himself as tender of their laws as they were of their own, and of their consciences as well as of their persons; which was a favour beyond their expectation."

John of Gischala seemingly accepted the offer, upon one certain condition.

NOW it was not so much a scruple for the sabbath, as an apprehension for his particular safety, that put John upon this treaty with Titus; for he was in a manner certain to be abandon'd and given up, if the town should be taken; and nothing left him to trust to but the night, and his heels, for the saving of his life. But the preservation of John was manifestly an act of divine providence toward the destruction of Jerusalem; as being the occasion, not only of the truce, but likewise of Titus's incamping farther off the city, at Cydeffa, one of the strongest and most populous places in Tyria, and a mortal enemy to the Galileans.

John makes his escape in the night.

THE night being now come, and the town without any guards upon it, John laid hold of the opportunity, and made his escape to Jerusalem; taking not only his military people, but several substantial men of the town, together with their families, along with him. The old men, the women and the children, that were frighted into this resolution, made a shift to keep up with their leader for the first * 20 furlongs; but finding themselves spent, and not able to continue the march, they had no more to do but to betake themselves to cries and lamentations; panting and trembling after those that had outstript them and were gone

* Twenty furlongs amount to two English miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been before observed.

The people
in a misera-
ble distress
and confusion

before: and the farther their friends were advanced from them one way, the nearer did they account themselves to their enemies the other; and upon the very point of being taken prisoners. Nay, the very noise of their own feet, they fancy'd to be the tread of their adversaries; and still looking behind them, they took their own people for their pursuers. In this imaginary fright they fell one over another, and the way was cover'd with the bodies of women and children, that were crush'd to death in the croud, by pressing who should get foremost. There was little more to be heard than the cries of miserable creatures to their husbands and friends to stay for them. But John call'd out to them on the other hand, to think of no other way of saving themselves, but by taking sanctuary in some place, where they might be reveng'd of the Romans, in case of any further mischief; and John's advice carry'd it. The multitude, upon this, dispers'd themselves, and shifted away the best they could.

Titus re-
ceiv'd into
Gischala:
Which puts
an end to the
conquest of
Galilee.

As soon as it was day-light, Titus came up to the walls of the town, to execute the treaty; where he found the gates open, and the inhabitants and their wives ready with acclamations to receive and acknowledge him for their benefactor and preserver. They gave him also to understand that John was fled away; begging his pardon for the innocent, and imploring his justice upon those left in the town that should be found to have been the authors of the revolt. Titus, upon their request, sent out a party of horse after John; but he was already gotten into Jerusalem before they could get up to him. They kill'd about two thousand of his party, and brought back again near three thousand women and children that they found wandering up and down.

Titus reasons
the case, and
acts accord-
ingly.

TITUS was not a little troubled at the escape of this impostor; and that they had not made him such an example as he deserv'd to be, when they had him in their hands: but then setting the advantages of the prisoners, the slain, and the taking of the town, against the disappointment of missing the single person of such a wretch, Titus balanc'd the one with the other, and enter'd the place in a friendly disposition toward the people; taking possession of it in form by the ceremony of his soldiers breaking off a piece of the wall, and reducing the authors of the sedition rather by menaces than by actual punishments. For Titus was of opinion, that in a case where so many family feuds, personal piques, and passions were concern'd, it might be a dangerous thing to make use of punishment, as a common rule of distinction betwixt the good and the bad, for fear of exposing the peaceable to calumnies, as well as the seditious to justice. So that, upon this deliberation, Titus thought it more honourable and human, rather to let some criminals live, than to run the risque of exposing some innocents; there being no place left for remedy and atonement, in the latter; whereas, in the other case, there may be hope of amendment; whether out of a fear of punishment, a sense of shame, or an impulse of virtue.

BUT Titus however in the conclusion put a garison into the town, partly to keep turbulent spirits in order, and partly to secure those that were of a peaceable disposition. This action

finish'd the conquest of Galilee, after the expence of so much labour and blood.

Galilee total-
ly subdu'd.

CHAP. V.

John of Gischala gets safe to Jerusalem, with a false story. The Jews divided; and a miserable nation. John the great incendiary. The rise and progress of the quarrel. The outrages of the robbers, and of others that are yet the worse of the two. They create and depose high-priests at pleasure; and Ananus moves the rabble against them. The factions draw into the temple. Gorion and Simeon the leaders of the party. Jesus and Ananus men of piety and virtue. The Zelotes, (so call'd.) Ananus enters into the reason of the case. The Romans easier to the Jews than the Zelotes. An encounter in the temple. The character and history of John of Gischala.

UPON John's coming up to Jerusalem, with a train of the faction at his heels, the people in vast throngs and multitudes gather'd about them, to know how matters went abroad, and, in a word, to learn the very worst of things. Now John and his company had run themselves so out of breath, betwixt fear and flight, that they were scarce able to speak; and that difficulty might have pass'd for an answer. But the party kept up the pride and vanity of their stomachs yet, with a pretence that they were not run away from the Romans; but came of their own accord, to find out some place for an engagement, where they might encounter upon equal terms: for none but fools and madmen would throw away their lives, they said, for the defence of Gischala, and two or three more such like weak and pitiful places, when the metropolis itself was at stake, and every brave man oblig'd, in duty and in honour, to do his best to defend it. John and his party colour'd the disgrace the best they could; but the people saw through the disguise, and that John's honourable retreat was no other than a downright running away. This discovery, and the story of the prisoners the Romans had taken, put the people into such a terror as if the ruin of Gischala had but been the prologue to the destruction of Jerusalem itself. But John all this while, without any shame or remorse for the poor creatures he had abandon'd upon the way, went officiously and pragmatically from one to another; animating the multitude to a prosecution of the war; derogating from the Romans on the one hand, and arrogating to themselves on the other; by which arts of quirks and imposture, they gained mightily upon the silly people. "Why, do you think, says he, after so many baffles put upon the Roman power and all their engines, by two or three mean, despicable places in Galilee; and so much difficulty in the mastering of them at last; do you think, I say, after all this, even if the Romans had wings, that they could ever be able to take Jerusalem?" These bravado flourishes wrought upon a world of the hot-headed young men; but at the same time all people of foresight, sense and experience, gave themselves utterly for lost.

John imposes
upon the
multitude;
and excuses
his running
away upon a
point of ho-
nour.

John of Gif-
chala the
great incen-
diary of the
war.

THIS

Jerusalem
in a confusion

THIS was the confused face and state of things in Jerusalem at that time; but the country led the way to the sedition that follow'd afterward in the city. For Titus being gone from Gischala to Cesarea, Vespasian went also from Cesarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and subdu'd them both, settled garisons in them, and so return'd: bringing a vast multitude of people along with him, that were now enter'd into a league with the Romans. The cities were all pester'd with tumults and intestine broils; and no sooner at peace with the Romans, but immediately together by the ears among themselves: and war or no war was the single question; for the two opposites fought for the one against the other. The quarrel began in private families, that had been a long time adversaries, upon the score of hereditary feuds. It pass'd thence into divided multitudes, that of friends became enemies: and it terminated at last in matter of faction and opinion; where men of the same mind sided into an opposition of party to party, and so incorporated in a rebellion. This disorder, in fine, was general. The men of action, youth and heat, were violently bent upon arms and innovations: the men of sense and gravity, on the other side, were for moderate counsels; but the former carry'd it.

The Jews
divided among
themselves.

The rise and
progress of
the quarrel.

The fruit of
an universal
liberty.

THIS confusion began with an universal licence, that every man took to himself, of robbing his neighbour, without any regard to law or conscience. They proceeded afterwards to do the same thing in bands and parties; and to do it barefac'd too up and down the country: in which practice, the Jews committed upon themselves more acts of cruelty and injustice, and did one another more mischief than the Romans; beside that the calamity was much more tolerable from an enemy than from a friend.

The outrages
of the
robbers.

THE garisons, that consulted their own ease, and mortally hated the people, were of no assistance to them in their sufferings: till in the conclusion some of the principals of the robbers enter'd Jerusalem, with a great body of their party, that they had pick'd up here and there. Now the city being under no rule of government, these ruffians met with no opposition: beside that, according to ancient custom, the gates were open to all Jews without exception; and at this time more especially, when they took all people that came in to them for friends, and assistants. This was the case, and this liberty in the conclusion prov'd the ruin of the city; when the infinite numbers of idle and unprofitable mouths devoured the necessary provisions, that were laid up for the soldiers that had the guard of the town: by which means, the miseries of sedition and famine were added to the calamities of the war.

Another
band of
thieves worse
than the former.

There came at the same time another party of thieves out of the country, that, joining with those they found in the town (who were yet worse than themselves) stuck at no manner of insolence, though never so flagitious and cruel. Robbery and pillage was as nothing with them, unless it was season'd with downright murder: and that not by stealth neither, and in the dark, or upon some common persons; but in the face of the sun, and upon the most considerable men in the city; as they began with the imprisoning of Antipas, a per-

son of the blood royal, and of such credit and authority, that he was entrusted with the charge of the treasury. They treated Levias afterwards, and Sophas the son of Raguel, with divers others of the most considerable persons they could lay their hands on, after the same manner. These horrid violences made the town look like a prize in the hand of a common enemy, and put all people to shift for themselves.

NAY, and these profligate wretches did not stop here neither; but finding their prisoners to be men of power, interest, credit, and a vast acquaintance, they did not know but it might be dangerous to keep them longer in custody; for fear of either a rescue or a revenge from their friends, or of a popular tumult, upon so desperate a provocation: wherefore they proceeded to a formal sentence of death upon them, and sent a blood-thirsty hireling of their own crew (one John the son of Dorcas) with a train of ten other bravos, to do the execution; and it was done accordingly. Now for a colour to this execrable villany, they gave it out that these people were in a conspiracy to deliver up the city to the Romans; and not without valuing themselves upon the merit of a publick service, for doing so necessary an act of justice upon the betrayers of the common liberty.

A bloody
sentence and
execution.

THE faction was now so daring and arrogant, and the people's hearts so dejected and dismay'd, that they assumed to themselves the disposing of the pontificate; took the high-priesthood out of the right line, abrogated the succession, and promoted creatures of their own, without either blood or virtue, to the office: and so, by the choice of ministers like themselves, they made the government all of a piece; well knowing that the wicked instruments of wicked men would not fail to act inconformity to the humour and interest of their masters.

They create
and depose
high-priests
at pleasure.

THERE was nothing wanting all this while of artificial calumnies, and feigned stories, to create misunderstandings among those that had it in their power to cross their designs, and so to make advantage of their disagreements: till in the end, when they had glutted themselves with putting affronts and indignities upon men, they transported their impieties even against God himself, and against his laws and his holy sanctuary. But upon this audacious extravagance, the people, at the instigation of Ananus the high-priest, made head against them; a person no less venerable for his years, piety and wisdom, than he was for his character; and one that probably might have preserv'd the city, if he could but have got clear of the train of a conspiracy that was then laid against him.

Putting in-
dignities up-
on God him-
self.
Ananus the
high-priest
makes head
against them.

THE faction took sanctuary in the temple, and made use of it both for a place of defence against the multitude, and for the seat of their tyranny and usurpation. But the most sensible part of the calamity was the mockery and contempt that attended it, in the wanton experiment of their own strength, and the heartless despondency of the people. As for example, they took upon them to elect a high-priest by lot; according to the precedent, as they pretended, of former times: whereas, in truth, there was no such precedent, but the sacerdotal function was originally a family privilege, and

The faction
draws into
the temple.

Phanes chosen high-priest by lot.

A person wholly unqualified for the function.

The solemnity turn'd into a mockery.

The people bent upon a revenge.

Gorion and Simeon the head of the party.

Jesus and Ananus do their parts also.

Zelote is only another word for hypocrite.

Ananus sets forth the whole state of the case, in a speech to the people. The cause notably reason'd from one end to the other.

and descended in a line by succession. Now this practice of theirs was only a self-ended invention of their own, to get the power into their hands. But they were taken in their own snare; for upon summoning one of the holy tribes (called Eniacim) in order to a choice, the lot fell upon a person that sufficiently discover'd the iniquity and the corruption of the proceeding. His name was * Phanes; his father's name Samuel; born in a village call'd Aphthas; a man, in fine, brutishly ignorant, and so far from having any relation to a sacerdotal family, that he did not so much as know what belong'd to the office. They forc'd him away however from his country affairs in spite of his heart; and, dressing him up in his priestly robes, as if it had been for the stage, they gave him his lesson how he was to behave himself: making no more in short of the whole story, than if it had been the foolery of a farce, or of a frolick. This could not but go to the hearts of the priests, that stood all this while at a distance, spectators of these indignities, to see their holy laws trampled upon, and their worship and profession ridicul'd; as they express'd their sense of it in tears and groans. But the people were so transported with the sense of this oppression, that they had no longer any patience for so scandalous a slavery; but join'd as one man in a resolution to depose the tyrants, and cast off the yoke.

THE two forwardest in this commotion were Gorion the son of Joseph, and Simeon the son of Gamaliel; who made it their business to go up and down from man to man, inculcating the doctrine of liberty and revenge, provoking the people at the same time, one and all, to stand up for the vindication of their religion, laws and freedoms, against their prophane and sacrilegious enemies.

THERE was also one Jesus the son of Gamala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, two priests of the first note for men of singular piety and virtue: these two holy men also as heartily excited the people, in frequent discourses upon the same subject; upbraiding them with their sloth and cowardice, and inflaming them by all manner of reproaches against the Zelotes. I call them Zelotes, as the name that they assumed to themselves, out of an hypocritical ostentation of holiness; though at the same time, in their lives and practice, they were the lowdest of men. The people, being now gather'd together, were all provoked to the highest pitch of indignation, to see the havoc these miscreants made in the holy places, and how they went on pillaging and murdering without controul.

BUT yet, in the height of an outrageous horror and fury, there was no attack made upon them all this while; for the people did not as yet think themselves in condition to encounter these Zelotes by downright force; as in truth they were not. Ananus the high-priest was at this time in the middle of the croud, and casting many a sorrowful look toward the temple, with tears in his eyes, he said, "Why did not I rather die than live, to see the house of God thus polluted and prophan'd, and the wickedest of men admitted promiscuously into those sacred places of privilege, that were only reserv'd for the high-priest?"

"Why do I live, and see all this, in my sacerdotal robes too, and with the venerable name of the great God written on my forehead? What do I live any longer for, after so glorious an opportunity now in my age of ending my days with honour? What have I more to do, in fine, under my circumstances, but to fall alone, and give up my life to my God and my duty? What should any man desire to live for, in an insensible generation, and among people that have neither the prudence to foresee calamities, nor the courage to resist them? You stand still to see yourselves robb'd, beaten and abus'd; and your friends and companions murder'd before your faces; without so much as one look, word, or action of tenderness or compassion that you dare own. A shameful, and an insupportable tyranny! But what do I talk of the actors of the tyranny, and not rather of those that suffer it, and that train'd up the tyrants themselves to the power of exercising what they now practice? Why did you not crush them when you might have done it; when they were but a few, weak, and inconsiderable? No no, it was your patience and nothing else that made these people your masters. But when you should have turn'd your arms against your enemies, you must be cutting of throats among yourselves. You should have call'd them to an account betimes, for the outrages they put upon your brethren: and you should have consider'd that the sufferance of one affront naturally draws on, and encourages another; as appear'd in what follow'd. For when they found that they might commit all manner of insolencies without controul, they advanc'd a step farther, and put several of the best men of the city in chains (who were effectually betray'd by your tameness) and dragg'd them to prison, not only unheard, and without a sentence, but without so much as an accusation. No matter for their names or qualities; but all this was done, and not one person appearing in their favour. After the loss of their estates and liberties, there remain'd nothing more to be taken away but their lives: and that was done too, and their throats cut, like so many beasts drawn out of the herd for sacrifices, before our faces; and not a mouth open'd, or a hand lifted up, in their defence. And after all these sufferings, one upon the neck of another, can you have the patience now to see your holy altars prophan'd, and your religion expos'd to scorn, without shewing some resentment worthy of your profession? and what is it that you are afraid of, at last, but monsters of your own creating, and the profess'd enemies of all that's good and holy? If they stop here, it is not for want of good will to be yet more and more wicked, but for want of fresh matter to work upon: for it is impossible for them to outdo the ill things they have done already. They are possess'd you see of the strongest place of the city; and that which you call the temple, serves them only for an impregnable castle, maintain'd against you. Considering now the strength of the place, and your enemies the masters of it,

* Gr. Φανίας.

" (as that you see is the case) what is it that
 " you propose to yourselves? or what do you
 " imagine will be the end of these things?
 " unless you fancy that the Romans will ef-
 " pouse the cause of your religion and cere-
 " monies; and in truth such is the misery of
 " our present condition, that our very enemies
 " cannot but pity us. Why if so many beasts
 " were in your places now, hunted, assaulted,
 " and wounded, as you yourselves are, they
 " would have the spirit to turn again upon
 " their pursuers, and to revenge themselves
 " upon their enemies; while you at the same
 " time suffer all tamely, without so much as
 " the sense or apprehension of the brutes. But
 " will you bear this always, and sink in infam-
 " y, under the affronts, publick and private,
 " that have been put upon you, without av-
 " enging yourselves? This abject patience
 " looks, methinks, as if you had no longer any
 " sense of the most natural and powerful
 " of human affections, the desire of liberty;
 " and as if you had taken up, on the contra-
 " ry, the love of slavery, instead of it: a
 " temper, which I am sure you never inher-
 " ited from your ancestors; witness the many,
 " and the dangerous wars they underwent a-
 " gainst the Medes and Egyptians, to assert
 " their freedom. But what need of looking
 " back for precedents, when the very war we
 " are now engag'd in against the Romans,
 " (whether it succeed well or ill) is advanced
 " evidently upon the same foot? and shall we
 " now that dispute our liberties with the mas-
 " ters of the whole world, crouch and truckle
 " like slaves to our own countrymen? To be
 " overcome by strangers is but the chance of
 " war, and may be imputed, without loss of
 " honour, to the iniquity of fortune: but for
 " people to give themselves up in subjection to
 " their own brethren and countrymen, and to
 " the very worst of them too, betrays a sordid
 " servility of spirit, and a soul prepar'd for
 " bondage.

" BUT now I am speaking of the Romans, I
 " have somewhat comes into my head upon this
 " occasion. Make it the case that we were all
 " actually now their prisoners, (which heaven
 " forbid!) Whether would our condition, in
 " probability, be better or worse than it is
 " now? for what misery could an enemy in-
 " flict upon us, that we have not suffer'd al-
 " ready? Can any man stand a spectator to
 " look upon the Jews, and to see them rob-
 " bing the temple of the oblations and dona-
 " tives that the Romans bestow'd upon it?
 " defacing the most glorious city under the
 " sun; and dipping their hands in the blood
 " of those heroes, which the Romans them-
 " selves, in the very triumph of their victories,
 " would have had a veneration for? can any
 " man see all this, I say, without tears in his
 " eyes, and a bleeding heart? Whereas the
 " Romans, on the other side, made a conscience
 " of passing the bounds of sacred and profane;
 " and of breaking in upon the solemnities of holy
 " customs; or but so much as casting a look, un-
 " less with reverence, and at a distance, toward
 " the sacred inclosure? But we have a sort of
 " people among ourselves, train'd up after our
 " way too, and calling themselves Jews, that
 " make no more scruple of walking in the
 " temple, than in a common place; and that,
 " while their hands are yet reeking with the

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" blood of their fellow-citizens. Shall any
 " man after this, stand in dread of a foreign
 " war, compar'd with such a domestick
 " one? The enemy is in truth (to call
 " things by their right names) the greater
 " friend of the two: for while the Romans
 " shew'd themselves the preservers of our
 " laws, our pretended friends that were in
 " our bowels destroy'd them. Certain it is,
 " that these tyrants have betray'd your liber-
 " ties, and that no punishment can be equal to
 " their crimes. I tell you no more in this now,
 " than what you all knew before I open'd my
 " mouth; and you need no other instigation
 " against these men, than the sense of your
 " own sufferings. But you were afraid of their
 " numbers perhaps; the daring boldness of
 " these men, and the advantageous post they
 " are now possess'd off. Well! And what
 " was it, I beseech you, but your want of re-
 " solution, that rais'd them up to this, and
 " made them so considerable? And you have
 " no way left you now, but a speedy,
 " a generous, and a joint association among
 " yourselves, to bring down again; for
 " delay gives time to settle; opportu-
 " nity to encrease, and heart to gather cou-
 " rage: like will to like, and the whole fac-
 " tion will flow into the party; which will
 " make them numerous: and then they have
 " nothing to fear, where they meet with no
 " opposition, and that makes them bold; and
 " so for deferring the attempt, the longer it is
 " put off, the more time they have to fortify
 " and intrench. Now 'tis but one bold push,
 " to shew that you are in earnest, to humble
 " their pride and insolence; and you will find
 " that, betwixt the terrors of a guilty conscience,
 " and the infamy of base actions, they will
 " have little joy of their station. As who
 " knows but these impious wretches may be
 " cut off by the just judgment of a righteous
 " God, as a vengeance upon them for their
 " contempt of his divine majesty? And that
 " the very weapons they launce at us, may, by
 " a providential miracle, be turn'd against
 " their own hearts and faces; so that they
 " shall not be able to stand the very sight of
 " us, but with confusion? or to put matters at
 " worst; what if we should fall every man of
 " us in the contest; could any thing be more
 " glorious, than to lay down our lives at the
 " gates of the temple, for the honour of God,
 " and in the service of his holy house and
 " cause? As to the conduct of the enterprize,
 " you shall have my heart, hand, example and
 " advice along with you."

Ananus makes a party against the Zelotes.

THIS discourse of Ananus irritated the peo-
 ple sufficiently against the Zelotes; but yet
 Ananus was so well inform'd of their number,
 their choice of men, and their courage; with
 the circumstances of the place, and the posture
 they were in; and finally, their despair of par-
 don in case they should happen to be worsted;
 that he could not promise himself any present
 advantage from the effect of this management:
 but he was nevertheless resolv'd to run all ha-
 zards, rather than abandon his country in this
 distress; the people in the mean time desiring
 nothing more than some body to lead them on
 against these miscreants, in defiance of all dan-
 gers whatsoever.

ANANUS, finding the multitude in so good a
 disposition, made a choice of the best men he
 could

The Romans much easier to the Jews than the Ze-
 lotes.

could pick out, and ranged them presently in such order as the time would bear. The Zelotes had their spies about Ananus; and, upon intelligence of his designs and motions, they march'd immediately toward him; one while, in small parties, and then again in gross bodies; without giving quarter to any one creature that fell into their hands. Ananus with great expedition got his men together, who exceeded the others in number; but the Zelotes however had the advantage of being better arm'd: though what was wanting one way, was supply'd on both sides with resolution and good-will another. The rage and indignation of the citizens doubled their valour against the Zelotes: and that of the Zelotes also, on the other hand, inflamed their resolution against the multitude: the inhabitants found they could not be safe, unless they clear'd the city of the faction: and the Zelotes knew full well, that certain death attended them, if they did not come off victorious. In this disposition, both parties engag'd; and a skirmish began not far from the temple, by assaulting one another with stones. Those that fled were cut off by the swords of their enemies; so that there were a great many dropt on both sides. As any of the inhabitants happen'd to be wounded, their friends carry'd them off into their own houses; but the Zelotes were convey'd up to the temple, where they polluted and profan'd the holy place and religion with their blood. But the thieves came off still in all their sallies and excursions with advantage.

The people were now grown strong and numerous, and out of all patience with the fugitives for not standing their ground: inasmuch that, closing up the way behind them in their flight, they turn'd them back again upon the enemy; so that they were forced to cut out their way forward in their own defence. By this means, they were brought every man of them to the combat; and the faction, not being able to stand the shock of the whole body, gave way by little and little toward the temple; and Ananus with his troops, pressing on furiously among them. When he had driven the Zelotes before him out of the first court, they got in a fright into the second inclosure; shutting the gates after them in a hurry upon the pursuers. Ananus had too great a reverence for the holy place to make use of any sort of violence for the forcing of his passage: though the enemy did all that was possible to be done, by their darts and shot from over their heads, to provoke him to it. But such was the conscience the high-priest made of polluting the holy temple with the mixture of an unpurify'd multitude, that, if he might have gain'd the main cause by such a dispensation, he would not have admitted it. So that all he did at present was to order a standing guard of six thousand choice men upon the porches of the temple, and so successively six thousand more after them to do duty, and to be reliev'd by turns; not exempting the best men of the town from their part in this service: only when it came to their lot, they were allow'd to hire men of an inferior quality to watch in their stead.

The character and history of John of Gischala.

The popular party at this time carry'd all before them; but John, of Gischala, the fugitive before spoken of, spoil'd all again. He was a false, crafty wretch; ambitious beyond

measure; an enemy and a traitor to the publick of a long standing. In order to his ends, he began with making himself popular by setting up for a patriot. No man so assiduous at council with Ananus in the day-time as himself; nor any man so careful of the guards and watches by night. And he was at the same time so necessary a spy for the Zelotes, that there was scarce any thing that escap'd his knowledge: and what he knew, they knew so soon as he could give them information. And for the better disguise of his pretended zeal for Ananus and the people, he was most officiously nice and forward in all his respects to the high-priest, and the great men he had to do withal. But so it fell out, that the very over-doing of his part laid him under a jealousy; for it was too much to be true, and too much labour'd to be natural: beside, that the flatteries were too gross. Another thing that increas'd a suspicion of him was this; that he thrust himself into their councils still, without being call'd. Ananus found that his secrets were betray'd, and none so likely as John to do it. But this wretch had play'd his game so artificially, and was so rooted in the good opinion of several great men, that there was no thought or possibility of removing him from his post: so that they could think of no better expedient for the putting of him to the test, than to give him an oath of faith and secrecy, to keep all the people's councils, and to serve them against all rebels to the uttermost of his power. John made no difficulty of swallowing this oath; and Ananus and his people as little of believing him without any further scruple: and thereupon, they did not only take him immediately into their councils, but sent him soon after upon a commission to the Zelotes, with proposals of peace. The thing they fear'd was, lest the temple should come to be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame laid at their door. This perfidious impostor went his way to the Zelotes with quite another story; and told them, that the oath he had taken was so far from being against them, that, on the contrary, it was much in their favour. "I have, says he, run all manner of hazards for your sakes, in the care I have taken to inform you of all the designs, and practices of Ananus and his party against you. But I am now to tell you that neither you nor I were ever in so great danger as at this present, if God in his providence does not avert it. For Ananus hath prevail'd with the people to send deputies to Vespasian, to desire him to come forthwith, and take possession of the city; having order'd the people to purify themselves the next day, to the end that, under a pretext of religion, they might either by fair means or by foul get into the town. I do not find, says he, under their circumstances, how they should be able to hold out long against so prodigious a number of men: but however, as God hath been pleas'd to order it, I am at present deputed to bring you a project of peace; which in truth is no other than a trick of Ananus's, to hold you in hand with the amusement of a treaty, and then to fall upon you by surprize, when you think yourselves most secure. But as to what you are to do now, you have no other choice before you, that I can see, than either to cast yourselves

His false and perjurious practices in several respects.

John artificial and malicious to the highest degree.

The in di writ Idur help

“ selves at the besiegers feet, or to call in a
 “ foreign force to your rescue. For, says he,
 “ if you are taken, the very memory and con-
 “ science of what you have done, (appear as
 “ penitent as you please) puts you out of all
 “ hope of mercy; beside that criminals prove
 “ the worse many times for repentance: over
 “ and above that the thirst for revenge in-
 “ creases with the power of taking it with se-
 “ curity. Consider again what you are to ex-
 “ pect from the friends and relations of those
 “ you have slain, and from a furious multitude
 “ in the height of their rage for the dissolution
 “ of their laws and customs. Not but that
 “ here and there a single man perhaps may have
 “ some sense of humanity and tenderness; but
 “ what will that avail against the impetuous
 “ violence of a brutal multitude?” This dis-
 course of John’s startled the people; which
 was the thing he aimed at. As to the fo-
 reign force he hinted at, he meant it of the
 Idumeans; though he durst not venture to
 speak it out in plain terms. After this he
 took some of the heads apart, and gave them
 some short touches of Ananus’s cruelty, and
 of the implacable malice of his heart toward
 them in particular.

CHAP. VI.

*The Zelotes write to the Idumeans for assistance; which
 is granted them in a supply of near twenty thou-
 sand men. Jesus discourses the matter with
 them. Simon the son of Cathlas to the high-
 priest. The Idumeans resolve to make good the
 siege.*

ELEAZAR the son of Simon, and Za-
 chary the son of Amphicalus, were look’d
 upon as two of the ablest men the Zelotes had
 in their council, and the best qualify’d for busi-
 ness, either to advise or to execute: and they
 were both of the sacerdotal race. These men,
 taking for granted, that beside menaces in ge-
 neral, their particular lives were threatened;
 and that Ananus and his party had call’d in the
 Romans to their assistance, as John had or-
 der’d the story; they found themselves so
 hamper’d under several difficulties, that they
 could not resolve which way to turn themselves:
 fancying in the first place that the very people
 would tear them to pieces. As to foreign suc-
 cours, there were none to be expected time e-
 nough to prevent the execution of the plot;
 for the blow would be struck before their al-
 lies could have any notice of their distress.
 But in the conclusion, they resolved to apply
 themselves to the Idumeans, and wrote them
 a letter upon that occasion to this effect. “ Find-
 “ ing that Ananus, having first seduced the
 “ people, hath designed to betray Jerusalem
 “ to the Romans, we have retired into the
 “ temple in defence of the common liberty;
 “ where we are now besieged, and upon the
 “ very point of falling into the hands of A-
 “ nanus and the rest of our enemies, and the
 “ city itself into the hands of the Romans,
 “ without immediate relief.”

THE bearers of this letter had several things
 in charge to deliver by word of mouth to the
 principals of that nation. The persons chosen
 for the executing of this commission, were two
 Ananias’s; both resolute men, good speakers,

masters of the faculty of persuasion, and (which
 was equal to all the rest upon this occasion)
 men of speed and dispatch. They made no
 doubt of the Idumeans ready assistance toward
 the promoting of such an affair; being a peo-
 ple fond of broils and changes, brutal and
 churlish, and such as needed no great art to
 ingage them in any thing of this nature; for
 they are a people that go to war as other peo-
 ple do to a banquet. Expedition was now the
 main business, and the messengers did their
 parts.

THEY were no sooner come to the gover-
 nors of Idumea, and had delivered their letters
 and instructions, but the people went raving up
 and down like so many mad-men; provoking
 and encouraging one another to take up arms:
 insomuch that they had gotten together a par-
 ty of near twenty thousand men, that were all
 raised for the relief of the metropolis. This
 army was raised in a trice, and dispatch’d away
 to Jerusalem, under the command of John and
 James the sons of Sofas, Simon the son of
 Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusoth.

ANANUS and his people knew nothing of
 the fore-mentioned deputation of the two mes-
 sengers from the Zelotes; but he was better
 informed however of the Idumean expedition,
 and so order’d the gates to be shut up, and the
 walls well guarded; but no act of hostility to
 be committed, till he had first try’d what might
 be done by reason and fair words toward the
 composing of the broil; so that Jesus (the first
 priest next Ananus) mounted a tower over a-
 gainst the Idumeans, and within hearing of
 them spake to this effect.

“ Of all the calamities, says he, that ever
 “ beset this famous city, nothing amazes me
 “ more than to see fortune in a conspiracy
 “ with the lewdest people in nature to destroy
 “ it. Who could ever have thought to have
 “ seen you joining with a band of miscreants
 “ against us? and that too with more alacrity
 “ than would have become you toward bar-
 “ barians themselves, if Jerusalem had desired
 “ your aid? But if you are of the same mind
 “ with your superiors, this you have to say
 “ for yourselves; that a similitude of man-
 “ ners, naturally begets an agreement of af-
 “ fections. But this cannot be the case be-
 “ twixt you and them. For if you consider
 “ their lives and actions, you will not find one
 “ man of them that does not deserve a thou-
 “ sand deaths. As to their quality, they are
 “ the very scum and sink of mankind: and then
 “ for their manners, after their squandering a-
 “ way their fortunes in luxury and debauch,
 “ they proceeded to rapine and pillage; and
 “ stealing afterward into the city like thieves,
 “ they advanced to sacrilege and bloodshed;
 “ even in the holy temple itself: wallowing
 “ in drink and surfeits, at the very altar, with-
 “ out either fear or shame; devouring the
 “ spoils of those they have murder’d, and pro-
 “ phaning the sacred place with all manner of
 “ pollutions. Now in the middle of this con-
 “ fusion, I find you advanced here in as regu-
 “ lar a formality of order and equipage, as if
 “ your army had been brought in at the re-
 “ quest of the whole body of the city against
 “ a foreign enemy. What shall I call this
 “ now, but the iniquity of fortune, to see your
 “ whole nation united in so infamous a confe-
 “ deracy against your own brethren?”

The letter is
 no sooner
 read than the
 request
 granted:

In a levy of
 near twenty
 thousand men
 to their
 assistance,
 and upon
 their march
 towards Je-
 rusalem.

Jesus’s rea-
 sonings and
 proposals to
 the Idumeans.

The Zelotes
 in distress,
 write to the
 Idumeans for
 help.

“ not

“ not but admire, I must confess, at the suddenness of your resolution, as well as at the thing itself. It must be some great matter sure, that could move you to take up arms for thieves and vagabonds, against your allies. But you have been possess'd, I perceive, with a notion of our calling in the Romans, and betraying the city to them; and upon that pretence, you take upon you to set up for asserters of the liberties of Jerusalem against a foreign power. Now though this was a gross and a malicious calumny, it was yet pertinent enough to the purpose of the inventors of it: for our enemies could never have gain'd their ends upon men that value liberty at the rate that you do, and would venture so far for the preserving of it, but by possessing you with a rage against us, as the base and unmanly betrayers of a blessing and a privilege that you have so great a veneration for. But you shall do well now to consider, who they are that thus belye and traduce us; and then make a judgment upon the whole, not upon the credit of plausible tales and hearsays, but upon the force of clear truths and convincing reason.

“ How will it consist that we should dispute our liberties thus long with the Romans, and just now own them for our masters? How came it that we fell off from them at first? or how came it that we did not go over to them again, before our lands, towns and villages were totally laid waste and destroy'd? Neither is this a time for a treaty, if we had never so great a mind to it; for the conquest of Galilee hath made them too proud to hearken to any conditions. And then meanly to cringe to them to beg a peace, so soon as they shew themselves before our walls, would be an infamy more insupportable than death itself. For my own part, I am rather for peace than war; but, on the other side, when the war is once begun and inevitable, I am rather for a glorious death, than the life of a slave.

“ But how stands the case, I beseech you, of our sending to the Romans? Is it that the ring-leaders have privately sent some particular persons out of their own number, or families? or will you have it to be a deputation as the common act of the people? If this was done by a particular commission, why are we not told the names of the commissioners? Are there any letters to be produc'd in proof of this suggestion? or hath any man been taken up going or coming upon this errand? How comes it that among so many thousands of people, as we daily converse with in the city, not so much as one man ever heard of it? And how comes it again, that this secret, that has been manag'd with so much caution out of the city, should be only known to a few persons that are lock'd up in the temple, and not at liberty so much as to stir out of the walls? Is it not a strange thing too that this treason should never be heard of, till the reporters of it were in danger themselves, and in dread of being call'd to an account for their own crimes? Neither could it be call'd the people's act, without passing the vote of a general assembly; which would have made it impossible to be kept so long a secret. Or

“ to what end should there be a deputation too, when the thing was resolv'd beforehand, and no room left for a treaty? And then, as I said before, they should have done well to have named the commissioners. But drowning men will catch hold of any thing; and all this shifting and shuffling is only for the saving of their own skins. But if it must be the city's fate at last to fall by treachery, none so likely to bring it to that end as our accusers themselves; for 'tis but adding treason to blood, sacrilege, and the rest of the impieties they are guilty of already, to fill up the measure of their iniquities.

“ But since you are here upon the place with us, and in arms, what can you do better than to join with us in the relief of the city, and in the rooting out of these tyrannical monsters? Wretches that have trod all our laws under foot, to make way for tumult and violence, treated our governors worse than bond slaves, or common criminals, in jails, chains, nay, and with death itself, though never so innocent; and which is worse, without so much as any pretence to the contrary, and without any place at last for prayers or intercessions in favour of the miserable. This is no more than what you may be eye-witnesses of yourselves, if you will but enter the city as friends, and believe your senses. There you shall see the gutting of houses, and the whole town in mourning for their massacred kindred and friends; your ears entertain'd with nothing but cries and lamentations, and not one creature to be found, upon the whole, but has his part in this oppression. And they have carry'd up the insolence to so extravagant a pitch too, that after the barbarous robberies and outrages, committed in the country-towns and villages, they have brought the scene likewise into the mother city itself, though the head and glory of the nation; carrying the outrage from thence also, into the very temple itself, which they have made the seat of the war. From thence it is that they make their sallies, and thither their retreats; there they keep their guards, their stores, and their magazines: and at this rate it is, in fine, that these profligates (of our own tribe and extraction too) prophane, dishonour, and trample upon God's holy habitation; and the place that is venerable all over the world, save only among our own people. They are never so desperate, but in the depth of their despairs; they still take delight in forcing all things to extremities, and in setting cities and nations together by the ears, and running all into a confusion of civil broils. Now the most righteous and reasonable thing that you can do, (and that which might best become you too) would be, as I said before, to go hand in hand with us in delivering the nation from these firebrands, and in taking your revenge upon them for the imposture they have put upon you, and for presuming to invite you into their party for assistance: whereas they should rather have dreaded the vengeance and justice from you, that belongs to a common enemy. Or if you take it to be matter of decency and respect, to pay some sort of deference to their requests, be but you pleas'd to pass into the city as friends; leave your

" your arms at the gates, make yourselves
 " neuters, give the cause a fair hearing, and
 " be you yourselves the judges of the contro-
 " verſy. But now for theſe people that have
 " ſo many notorious crimes to answer for them-
 " ſelves; and after the hurrying away of ſo
 " many men of quality to death, without ſo
 " much as the forms of either charge or de-
 " fence; for theſe people, I ſay, to be ad-
 " mitted to ſo impartial and eaſy a way of
 " trial, will be a condeſcenſion very extraor-
 " dinary, and it will become them to acknow-
 " ledge the obligation they have to you for
 " the favour. But if you will neither join
 " with us in the equity of the cauſe, nor ap-
 " pear in the quality of a judge betwixt us,
 " pray do but withdraw from both parties,
 " without either inſulting over honeſt men in
 " their affliction, or ſiding with traitors and
 " uſurpers againſt your mother-city. Or if
 " you are not as yet thoroughly ſatisfy'd of
 " our innocence, as to any ſecret correſpon-
 " dence with the Romans, do but ſend out
 " your ſcouts and agents to ſpy upon the paſ-
 " ſes and avenues; and whenever you find one
 " creature of us guilty of ſuch a practice, ſpare
 " neither the actor nor the party. Now that
 " will be the only proper time for you to ſtand
 " up for your metropolis: and there is no
 " danger in the mean time; for, as you are poſt-
 " ed, it is not poſſible for any enemy to inter-
 " poſe to your prejudice. If this may work
 " upon you, 'tis well; but if otherwiſe, you
 " cannot think it reaſonable for us to open our
 " gates till you lay down your arms."

THE Idumeans were ſo incens'd at their be-
 ing ſhut out of the town, that they gave little
 or no heed to what Jeſus ſaid; and then for
 laying down their arms, it look'd ſo like a
 conqueſt, that the commanders would not ſo
 much as endure the thought of it. The mul-
 titude, upon this, fell into a kind of uproar;
 but Simon the ſon of Cathlas, one of the com-
 manders, with much ado appeaſing it, took a
 ſtanding upon an advance-ground within hear-
 ing of the high-prieſt, and deliver'd himſelf
 to them after this manner.

Simon the ſon
 of Cathlas, to
 the high-
 prieſt.

" I do not wonder, ſays he, to ſee the de-
 " fenders of our country's liberties ſhut up
 " here in the temple, when the very beſiegers
 " of thoſe patriots have likewiſe ſhut up the
 " city itſelf, which ought to be free and
 " open to the whole nation; but at the ſame
 " time ready enough perhaps to entertain the
 " Romans with garlands and acclamations.
 " 'Tis enough for us, you think, to talk to us
 " from your towers, adviſe us to lay down our
 " arms (though taken up in the common cauſe)
 " and not to truſt our neareſt friends with the
 " guard of the city. But inſtead of defending
 " our capital, we are held in hand with pro-
 " poſals of being made judges of the matter
 " in queſtion; and in the ſame inſtant, while
 " you are laying heavy charges againſt others,
 " for deſtroying your fellow-citizens without
 " any colour of law, you yourſelves pro-
 " nounce judgment at will and pleaſure upon
 " the whole nation, and violently keep your
 " own brethren out of a city that gives ad-
 " mittance, upon the account of piety and de-
 " votion, to all mankind beſide. But is this
 " your way then of acknowledging obligations?
 " Do you call it an expedition againſt you, and
 " a ſiding with your enemies, to make all the

" haſte we could to your reſcue? At the ſame
 " rate are thoſe in the temple your enemies:
 " and you have juſt as much to ſay againſt us
 " as againſt them. You have at preſent the
 " very ſupporters of the commonwealth pri-
 " ſoners in the temple; and we are to be
 " ſham'd off with a pretence, that the end of
 " your keeping all the world out of the city,
 " is to avoid their tyranny: when in truth the
 " very tyranny you complain you, you your-
 " ſelves practice. Now this is too groſs to
 " paſs upon any man of common ſenſe and rea-
 " ſon. And keeping us out of the city is not
 " all neither; for we are barr'd by that ex-
 " cluſion, from the exerciſe and enjoyment of
 " the religious rites and ceremonies of our
 " profeſſion. And it is the ſame caſe again
 " with thoſe that are beſieg'd in the temple,
 " for puniſhing certain traitors that you are
 " pleas'd to honour with the title of honeſt
 " men and perſons of quality, for the credit
 " of the confederacy. Now the only thing
 " that they were to blame for, was, that they
 " did not begin with you: that is to ſay, at
 " the root of the conſpiracy. But if they were
 " over tender, it will concern us to act with
 " more vigour, for the maintenance of the
 " houſe of God, and of the rites of our coun-
 " try, as well within the city as without, and
 " againſt all oppoſers. So that this ſiege we
 " are reſolved to make good, till either the
 " Romans deliver you, or the conſcience of
 " what you have done amifs bring you back a-
 " gain to your duty."

The Idu-
 means reſolve
 finally to
 make good
 the ſiege.

C H A P. VII.

*The Idumeans incamp under the city walls. A
 furious tempeſt; and the Idumeans ſhelter them-
 ſelves under their bucklers againſt it. Several
 forebodings upon it. The Zelotes adviſe in
 council how to ſecure their friends. The Idu-
 means enter the city by night, and join the Ze-
 lotes. A bloody maſſacre. Ananias and Jeſus
 are put to death.*

THE Idumean army gave to underſtand
 by ſhouts and clamours, how much they
 were pleas'd with what was ſaid. But Jeſus,
 on the other hand, went away penſive and for-
 rowful; not only for the untractable temper of
 the Idumeans, but likewiſe to find that the
 citizens had now a double war upon their
 hands. And the Idumeans were not much
 eaſier neither, partly out of an indignation at
 the affront of ſuch a repulſe, and partly to find
 themſelves ſo much miſtaken in the ſtrength of
 the Zelotes; for they were not ſo ſtrong as
 they imagined; and the difficulties of the un-
 dertaking made them half repent their com-
 ing. But the ſhame of returning juſt as they
 came, and without making any attempt, car-
 ry'd it againſt all other ſcruples: ſo that they
 reſolved (raſhly enough) to take up their ſta-
 tion where they were, and to incamp under
 the very walls of the city.

ON the night following, there blew a dread-
 ful tempeſt of wind and rain, accompany'd
 with ſuch terrible ſaſhes of lightning, tearing
 claps of thunder, and ſuch bellowing of earth-
 quakes, as put all people to their wits end, to
 think what theſe prodigies might portend.

THE inhabitants and the Idumeans were both
 under the ſame apprehenſion: that is to ſay,
 that God was incens'd againſt them for the

They poſt
 themſelves
 under the
 walls of the
 city.

A furious
 tempeſt.
 Several judg-
 ments and
 forebodings
 upon it.

war, and that some vindictive judgment threaten'd them both, if they went on with it against their mother-city: Ananus and his party, looking upon it all this while as a declaration from heaven in their favour, taking for granted that God would fight for them, and give them a victory without a battle. But the event shew'd them to be false prophets; for that which they apply'd to the enemy beset themselves in the conclusion.

The Idumeans cover themselves with their bucklers against the storm.

The Zelotes in council how to secure their friends.

ALL that the Idumeans were able to do in the fury of this storm, was to stand one to another as close as they could press, and cover their heads with their bucklers; whereby they secured themselves against wind and weather. The Zelotes all this while were in more pain for the danger the Idumeans were expos'd to than for themselves; and so laid their heads together, to consult which way it was possible for them to bring their friends off. The more daring part of the council were absolutely for setting upon the city guards; and, after the gaining of that point, for downright forcing the gates, and making way for the Idumeans; arguing, that such a surprize upon raw-soldiers, and men ill-arm'd, would so disorder them, that they would find it a hard matter to appear in a body again; beside, that they had most of them hous'd themselves to be out of the weather. But let the danger be what it would, nothing (they said) should ever make them so base as to abandon their friends and allies, that came so generously to their succour.

THE moderate men were utterly against this way of adventure; giving for granted, that the guards at this time were undoubtedly doubled upon so critical a juncture; a stricter watch than ordinary set upon the walls, in regard of the Idumeans; beside, that Ananus would be every where up and down, at all hours, upon his rounds, to keep the soldiers to their duty. And so it would have been any other night but that, when Ananus went to refresh himself; not so much out of negligence and laziness, as by a judicial fatality that over-rul'd him upon that critical instant, to the ruin of himself, and his people: for the night being now far spent, and the tempest increasing, the guards upon the temple-gates fell all fast asleep.

IT came now into the Zelotes heads, that if they could but destroy the bolts and bars of the gates, the work were done: whereupon they took down certain saws and other instruments, dedicated to the service of the holy temple, with which they fil'd and cut them to pieces; and it fell out so luckily, that, betwixt the raging of the wind, and the roaring of the thunder, the besiegers heard nothing of the noise. Upon this, they stole away privately toward the city gates, next to the Idumeans; which they open'd as they had done the former. The Idumeans took it at first for Ananus attempting to make a sally, and every man with his sword in his hand made toward the passage, to oppose him; but upon finding their mistakes, the Idumeans enter'd the city; and with such a rage, that, if they had discharg'd it upon the people, as they were about to do, they must have put the whole body of them to the sword. But the Zelotes earnestly beseeching them not to leave their friends in the temple in distress,

for whose sakes they came thither, and so expose them to still greater dangers; and likewise reasoning with them how much easier they would find the enterprize, if they began with the guards; whereas, if the inhabitants took the alarm first, they would gather in multitudes, and dispute every inch of ground upon such advantages, that they could never carry their point; the Idumeans were of the same mind, and so made it their first business to pass directly thorough the city, to the relief of their friends that were prisoners in the temple; where the Zelotes waited their coming with great impatience. The Idumeans were no sooner enter'd, but the Zelotes advanced out of the inner-temple, and join'd with them in a sally upon the guards. Some they kill'd in their sleep, while others took the alarm at the outcries of the people; and the multitude stood to their arms, though with all the confusion in the world. But taking it at first to be only a party of the Zelotes, they made little doubt of overcoming them with numbers, and took heart upon it; but when they saw how others came pouring in upon them from abroad, and that the Idumeans had join'd the Zelotes, the greater part of them betook themselves to cries and lamentations, dropping their courage and their arms both at once. Some few brave young fellows there were however, that had the hearts yet to make a stand against the Idumeans, and to cover the timorous common people; while others went raving up and down from place to place, making proclamation as it were of the ruin of the city. But not one soul that had the courage to strike a blow, after it was known that the Idumeans were masters of the town. The streets rung of vain and fruitless exclamations, and mournful complainings, the shrieks of women in frights for the loss of their guards; and all these clamours were made much more dreadful by the shouts of the Idumeans and Zelotes, and the tempestuous violences of the winds and thunder. But such, in fine, was the natural barbarity and fierceness of the Idumeans, together with the vexatious thought of being shut out of the city, and expos'd to the stress of weather, that they shew'd no mercy; and whether they were in arms or upon their knees, it was the same case. Some pleaded religion; others, kindred: but death stopp'd all their mouths; and their condition was such, that they could neither fight nor run away. Nay, the very fear of death contributed as much to the execution of it, in some sort, as the rage of the enemy: for by pressing so hard one upon another, they block'd up all possibility of retiring, and brought them so thick together, that their adversaries made not one blow in vain. In this extremity of their distraction, some of them to avoid one death, leapt headlong down a precipice into another. There was a flood, in fine, of blood quite around the outer-temple; and by the time it was fair day-light, they computed eight thousand five hundred dead bodies upon the place.

AND this was not enough yet to quench the insatiable fury of the blood-thirsty Idumeans, without turning their rage against the city; where they pillag'd all houses indifferently, and kill'd all the people they found in their way. As for the rabble they look'd upon them

They join the Zelotes.

A bloody and inhuman massacre ensues upon it.

The Idumeans enter the city by night.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The cruelty of the Idumeans and the Zelotes. Twelve thousand men put to death. Zachariah charged with treason before a mock court of Justice. The court acquits him; and the people murder him in the temple. The practice is discover'd; and the Idumeans discharge their prisoners, and leave the city. Gorion and Niger of Perea are put to death. Divine justice overtakes the tyrants.



The barbarous cruelties of the Idumeans and the Zelotes.

AFTER the horrid butchery of Ananus and Jesus, (as afore-said) the common people were treated at the rate even of the worst of beasts, both by the Zelotes and Idumeans; who cut them to pieces as fast as they found them: but for men of quality and those that were in the vigour of their youth, they kept them only in custody; in hope that for the saving of their lives they might be brought over to their party: but they chose rather to die every man of them, than to join in a conspiracy with traitors against their native country. And death was the least part of their misery too; for it was brought on with the most exquisite of torments: and when the bodies of men were torn and mangled with scourges, till they were all over ulcers, and could hold out no longer, they had recourse then to the sword, for the finishing of the work. Those that they took up in the day, were crowded into prisons at night; and as any of them dy'd there, their bodies were thrown out to make room for more; and the next comers to be serv'd after the same manner. These horrid massacres put the people in such a dread, that they durst not own so much as a sigh or a tear for the loss of a friend, or any sort of funeral rites for the nearest relations they had in the world: nay, they durst not so much as weep or mourn in their own

houses or chambers, without searching all the holes and corners first, to be sure that no body was within hearing: for humanity was become so dangerous a crime, that it was death even to shew a tenderness for the memory of those that were gone. All they could do, was now and then in the dark and by stealth to cast a handful of earth or two upon the body: though some few were so bold as to venture upon it in the day too. This persecution cost the lives of twelve thousand men of the first quality.

THESE blood-thirsty monsters began now to be almost surfeited with this barefac'd, cut-throat way of murder, and had the confidence to set up a mock-court of justice, and to do the same thing over again under a form of law and equity. There was one Zachariah the son of Baruch, a man of the first rank; a friend to all good men, and an enemy to the wicked: a man, in short, of great authority and virtue, and over and above, very rich. This Zachariah was look'd upon by the Zelotes, as a man so dangerously popular, that they themselves could not be safe, they thought, without removing him. So they resolv'd to take away his life; or, which was all one, to put him upon his trial for it. To this purpose they call'd together seventy of the better sort of the people, under the name of judges; but without any semblance of a commission to authorize them. This pretended court being met, the Zelotes exhibited

Twelve thousand men of the best quality put to death with infamy.

Zachary charged with treason before a mock court of justice.

exhibited a formal charge against Zachary, for being in a conspiracy to betray Jerusalem to the Romans, and treating about it with Vespasian. There was not the least colour either of a proof, or so much as any inducement to the believing of it; but the Zelotes said it was so, and therefore it must be so.

He makes an honourable defence.

ZACHARY perceiving manifestly that his life was at stake, and that the whole management was a cheat (for he had nothing to do with Vespasian) he gave himself without more ceremony for lost; but still in the abandon'd state of this despair, he govern'd himself in his defence with a serenity of mind and a freedom of spirit, well becoming the character of a man of honour and virtue. He began with contemptuous reflections upon the shameful practices and pretences of his accusers, and so proceeded to the evident calumnies and inconsistencies of their suggestions; briefly laying open the vanity of all their objections, and turning their arguments in their own faces; setting forth in order the whole course of their iniquities, and complaining by the bye of the troubled state of things. This generous and daring behaviour of Zachary transported the Zelotes into so malicious a rage, that they had certainly murder'd him upon the place, if it had not been to keep up the credit of their pretended judicature, by putting it to the experiment, whether their new judges would venture their heads or no, upon so dangerous a point of justice. When it came to the issue,

The whole court acquits him.

the whole court pronounc'd the prisoner innocent, without so much as one man of the seventy that did not chuse rather to run the hazard of his own life, than to destroy so good a man by a sentence against all conscience and equity. This judgment of acquittal put the Zelotes into such an uproar, that they were all raging mad at the judges, for being such blockheads as not to understand to what end they were set there. Upon this, two of the rankest ruffians of the crew fell outrageously upon Zachary, and murder'd him in the middle of the temple, with this insolent railery in their mouths: "Now, says one of them, we have given you our discharge too, and you are much surer of this, than you were of the other;" casting the body at the same time down the precipice under the temple. As to the judges, that were to pass the sentence, their lives were spar'd, and their punishment only a judgment of infamy, to be beaten out of the temple with the flats of the swords. By this means they were dispers'd up and down, so many eye-witnesses of the slavery of the capital city at that time.

Zachary murder'd by the rabble in the temple.

One of the Zelotes repents, and discovers the whole practice.

THE Idumeans themselves were so disgusted at this way of proceeding, that they curs'd the hour of their coming; and so conferring about it, they had secret intelligence given them by one of the Zelotes, of the history of the people that invited them in. "True it was, he said, that they did take up arms upon the credit of a report that the high-priests were treating with the Romans for the betraying of the city; however, upon further enquiry, they found nothing at all in it; but, on the contrary, the pretended asserters of our liberties were actually the subverters of them, and they themselves the tyrants that ought to have been timely suppress'd. But, says the Zelote, since it hath been your unhappy lot to join with them

"thus far in their iniquities, it will be high time for you to break off so criminal an alliance with the profess'd enemies of your laws and country. You took it ill to be kept out of the town; and are you not sufficiently reveng'd, do you think, upon those that excluded you, in the death of Ananus, and so many thousands of the citizens in one night? an action, says he, which many of your people will live to repent. But I speak this only to shew you the barbarity of your confidants, that had the impudence to commit these shameless cruelties even before the faces of their preservers, and by doing the basest things that ever were heard of in the sight of their allies, to transfer the infamy from the Zelotes to the Idumeans; who in truth should either have hindred them, or left them. Now, says he, since it is as clear as the sun, that the whole story of the conspiracy is nothing but a calumny, and that there is no such thing in prospect as the dread of a Roman army; beside the impregnable strength of this city, if it were true to itself: since thus it is, I say, what have you more to do than to return whence you came; and, by abandoning these monsters, to expiate in some sort for the ill things you did in their company? wherein you are thus far excusable, that you were rather passive under a well meaning mistake, than voluntary actors at your own liberty and choice." This discourse had such an effect upon the Idumeans, that they forthwith set all their prisoners at liberty, which were near two thousand; left the city, and so went to Simon, (of whom hereafter) and then home.

Upon this discourse the Idumeans discharge their prisoners, and leave the city.

THIS unexpected departure of the Idumeans was equally a surprize both to the inhabitants and to the Zelotes, though upon several accounts: for the people, that knew nothing of the other's repentance, took heart upon it, and comforted themselves in the thought of such a deliverance: the Zelotes, on the other hand, grew as insolent upon it, in a confidence of their own strength, and to consider that the check being now taken off that kept them in some sort of awe of the Idumeans, they were now at liberty to go their own way without any restraint of scruple, consideration or delay: so that every thing was now done in a hurry, without deliberation or counsel. They stuck at nothing, though never so wicked; and whatever came in their heads, it was no sooner thought than executed.

BUT their greatest and most deadly spite was against men of bravery and honour; and those they persecuted to the uttermost extremity; the nobility out of envy, the men of resolution and virtue out of fear: for they could never think themselves safe so long as any man of that character was alive. This was it that made them put Gorion to death, with several others; a man eminent for his extraction and virtues; courageous, and a lover of the people and of liberty, no creature more; and, in fine, this spirit of liberty, (together with his other good qualities) was his ruin. Niger of Perea fell also under the same disastrous fate: a man of a try'd valour and conduct against the Romans, shewing and glorying in the wounds and scars he had receiv'd in the service of his country, as they dragg'd him along the streets. When they had him out of the gates, and that

Gorion and Niger of Perea put to death.

he gave himself for dead, he made them this one earnest request, that his body might be bury'd: but it was deny'd him; and so they put him to death, with this prophetic imprecation in his last breath, that the Romans might come to avenge his blood, and divine justice overtake them with famine, sword, pestilence, and mortal divisions among themselves, answerable to the enormity of their crimes.

Divine vengeance overtakes them.

It was not long before God in his righteous providence poured down all these plagues upon them, as foretold, beginning with their intestine broils. The death of Niger set their hearts at ease as to any farther danger that way. But there was not yet so much as one common man that they did not find some occasion or other to pick a quarrel with. Some they put to death for things done and past, and for disaffections of old date. In other cases, where there was no matter of fact against a man, a bare jealousy or possibility was enough to destroy him. If they made court to the faction, they were spies; if they kept off, it was interpreted envy and contempt: but whether the pretended crime was great or small, the penalty was still the same; and no one escap'd them unless he had neither money nor honour.

CHAP. II.

The Jews miserably confounded. The officers press Vespasian to rigour; but Vespasian is for moderation. The Zelotes go over daily to the Romans. Horrid persecution and oppression. The destruction of Jerusalem foretold by an ancient prediction.

The Jews miserably divided.

The Roman officers press Vespasian to make advantage of it.

Vespasian advises temper and moderation.

THE Roman officers having their hearts set upon Jerusalem, could not with a fairer opportunity for the advancing of their design, than by laying hold of the distractions in the city: to which end, they apply'd themselves to the general, Vespasian, by all means to improve the providence of the present occasion, without allowing the Jews one moment of time to bethink themselves: for they would either agree or tire, or repent, or something or other; and the work would be then to begin again: representing also at the same time, that the hand of God did most evidently appear, upon these factions, in favour of the Romans. The general gave them this answer: "That their bravery was more than their policy; and that they consider'd the glory of the action in the ostentation of their courage, (as if it were to fight a prize) more than the prudence and advantage of it. For, says he, to attack the city rashly and precipitately, would be the ready way to make them all friends again, and to draw their forces upon us, which are very considerable, into a conjunction as against a common enemy; whereas if we do but wait a while with a little patience, they'll do our business to our hands, in spending their numbers and their spirits one upon another. For God does better for us than we could do for ourselves, in delivering up the Jews to the Romans without labour or peril, and giving us victory without so much as a battle. Are they not already desperately engaged in a civil war (which is the heaviest of all judg-

ments) and cutting throats among themselves like so many mad-men? and who but a mad-man then, will enter into a needless contest with mad-men, and run the risk of bearing a part in the tragedy, when he may do his business better in the quality of a spectator? These people, I tell you, are hot-headed, and rather than not be destroy'd they'll kill one another. As for those that look upon a cheap victory to be inglorious, they should do well to set the advantages of a temperate accommodation without blood against the uncertain chance of war. This is not to derogate from the honour of military virtue; for provided the same thing be done, what matters it whether by arms or by counsel? But yet undoubtedly that must needs be the best way of doing it, which at the same time weakens the enemy, and keeps our own men by daily exercise in discipline and in breath. Neither, says he, is this a time for us to propose to ourselves the fame of a glorious exploit, when the Jews are doing our work for us, and mind neither their arms, their fortifications, nor their walls, nor the making of interest and friends; but by tearing one another's hearts out, and doing the part of the worst of enemies one to another; till they have brought themselves into such a condition, that the best they can hope or wish for, is to be our slaves. Now as to the prudence and honour of the matter in question; if they have a mind to destroy one another, why should we hinder them; nor is there, in fine, any reputation to be gotten by a victory, that was rather cast upon us by the faction of the one side, than gain'd by the valour of the other; and this is effectually the truth of the case."

THIS was Vespasian's sense of things, and the officers were of the same opinion with their general; as it appear'd they had reason to be by that which follow'd soon after. For there came over deserters to him from the Zelotes in great numbers, day after day; tho' the ways and passes were so beset, that it seem'd almost impossible to escape. They put every man to the sword that they took, upon a pretence that he was running away to the Romans: that is to say, unless he redeem'd himself for a sum of money, and that brought him off. So that there was no treachery but where there was no cash; for the rich compounded, and the poor were left in the lurch. The massacre was so outrageous, that the dead bodies lay pil'd up in heaps upon the highways; and many that were thinking to get off, chang'd their minds, and chose rather to perish in the city, only in hope of a little earth to cover them. Nay, such was the extravagant barbarity of these monsters, that they would not allow burial to any creature either within the city or without; but, like profess'd enemies to the instincts of nature, as well as the rights of their country, they affronted God and man indifferently, and expos'd the bodies to lie rotting above ground in the face of the sun. Nay, and it was as unpardonable a crime to attempt the burying of a friend, as to go over to the enemy; and he that had but newly bury'd another, wanted a friend the next moment to do the same office for himself. There was no such thing left among them as com-

Deserters go over daily from the Zelotes to the Romans. Tyranny and oppression to the highest degree.

compassion (the most human of all our affections) but it was wholly extinguished in the hearts of these miscreants; and misery was made rather a provocation to rage, than a motive to pity.

The destruction of Jerusalem according to an ancient prediction.

THE spectacle, in fine, was so frightful, that it made the living envy the dead; and the want of a grave was nothing to the miseries of a prison: and they did not only trample upon all that was sacred among men, but trifled with divinity itself, and made no more account of the oracles of the prophets, than of so many dreams or fables. But yet after the contempt of all the laws and precepts of their forefathers, concerning the measures of good and evil, they found the denouncing predictions to be yet made good in the conclusion against themselves and their country. For there was a traditional prophecy handed down to them from antiquity, that in time to come there should break out a violent sedition in Jerusalem; and that the Jews themselves with their own hands should prophane the holy temple: the city to be afterwards taken, and all that was sacred belonging to it laid in ashes. The Zelotes made no doubt of the authority of this prophecy, and put their own helping hands to the execution of it.

CHAP. III.

John sets up for sovereign power. A sharp wit and good speaker. There are Zelotes and Anti-zelotes; and John sides with the latter. Three heavy judgments upon the Jews, and a worse yet behind. Engaddi taken by storm; and Judea made the scene of the war. A good understanding betwixt the Jews and Vespasian. Gadara invites and receives him. The factions betake themselves to flight. Placidus puts them all to the rout. The fugitives make their way to Bethennabris. Placidus rifles the place, and sets fire to it. The Jews forced upon a battle, where they lost fifteen thousand men upon the place.

John of Gischala sets up for sovereign power.

A man of an imposing imperious humour.

A ready wit, and an excellent speaker.

THE ambitious heart of John of Gischala was grown now too big to content itself with any thing less than sovereign power, the attaining of which was a project that he had a long time form'd in his thoughts; so that withdrawing insensibly from the fellowship of his companions, and engaging by little and little, a party of profligate ruffians into his interest, his business was now to set up for himself. He had a humour of imposing his own orders and opinions imperiously upon others, and of treating theirs again with contradiction and contempt: and this he did out of a manifest affectation of a sole and absolute power. Some join'd with him out of fear, and several out of affection and good will: for he was the greatest master of words in nature, and of the art of moving the affections. Many follow'd him for their own security, in hope that all the ills that they had done would be laid at his door as the first mover of them, whenever they should be call'd to an account for their evil doings. The martial part of his train stuck to him as he was a man of resolution and conduct: but divers yet of the adverse party fell off from him; some out of envy and greatness of stomach, in a kind of

disdain to own him for their master that had so lately been their enemy. But the thing that wrought more upon them than all the rest, was the aversion they had to a single person, and the despair of getting him out again if he were once possess'd of that dignity: beside, that he would never forgive those that oppos'd him in his pretensions at the beginning. The people, upon these deliberations, came at last to a resolution, rather to stand the worst of a war, than to perish under the infamy of making themselves voluntary slaves. The faction, upon this, divided into two parties; John putting himself at the head of the Anti-Zelotes. They stood both upon their guards one against the other; and not without some slight skirmishes too: but rather against the people than betwixt themselves; for the single point in question was only this, which of the two parties should get the greater booty.

The factions divided into Zelotes and Anti-zelotes. John sides with the latter.

JERUSALEM being at this time labouring under three terrible judgments; war, tyranny and sedition; the people, taking the war to be the most tolerable of the three, quitted their habitations, and fled from their own countrymen for sanctuary to strangers, and found afterwards, that safety and protection among the Romans, which they could not obtain one from another.

Three heavy judgments upon the Jews.

THE three judgments above-mentioned were now followed with a fourth; which contributed as much to the destruction of the Jews as any of the rest. There stood a castle not far from Jerusalem called Massada; a piece of great antiquity, and of mighty strength and importance. It was erected, and made use of, by our kings in former times for a royal treasury, and a magazine of all manner of stores, and necessaries for war; and for an impregnable retreat in a time or case of danger. It was now fallen into the hands of a band of bravo's, commonly called Sicarii. There were not enough of them to kill, burn, and overrun the country bare fac'd; but the mischiefs they had done hitherto were by treachery and surprise. It happen'd, upon this juncture, that the Roman army lying quiet and out of action, and the Jews at the same time split into factions, and tearing out one anothers throats among themselves, these assassins took advantage of the occasion to make a bolder attempt than ever they durst venture upon before. It was now the feast of unleavened-bread; a festival celebrated by the Jews with great solemnity, in memory of their deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage, and their translation into the land of promise. On that night, the ruffians broke into Engaddi by surprise, scatter'd the people, and master'd the place, before the inhabitants could recover their arms. They drove them out of the town; and after killing upwards of seven hundred persons upon the chace, most of them women and children, they rifled their houses, and carry'd away all the fruits that were ripe and in season to Massada: depopulating all the towns, villages, castles, and country thereabouts, after the like manner. Their numbers increas'd daily, by the accession of a loose abandon'd rabble that came flocking in to join them. Judea, that till now lay easy and quiet, became the very scene of all manner of violence upon that inroad, from the one end of the country to the other. But as it is in our bodies,

And a fourth yet worse.

Massada, a strong place, in the hands of the Sicarii.

These cut-throats take Engaddi by storm; and lay the whole country waste.

Judea becomes the scene of the war.

dies, when any of the nobler parts are indispos'd, all the rest partake of it; just so it fares in the case of a seditious and disorderly city. When the capital is sick, all the parts suffer by consent; as well as they transgress by example. When they had plunder'd all within reach, they march'd off with the booty into solitudes and deserts; where they associated in conspiracies, and gather'd together multitudes of free-booters, little inferior to formidable armies, and sufficient to destroy cities, and lay temples desolate. The sufferers did not forget (as it is natural enough, and common practice) to revenge themselves upon their oppressors, whenever they could come at them: but that was very rarely; for the thieves were too nimble for the honest men, and got off with the prey, before the pursuers could reach them. But so it was in fine, that there was not one inch of ground in Judea that did not partake in the calamities of the capital city.

The Jews hold secret intelligence with Vespasian, and sue to him for relief.

Vespasian in a generous tenderness draws toward the town.

Gadara invites and receives him.

The faction betake themselves to flight.

THE faction had guarded all the avenues with the uttermost strictness and caution imaginable; so that not a creature could stir without the hazard of his life: but all this precaution and rigour did not hinder several deserters yet from stealing away privately, day after day, with intelligence of the state of the town to Vespasian; and to implore his relief in the names of the miserable remainder of a distressed city: great numbers of the citizens having lost their lives already for their good will to the Romans, and a great many more at present in danger of perishing by the same fate. Vespasian, in a generous tenderness for the case and condition of an unhappy people, advanced with his army nearer the town: not, as some imagin'd, to lay a close siege to it; but upon a prospect (in truth) of delivering them from any siege at all, by reducing all strong holds about it in the first place, so as to leave no obstacle from abroad to thwart him in his design.

WHEN he came to Gadara, the richest and the strongest town beyond Jordan, and the metropolis of that province, he entered the place * on the fourth of the month Dystrus, upon an invitation from some of the leading men by their deputies to come and take the town into his protection: which they did to save both their lives and estates, being a very wealthy people. The faction knew nothing of this transaction, but as they guessed at it by Vespasian's drawing nearer the walls. They were now in a great streight, and knew not which way to turn themselves, or what to do. They found it utterly impossible for the town to hold out against so many enemies both within and without; the majority of the citizens against them, and the Roman army at hand. So that they had nothing now to trust to but flight; which was a point that in honour could not be resolved upon, without taking a revenge first upon some of the authors of their ruin. Upon this consideration, they took up Dolefus, the first man of the city both for blood and merit; over and above that he was the author and the adviser of the aforesaid embassy. They took him, in fine, into custody, and caused him to be put to death; ordering the dead body to be whipt and scourg'd; and

that being done, they slip away all out of town.

UPON the nearer approach of the Romans towards the city, the inhabitants met Vespasian upon the way, and conducted him into the town with gratulatory acclamations: and beside the ceremony of oaths of fidelity, and other assurances of that kind, common in the like cases, they made it their own act to demolish their own walls; as a farther security for their good faith and peaceable intentions, by putting it out of their power to do mischief if they would never so fain. Vespasian, after this, gave them a garison of horse and foot for their safeguard; sent away Placidus with five hundred horse and three thousand foot after the fugitives; while he himself with the rest of his troops went back to Cesarea.

Placidus follows the pursuit, and puts them all to the rout. The fugitives make away to Bethennabris.

WHEN the fugitives found themselves pursu'd, and a party of horse at their heels, they turned off into a village call'd Bethennabris, before the Romans could come up to them; where there was a parcel of stout young fellows, to a considerable number. Some of them they engag'd by fair words to join with them; others they forc'd: and with this party they fall'd out, and made a rash and a desperate charge upon Placidus; who gave ground upon the very first push, but it was only to draw them a little farther from the town: which succeeded accordingly; for Placidus got them out into a place of advantage, and there set upon them, and put them to the rout. Those that fled for their safety were intercepted by the Romans; those that fought were cut off by their foot; they were beaten, in short, quite off their mettle. When they attack'd the Romans, they might as well have charg'd a wall or a rock; for they stood so firm and close, that there was no breaking the body: and they lay upon such a guard under their arms too, that no lance or dart could touch them. Whereas the Jews, on the other hand, lay expos'd to all sorts of weapons, and to all manner of assaults; till in the end, being teized into a brutal rage, they cast themselves like the fiercest of wild beasts upon the points of their enemies swords, and so perish'd: some were slash'd over the faces; others dispersed by the horse, and trampled under foot. Now Placidus made it his particular care, as far as possible, that none of the fugitives should get back into the town: wherefore, as any of them offer'd at it, he and his people interposed with their horses betwixt them and home, and so forc'd them off again. Those that were within reach, they kill'd with their lances, and others at a distance they intercepted: but some yet that were swifter and stronger than the rest, made their way to the very wall; and now the watch were under great distraction and perplexities, whom to let in and whom to keep out; for it would be hard they thought to open the gates to the townsmen, and refuse entrance to those of Gadara: and then, on the other side, they were afraid lest by opening to all indifferently, they might endanger the loss of the place; as it came afterwards very near the matter. For the Romans having pursu'd some of the fugitives up to the wall, were within a very little of falling furiously into the town with them:

* According to Toinard's correction of the text, it should be, on the fourth of the second month. See his notes upon Lactantius, p. 360.

but with much ado they made shift to get the gates shut, and so prevented it. Placidus, upon this, gave a vigorous assault to the place; and follow'd it so close, that he made himself master both of the wall and of the village, that afternoon. The wretched common-people that had no means of defence, were all put to the sword, and the rest did what they could to save themselves by flight; and carry'd the terror along with them, wherever they came, all over the country. But now to finish the calamity, they first pillag'd the houses, and then laid the village in ashes.

Placidus rifles the place, and lays it in ashes.

The country frightened with a false alarm

THE misery was very great in the truth of the fact; but made much greater in the report yet than it was. For they gave it out all the way they pass'd, that the whole Roman army was coming toward them. This alarm put the country into such a fright, that they quitted their habitations upon it, and in prodigious numbers retir'd into Jericho; being a strong, a populous, and a well fortify'd garrison, and consequently the safest retreat they could think of. Placidus, in the course of his successes and good fortune, pursu'd them to the river Jordan; putting every soul to the sword that he overtook upon the way. When the fugitives came to the river-side, the waters were so out upon a great fall of rain, that there was no passing; nor as the case stood, any possibility of getting away. In this difficulty they found themselves under an absolute necessity of putting it to a battle. The Jews posted themselves along the bank of a river; which they made good for a while, against the attack and darts of the Roman horse: but when they came to be once broken, what betwixt those that were pushed into the river, and others that were slain, the loss of the men was not to be computed. They reckoned upon fifteen thousand kill'd upon the place; about two thousand two hundred taken, beside a mighty booty of sheep and asses, camels and oxen.

The Jews forced upon a battle.

A prodigious victory and booty.

THIS disaster was not only the greatest that the Jews had ever yet received; but in some sort even beyond itself. The high-ways where they march'd were all cover'd with dead bodies; the river Jordan so choaked with carcases, that there was no crossing it; and vast numbers floating down several channells that led into the lake Asphaltitis.

Placidus reduces several places, and settles garrisons in them.

PLACIDUS being now in the train of his good fortune, reduced Abila, Julias, Bese-moth, and other places as far as the lake; where he settled garrisons of the best and truest men he could pick out of those that came over to the Romans: his next work was to put his soldiers aboard, and clear the lake of all the fugitives that had fled thither for refuge; which he did so effectually, that the Romans were by this time absolute masters of all beyond Jordan, as far as Macherus.

The lakes of Asphaltitis and Tiberias. Elisba's fountain.

WHILE this pass'd in Judea, there came news out of * Gaul of a revolt there from Nero; and that Vindex with several principal men of the country were the heads of it: but of this more particularly elsewhere. Vespasian, upon this intelligence, push'd on the present war with more and more vigour; for he did not know how many revolts might follow one upon the neck of another, and the whole empire come to be in danger at last by a civil war: whereas if the troubles in the east were but first compos'd, Italy would have the less to fear. But winter not being a season for it, all that could be done toward it at present, was only to garison the towns and cities he had subdu'd, erect proper officers in every city, and to order reparations where they were needful.

Gaul revolts,

THE first thing he did was to march with his army from Cesarea to Antipatris; where he stay'd two days to settle affairs; and on the third he laid waste with fire and sword, all the borders of the toparchy of Thamna; from whence he march'd to Lydda and Jamnia. These two places submitted to him. And then, when he had peopled them with inhabitants from other towns, such as he thought he might best confide in, he advanced to Ammaus; and possessing himself there of the passage that leads to the capital city, he pitch'd his camp and ran a wall about it: and leaving the fifth legion there, he mov'd with the rest of his troops into the toparchy of Bethlepton; which he burnt and destroy'd, together with the neighbouring country and the borders of Idumea; saving only some strong castles that he manned and fortify'd.

Vespasian's marches and motions.

THERE were two towns that he took in the middle of Idumea; Bethabri and Caphartoba; where he kill'd upward of ten thousand men, reserving near a thousand for slaves; drove out the rest of the people, and left a considerable part of his troops to sally out, and commit outrages upon the mountains.

HE returned after this, with the remainder of his army, to † Ammaus; and passing from thence by Samaria, and Neopolis, (which the natives call Mabatha) he came the second of the month † Desius to Corea, where he encamped, and shew'd himself next day before Jericho. At Jericho, Trajan, one of the chief officers, join'd him with the troops under his command, after the entire reduction of all beyond Jordan: But most of the inhabitants were withdrawn to the mountains over against Jerusalem, before the arrival of the Romans; and a great part of those that stay'd behind were put to the sword.

VESPASIAN, in fine, found Jericho a desolate and a forsaken city. It stands upon a plain that is overlooked by a naked and a barren mountain; and of such an extent, that it reaches upon the north side to the region of Scythopolis; on the south, as far as Sodom, and the borders of the lake Asphaltitis; a country so wretchedly poor and barren, that

Vespasian's marches to Jericho. A description of the place.

CHAP. IV.

Gaul revolts. Vespasian's marches and motions: He comes to Jericho. A description of the place.

* This revolt was headed by Caius Julius Vindex, lord lieutenant of that province. See Sueton. in Nero, 21.
† In the Latin version Jamnia.
‡ i. e. June.

'tis void of inhabitants. Over against this, and on the farther side of the river Jordan, there lies another mountain; which begins at Julias toward the north, and stretches southward up to Gomorrha, and so borders upon Petra, a city of Arabia. There is also another mountain which they call the Iron-mountain, and runs out as far as the land of the Moabites. Betwixt these mountains lies a place called the Great-plain: It begins at Gennabara, and stretches out to the lake Asphaltitis; the length of it is two hundred * and thirty furlongs; the breadth, an hundred and † twenty; and the river Jordan crosses the middle of it.

The great plain.

The lakes of Asphaltitis and Tiberias.

THERE are two remarkable lakes: the one call'd Asphaltitis, the other, the lake of Tiberias; but of very different, if not contrary qualities: the former being salt and without fish; but the other sweet, kindly and fruitful. The summer-heats there are intolerable; the country burnt up with them, and the air hot and sickly, without any refreshment but from the river Jordan; as appears by the palm-trees, which thrive much better upon the banks than at a distance.

At or near to Jericho itself, there is a large and a plentiful fountain; which overflows all the grounds thereabouts, and takes its rise not far from an antient city; the first place that Jesus, ‡ the son of Nave, the famous general of the Hebrews, gain'd from the Chanaanites by the sword. There goes a tradition, that this fountain in time past was so dangerous, that it did not only corrupt the fruits of the earth, as well grain as plants, but likewise caused abortions in women, and tainted with a blasting infection whatever it touched, that was capable of such an impression. But it says farther, that from the days of the prophet Elisha, the illustrious successor of Elias, the waters of this fountain became not only innocent, but nourishing and wholesome; and upon this occasion, Elisha having been treated with great hospitality and respect by the people of Jericho, bethought himself of such an acknowledgment, as they themselves, their country and posterity, might be the better for to the end of the world. The prophet, upon this, went out to the fountain; and causing a pitcher of salt to be let down into the bottom of it, he advanced his right hand toward heaven, and presenting his oblations at the side of it, "he besought God in his "goodness to correct the waters, and to "sweeten the veins that pass'd from them; to "soften the air, and make it temperate and "fructifying; to bestow children as well as "fruits upon the inhabitants in abundance, "and never to withdraw these blessings so "long as they continued in their duty." Up-

Elisha's fountain cured by miracle. II Kings 11. 21.

on the offering up of this prayer, with all due ceremony and according to form, the quality of the fountain was chang'd; and instead of sterility and famine, the waters were now become an efficacious means of plenty and increase; insomuch that the bare touching of the ground with them gives every thing a more savoury relish: but let them lie never so long upon it, the effect is much the same; especially if it arises from any diffidence of the miracle. And over and above all this, there is not another river in the country that runs such a tract of ground.

THE country it waters, is seventy § furlongs in length, and ** twenty in breadth; furnish'd with curious gardens and thick groves in abundance; with palm-trees along the brooks, of different kinds, names, and tastes. They press out of some of them great quantities of a sort of honey not much inferior to other honey; which they have there also in great plenty. And then for balsam, which is the choicest fruit they have, there is great store of it; and so for †† Cyprus, and ‡‡ Myrobalanus: a blessing from heaven undoubtedly, for a country to produce not only the choicest fruits of the earth, but the largest and best of the several sorts. And they are not behind the happiest of all other countries neither for the production of other fruits, and for the improving of them as well in growth as in virtue. This may be ascrib'd, in my opinion, to some peculiar property and disposition in the water, and to a certain kindly warmth in the air. The latter to draw out and diffuse the virtue of the subject matter it hath to work upon; as in the disclosing of leaves, flowers, and the like. The other serves to bind and confirm the roots, and to fortify them by increasing the sap against the parching rages; which are so furious in that country, that nothing would be able to sprout or bud without it. But yet in the extremity of these burning heats, they have likewise every morning such refreshing breezes, that the very breath of them makes the water that is drawn before sun-rise quite another thing. In the winter it is warm, and comfortable to bathe in. Such, in fine, is the temperature of the climate, that when it is frost and snow in other parts of Judea, the natives of this place go clad only in single linen. It lies an hundred ¶ and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, sixty *** from the river Jordan, and the whole country betwixt that and Jerusalem is all rock and desert. It lies lower indeed betwixt this place and Jordan, and so to the lake Asphaltitis; but every jot as rude and barren as the other. This is enough said of the happy situation, and the natural advantages of Jericho.

A description of the country.

* Two hundred and thirty furlongs amounted to twenty nine English miles and an half, and an hundred and forty nine geometrical paces.

† An hundred and twenty furlongs amounted to near fifteen English miles and an half.

‡ Script. Joshua.

§ Seventy furlongs amounted to nine English miles and an hundred and eight geometrical paces.

** Twenty furlongs amounted to two English miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been before observ'd.

†† The Cyprus was a bush or tree, much like to that we call Privet; of the flower of which was made a very sweet oil. See Plin. xii. 24.

‡‡ The Myrobalanus was a fruit called by the apothecaries Myrobalan, or Ben; it was about the bigness of a filberd, of whose kernel was made an oil used in precious ointments. See Plin. xii. 21.

¶ An hundred and fifty furlongs amounted to eighteen English miles and three quarters, and two hundred and twenty five geometrical paces.

*** Sixty furlongs amounted to seven English miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces.

C H A P. V.

Nothing sinks in the lake of Asphaltitis. Vespasian tries the experiment, and finds it so. Several wonderful qualities in this lake. It borders upon Sodom. A fair fruit there to the eye, but falls to nothing upon the touch.

Nothing sinks in the lake of Asphaltitis.

Vespasian makes the experiment, and finds it so.

Several wonderful secrets in this lake.

The lake borders upon Sodom.

A fair fruit to the eye, that falls to ashes upon the touch.

It will become me now to say something of the Asphaltitis, and the nature of that lake. It is salt to the taste, and no fish will live in it, nor hardly any thing sink that is thrown into it, let it be never so heavy; so that a man would find it a hard matter to drown himself in this lake, tho' he had never so great a mind to it. Vespasian having heard of the strange quality of this water, took a journey on purpose out of a curiosity to see it; and order'd several persons that could not swim, to be cast into it from above, with their hands ty'd behind them; and they all came up again, as if they had been rais'd by a puff of wind, and so floated on the surface of the water. There is a wonderful secret in this lake; which is, that it changes colour thrice a day, according to the various refractions of the light of the sun-beams upon it: there are also to be seen in several parts of it, toss'd up and down adrift, large lumps of a dark bituminous matter, not much unlike the bodies of bulls without heads. The people of the country fish them up in their boats; but the substance of them is so viscous, and one part so glew'd to another, that there is no getting the vessel off again, but by dissolving the lumps, and separating that part without the boat from the other within; which dissolution is to be wrought by the means of urine and the menstrua of a woman. This bituminous matter serves both for shipping, and for medicines; for it stops leaks, and cures many diseases. The length of this lake * is five hundred and eighty furlongs, the breadth of it a † hundred and fifty, and it extends as far as Zoar in Arabia.

It borders upon the land of Sodom; a country once famous both for the wealth of its inhabitants, and for the fruitfulness of the soil: but at present it lies totally desolate, having been destroy'd by a judgment of fire from heaven for the wickedness of the people. There are yet to be seen there some remains of the ruins of five abominable cities that perish'd in that conflagration; and there are mock-fruits to be seen to this day springing out of the ashes, fair and lovely to the eye, but resolving into smoke and ashes upon the touch. So that we have not only tradition, but ocular testimony also, for the credit of this history.

C H A P. VI.

Vespasian invests Jerusalem. Gerasa taken by assault, and burnt. The news of Nero's death. The end of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian suspends his design upon Jerusalem. All things are put to a stand.

Jerusalem invested by Vespasian.

VESPASIAN, being resolved to invest Jerusalem on every side, rais'd two forts, at Jericho and Adida; putting into each of

them garisons both of auxiliaries and Romans. The general then sent Lucius Annus with a body of horse and foot to Gerasa; which he took by storm, upon the first attack. He put a thousand young men to the sword, whom he intercepted in their flight; carrying away whole families prisoners, and giving the soldiers the pillage: and this being done, he set fire to the place, and so went forward. The rich fled; those that could not get away were cut to pieces; and whatever they took they burnt; nothing, in short, escaped them, neither mountains nor valleys, places or people; but all suffered in the outrages of the war. As for those that were shut up in Jerusalem, there was no stirring out: the Zelotes keeping so strict a watch upon those that were friends to the Romans; and the town being so beset by the enemy, that the Zelotes party durst not venture, for fear of falling into their hands.

Gerasa taken by storm, and put to fire and sword.

WHEN Vespasian was now returned to Cæsarea, and preparing to advance with his whole army against Jerusalem, news was brought him of the death of Nero; who had now reigned thirteen years and eight days. It is not my business to arraign his memory for the dishonour he put upon the government, in suffering himself to be imposed upon, and led like a child by Nymphidius and Tigellinus, two of the most scandalous varlets that he had about him; how he was betray'd by these infamous wretches, abandoned by his senators and guards, and being forced to fly for safety into the suburbs, only with four of his freemen (all that stood by him) how he there laid violent hands upon himself, and what became of those in the conclusion that brought him to his end: what was the issue of the war with the Gauls; Galba's being declared emperor; and afterwards, upon his coming out of Spain to Rome, his being calumniated by the soldiery for a man of a mean spirit, and by them slain in the middle of the great market-place; how Otho was then created emperor, and then march'd with his army against Vitellius. This is all little or nothing to my purpose: neither is it worth my while to enlarge upon the troubles of Vitellius; the combat before the capitol; or how Antonius Primus, and Macianus, after they had slain Vitellius, defeated the German troops, and put an end to the civil war. I am the less particular upon these points, in regard that several famous historians, both latin and greek, have already done that work so accurately to my hand; so that I shall content myself with these short touches, provided only that I do not break the order, and discontinue the thread of my history.

The news of Nero's death comes to Vespasian, on his march toward Jerusalem.

The ends of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

VESPASIAN, upon this intelligence, put a stop at first to his expedition against Jerusalem, till he might know what became of the government after the death of Nero; and finding the succession settled upon Galba, he did not think it prudential to act in an affair of that quality without orders. So that he sent his son Titus immediately away to Galba, both to congratulate his accession to the government, and to receive his instructions and

Vespasian, upon this revolution, suspends his design.

* Five hundred and eighty furlongs amounted to seventy five English miles and a quarter, and one hundred and fifty nine geometrical paces.

† How many English miles one hundred and fifty furlongs amounted to, see bottom note near the end of the preceding chapter.

command, what measures to take. King Agrippa would needs put himself aboard with Titus upon the same errand; so that they embarked together. But as they were upon their passage near Achaia, they were given to understand that Galba was slain, after a government of seven months and seven days; Otho succeeding him, who governed three months. This alteration did not hinder Agrippa from prosecuting his journey to Rome: but Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed from Achaia into Syria, and from thence very seasonably got back to Cesarea to his father.

The surprize of this extraordinary revolution put all things to such a stand, that the very empire itself staggered at it. There was no more talk now of enlarging the empire, when they were ready to fall into the utmost confusion at home.

C H A P. VII.

A new war in Jerusalem. Simon encounters Ananus: he is worsted, and flies to Massada. Simon begins with Idumea upon the death of Ananus. An obstinate fight betwixt him and the Idumeans. Eleazar summons Herodion, and the garison receives him. He is discover'd, and makes himself away. James of Idumea false under the countenance of a spy. Idumea taken without a stroke. Chebron surprized. Idumea laid waste. Simon's wife taken prisoner. He breaks out into a rage upon it; and they send him his wife again.

A new war in Jerusalem upon this occasion. Simon of Gerasa, an ill man, makes head against Ananus. He is worsted and takes sanctuary among the Sicarii in Massada.

They find him a man fit for their turn.

Simon's way of conduct upon the death of Ananus.

UPON this revolution, there broke out a new war in Jerusalem. There was one Simon, the son of Gioras, a Gerasene born, and in the prime of his age, though a man of less policy and artifice than John, who was now in possession of the city; but younger, and much superior to him in strength and hardness of body. He was so dangerous a person, that Ananus the high-priest drove him out of his government in the toparchy of Acrabatena, and made him fly to the thieves in Massada for refuge. They were so suspicious of him at first, that they would not trust him any farther than the first floor of the fortrefs, among the women he brought along with him; while the rest of the people kept above. But upon farther acquaintance, and finding how fit he was for their turn, they conceived a better opinion of him; and entrusted him to command parties upon adventure, and to join the rest of the troops in pillaging and depopulating the territory of Massada: he did all he could to excite them to greater things too; but nothing less than sovereignty would serve his turn, though to no purpose, till the news was brought him of the death of Ananus. And immediately, upon the removal of that obstacle, he took his course into the mountains, and issued out proclamations of liberty to all slaves, and rewards to all freemen, that would list themselves in his party. This brought over to him a great many disorderly and licentious people, and with that rabble he sack'd and destroy'd the villages upon the hills; augmenting his numbers daily, till in the end he marched down directly to the plains, and kept the cities in awe where-ever he pass'd: so that Simon was no longer a

captain of thieves and slaves; but a great many men of power and quality, upon the reputation of his valour and successes, were come over into his interest; and the generality of the better sort of the people made their applications to him, with the respect and reverence of subjects to their prince. He made several excursions into the toparchy of Acrabatena and the greater Idumea; where he made choice of Nain, (a town that he himself had walled in and fortified) for his retreat. In the valley of Pharan he found many caverns fitted to his hand, and others that he enlarged, for granaries, stores, magazines, and places of stowage; in short, for what he got by pillage and booty. By this provision of men and necessaries, every body gave it for granted, that his main design was upon Jerusalem. The Zelotes were of the same opinion too; and finding it dangerous to let him go on strengthening himself every day more and more, they made one bold push of it, to try how they might prevent him in the progress of his ambition, before it was too late. Upon this, they advanced in a full body to charge him at the head of his troops; who encounter'd them with great courage, made a considerable slaughter among them, and put the rest to the rout.

Now Simon did not think himself strong enough yet to besiege Jerusalem, but chose rather to begin with the conquest of Idumea; to effect which, he march'd directly with twenty thousand men toward the borders. Upon this appearance, the heads of the Idumeans quickly got an army together of near twenty five thousand choice men; leaving also a competent number to secure the country against the excursions of the cut-throats in Massada. The Idumeans waited for Simon upon the borders; where, upon his advance, the two bodies engaged, and the battle lasted from morning till night, upon terms so equal, that no body could say which of the two had the better: but they had both enough of it; for Simon drew off quietly to Nain, and the Idumeans return'd to their own home.

It was not long after this that Simon took the field again, with the reinforcement of a much stronger army; and encamping near the village of Thecue, he sent Eleazar, one of his companions, with a summons to the governor of Herodion, requiring him to deliver the castle into his hands. The officers received him at first with all the niceties of military honour and respect; but upon coming to understand his commission, they all drew upon him in that very instant; and Eleazar, finding it impossible to make an escape, leap'd down the precipice from the wall, where he was dash'd to pieces.

The Idumeans were possess'd with such an apprehension of Simon's courage and power, that they had no mind to grapple with him, till they might first be perfectly well informed in the state and strength of his army. James, one of their commanders, very readily, and of his own accord (but with treachery in his heart) took upon himself the office of an informer. Upon this commission he went away from Olurus, (where the Idumean army lay at that time encamp'd) and so to Simon. After some discourse upon the business, he enter'd into a solemn contract with Simon to deliver up

He begins with Idumea.

An obstinate fight betwixt Simon and the Idumeans.

Eleazar sends a plausible summons to Herodion, the garison receives him.

Eleazar detected, and casts himself over the wall into the ditch.

The treachery of James of Idumea under the colour of a spy.

up his country into his hands, upon condition to be treated after the performance of it, as his first minister and favourite; undertaking in the next place, to make him master of all Idumea. When Simon had sufficiently sweetened this treacherous instrument, with a splendid treat, fair words, and large promises, he returned back again to his own people; where he made Simon twenty times more considerable than in truth he was, for strength, conduct, number, order, and discipline: which, by little and little, made such an impression, not only upon the ignorant multitude, but upon the officers themselves too, that they were all prevailed upon not to dispute the matter any farther by arms, but rather to submit all to Simon, for fear of worse consequences; James sending away messengers to Simon at the same time to come away immediately, and not to lose so fair an opportunity, for he would be answerable for it, that Idumea should be his own without blood-shed; which he made good accordingly. Upon the approach of the army, James was the first man that took horse, and spur'd away, as in a fright, with the rest of the faction at his heels. This struck such a terror into the hearts of the people, that they ran their several ways; and so dispers'd upon it, that the whole army was dissolved without so much as attempting a battle.

A panick
fright, and
Idumea taken
without a
stroke.

Chebron surpriz'd.
A description
of the place.

SIMON being now possessed of Idumea, without blood, which was little less than a miracle, he surpriz'd the town of Chebron; wherein he obtain'd stores of corn, and other booty to a prodigious value. This city is of great antiquity, and not only the eldest of the province, but, if we may believe the natives, ancients than even the Egyptian Memphis itself; being computed to be of two thousand three hundred years standing. They have a tradition, that Abraham, the original father of the Jews, took up his habitation there, upon his leaving Mesopotamia; and that his posterity remov'd from thence into Egypt; where there are monuments to be seen at this day, with marble inscriptions curiously wrought, in confirmation of what I deliver. There is likewise to be seen, within six * furlongs of the place, a wonderful turpentine tree; which, according to the tradition of the place, was created with the world itself, and is yet sound and firm.

Idumea and
the whole
country about
it laid waste.

FROM this place Simon made his inroads quite through Idumea, accompany'd with a train of forty thousand men, beside his men of arms; destroying and depopulating, not only towns and villages, but whole territories and countries where-ever he came. The marching of his army was the same thing to the people, that a flight of locusts are to a wood: they left behind them not so much as a leaf or a spire of grass, nor any thing more than a desert, where-ever they came. It was a thing utterly impossible to find provisions for so many mouths; and then the natural fierceness of Simon, and the malicious animosity of his rage against the Idumeans, was still a farther aggravation of the pinching necessity. In fine, what with burning, de-

molishing, devouring the fruits of the earth, or trampling them to dirt, Simon's troops did not leave so much even in a fruitful well-cultivated country, as the least sign or memorial of what it had been formerly.

THE inhumanity of this proceeding incited the indignation of the Zelotes, though they durst not bring it to an open war; but contented themselves with attacking his party by surprize and out of ambuscades, wherein it was their fortune at last to make a considerable purchase, as they accounted it: for they took Simon's wife prisoner, and several of his domesticks and favourites, and carry'd her away to Jerusalem, with as much joy and triumph, as if it had been the husband himself; making no doubt, but Simon would now lay down his arms, and compound for his wife. But this violence upon the woman, wrought, it seems, a quite contrary effect upon the husband; and instead of moving him to tenderness and compassion, transported him into the furious extravagancies of a mad-man.

Simon's wife
taken prisoner
by the
Zelotes.

HE went immediately to the gates of Jerusalem; and there, like a wild beast that's wounded, and cannot come at the persons that did it, he discharg'd his outrageous choler upon whatever came in his way; men, women, and children, that only went out of the town for sticks and herbs, he caused to be taken up and whipt to death, young and old without distinction: only he was so merciful as not to eat their flesh when he had killed them. He cut off the hands of a great many of them for a terror to his enemies, as well as to fright the people from their party, and sent them to the town so maim'd, with these words in their mouths: "That Simon swore by the great God, who governs the universe, if they did not immediately return his wife again, he would break down their walls, and put every soul in the town to the same extremity; whether they were young or old, guilty or innocent." The dread of these menaces did not only work upon the multitude, but upon the Zelotes themselves: infomuch, that they restor'd him his wife upon it; and so far pacify'd his wrath, as to obtain some sort of respite to his daily cruelties.

His brutal
fury upon it.

And upon
those menaces
they sent
him his wife
again.

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman empire fallen to pieces within itself. Two battles betwixt Otho and Vitellius: Otho gets the better of it the first day, and Vitellius the next. Otho stabs himself. Vespasian proposes to over-run Judea. Cerealis takes Capharis; and lays Chebron in ashes. There wants nothing now but Jerusalem, to put an end to the war.

IT was not Judea alone that was harass'd with the sedition of a civil war; but the same spirit possessed Italy too; Galba being slain in the very heart of Rome itself: Otho was declared his successor, in opposition to whom arises Vitellius; who, being elected emperor by the German legions, disputes his title with him. They had two battles for it near † Bebricum in ‡ Lombardy. Otho had the

The Roman
empire torn
to pieces with
factions and
civil broils.

* Six furlongs amounted to three quarters of an English mile, and nine geometrical paces.

† Some would have it Bedricum. Josephus has *βεδρικον*. But this I suppose is a corruption. See Ortellius's *Theaurus*, and Ryckius's notes upon Tacitus, p. 363.

‡ Gallia Cisalpina.

Otho carry'd it the first day, and Vitellius the next. Otho stabs himself.

better of it the first day; and Vitellius carry'd it the next, under the command of his two generals, Valens and Cecinna. There was a great slaughter; and Otho, who was then at Brixellum, upon the news of this defeat, stabb'd himself with a dagger, after a reign of three months and two days. Upon this change, Otho's soldiers went over to the party of Vitellius, who presently march'd away with his army to Rome.

Vespasian proposes to himself a thorough conquest of Judea.

VESPASIAN in the mean time remov'd from Cesarea on the fifth of the month * Desius, in a prospect of making a thorough conquest of Judea, by reducing the remainder of it that yet stood out: he began among the mountains, and made himself master of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabatena; possessing himself afterwards of the cities of Bethel and Ephraim; where he settled garisons. His next remove was toward Jerusalem; where he took and kill'd vast numbers of Jews by the way.

Cerealis takes Capharis.

CEREALIS, in the mean time, one of the principal officers, with a body of horse and foot, over-ran the upper Idumea; took and burnt the castle Caphetra by the way; laid siege to Capharis, a strong wall'd town; and they were in hope it would have made a good defence: but, beyond all expectation, the townsmen open'd their gates, threw themselves at their feet, and so gave it up. Having thus carry'd every thing before him, he went to Chebron (the ancient town upon the mountains, formerly spoken of, not far from Jerusalem) which he attack'd and carry'd at the first assault. He put all the people in it to the sword; sack'd and burnt the city. There were yet three castles in the possession of the cut-throat faction; Herodion, Massada and Macherus: and Vespasian wanted nothing after this, to put a final end to this terrible war, but the taking of Jerusalem.

Lays Chebron in ashes; and nothing wanting but Jerusalem to put an end to the war.

CHAP. IX.

Simon a worse enemy within the town than the Romans without: and the Zelotes worst of all. The horrid brutalities of the Zelotes. The Idumeans revolt and scatter the Zelotes: pursuing them to the palace, and so to the temple. John cast off; and Simon invited into the government: where he is welcom'd with shouts and acclamations. An assault upon the temple.

Simon takes his revenge of the Idumeans for his wife.

WHEN Simon had got his wife again from the Zelotes, he wreak'd the bitterness of his malice upon the remainder of the Idumeans; and persecuted them so bloodily with harassing and hunting them up and down, that divers of them in a desperation, fled to Jerusalem for sanctuary: Simon pursuing them to the very foot of the wall, and killing all comers and goers that came within his reach. So that Simon without the town was a worse enemy than the Romans; and the Zelotes within, worse than both. But the Galileans all this while taught them their lesson, and improv'd them in all the arts of wickedness, by instruction, encouragement, and example. Now John being their creature, thought it but reasonable to employ the power they had

Simon worse without the town than the Romans; and the Zelotes worst of all. The brutal and inhuman lusts and liberties of the Zelotes.

procured him to the satisfaction of his patrons; and so left them at liberty to live without controul according to the dictates of their own licentious lusts. In the matter of rapine and pillage, their avarice was insatiable. They made no more of taking away the lives of men, and the honour of women, than of a common frolick or diversion: and when they had sated themselves with blood and oppression, they went on wallowing in the brutality of their carnal appetites: powdering and curling their hair; disguised in the dress and habit of women; painting, and setting themselves off with dawbs and washes. Nor did they imitate women only in their clothes and ornaments, but in their impudence also; for they conversed with no more restraint in the face of the sun, than they would have done in a common stew: pressing and practising unnatural lusts, and polluting the whole city with impurities not to be nam'd, or so much as thought off. But all this while, with the faces and impudence of women, they had the hearts and hands of cut-throats: and how effeminate and mincing soever they were in their gate and motions, they had yet their martial weapons about them, and their swords out in a trice, upon any sudden occasion, to kill the next man they met. He that escap'd John, fell into the hands of Simon, the bloodier monster of the two; and he that got clear of the domestick tyrant, was destroy'd by the other before the town: beside that all the passages were so blockt up, that there was no coming off for those that had a mind to go over to the Romans.

BETWIXT the envy of John's power and the detestation of his barbarous cruelties, the eyes of the Idumeans were by this time open'd; for they brake out into a direct revolt, and made head against him. It came to a battle, and a great many of the Zelotes were slain upon the spot; the rest fled into the palace royal, which was originally erected by one Grapte, a kinswoman of Izates the king of the Adiabeniens. The Idumeans push'd in along with them; and so beating the Zelotes into the temple, they made themselves masters of the whole mass of John's treasure for a booty; which was there deposited under the roof of his own habitation. The Zelotes up and down the town gather'd together upon this, to join those of their companions that were got into the temple; and John immediately put himself in a posture for a sally upon the Idumeans and the citizens: not that they had any apprehension of their number, for they were too many for them; but for fear of their stealing out of the city by night, and at the same time cutting of throats and setting fire to't. Upon this occasion they call'd a council, and deliberated with the high-priest what measures they were to take. But it pleas'd God to insatuate their policies, by giving them over to a remedy worse than the disease; for they resolv'd among themselves to cast off John, and to set up Simon in his stead: and in so doing they did but clear their hands of one tyrant, and lay themselves at the feet of another. But the vote pass'd however, and Matthias the high-priest was sent to invite Simon into the town for their governor, whom

No escaping.

The Idumeans revolt; and rout the Zelotes.

Pursuing them to the palace, and so to the temple.

John cast off, and Simon invited to the government.

* i.e. The fifth of June.

Simon received into the city with shouts and acclamations.

they had been so often in dread of. There were divers others also that had been forced out of Jerusalem by the Zelotes, and would gladly have been at home again, that join'd with Matthias in the same request. Simon gave them a magisterial answer that their petition was granted, and so enter'd the city in the quality of their preserver; the people receiving him also with acclamations in the same stile and character. This happen'd in the third month that, they call * Xanthicus. Simon had no sooner enter'd Jerusalem with his troops, but his head was presently at work how to settle himself; for he look'd upon those that call'd him in, and those against whom he was call'd, to be equally his enemies.

An assault upon the temple

WHEN John found himself coop'd up in the temple with the rest of the Zelotes, and that Simon and his companions had made a thorough rifle of the city, he gave himself for lost. The latter, in the mean time, led on the common people to an assault upon the temple; but the besiegers were so gall'd with stones, darts, and arrows, from the galleries and battlements over head, that they were driven back with great loss; several kill'd, others carry'd off wounded, and upon the whole a general disappointment; the Zelotes having gotten the advantage of the ground, where there was no coming at them; beside four strong large towers of their own erecting to annoy the enemy from above: one to the eastward, another to the north; a third upon a gallery at the corner over against the lower town, and a fourth upon the top of what they call the † Pastophoria; a place where formerly the priest used to stand after noon, to make proclamation by sound of trumpet when the sabbath began, and when it ended: and so to the people in like manner, when they were to work, and when to keep holiday. In these turrets they had dispos'd of their archers, flingers, and engineers, with arrows, stones, and all their military provisions about them. Simon and his men were not a little surpriz'd at this obstinate resistance of the Zelotes; but depending upon their numbers, they press'd forward still; though with the loss of a great many men from the Zelotes flings and machines.

CHAP. X.

A civil war in Rome; and Vitellius at the head of a vast army there. The news of Vitellius being chosen emperor goes to the heart of Vespasian. An invective against Vitellius and his party, to the honour of Vespasian and Titus. The soldiers are bent upon a change; and Vespasian takes the army into his care.

A civil war in Rome; and Vitellius there with a vast army.

IN the very heat of these broils in Jerusalem, there brake out a worse mischief in Rome itself: that is to say, a civil war. Vitellius was now come out of Germany, attended with such a prodigious multitude of foreign troops, that for want of room in the lodgments that were assign'd them, they were fain to take up in private houses, and to turn the whole city into one general quarter. The

sparkling of the Romans gold and silver, and the sight of their riches, was such a temptation to strangers unaccustomed to such sights, that they could hardly restrain themselves, either from taking things by force, or killing those that hinder'd them. This was the condition of Italy at that time.

UPON Vespasian's return to Cesarea, after laying waste all about Jerusalem, the news was brought him of strange tumults in Rome, and that Vitellius was declar'd emperor. Now though Vespasian was a man of order, and knew as well how to obey as to command, yet he could not brook to think of owning that man for his master, who came to the empire as to a prey rather than to a dignity. This wonderful turn was so great a mortification and distraction to him, that he could not so much as think of any foreign wars, at a time when his country lay labouring under such miserable circumstances at home. But as his indignation spur'd him on to a revenge on the one hand; so the difficulties of so long a journey in order to the execution of it (especially in winter too) put a check to him on the other: for many strange things might fall out for ought he knew before he could reach Italy. These, and such thoughts as these, brought him by degrees to himself again. While this was in agitation, the officers and soldiers drew into clubs and cabals, in parties; and so discoursing freely upon matters of state and government, they did not scruple to declare their opinions for another change; loudly exclaiming against the Roman foldiers. "A company of dissolute effeminate wretches (they cry'd!) that would not stand so much as the noise of a war! These were pretty fellows indeed, they said, to dispose of empires; or in truth, rather to sell them to the fairest bidder. Can they ever think that we, after the fatigues of so much duty and hard labour, till we are grown old under our arms; — that we, will ever submit to an emperor of their chusing, when we have so much a worthier prince of our own? over and above, that if we lose this opportunity of expressing our gratitude for the generous obligations Vespasian hath laid upon us, 'tis odds we shall never have the like again. Beside that Vespasian is in himself as much superior to Vitellius, with respect to the character of an emperor, as we ourselves are to those that made him one. Have not we run as many risques, and born as great a part in the war, as the German legion that brought this usurper into the capital city? are not we as well skill'd in the art and discipline of war as they? Now for Vespasian, there can be no dispute or competition; for the senate and the people of Rome are all for him, and will never endure the licentious debauches of Vitellius to be put in the balance against the modesty and temperance of Vespasian; which would be the exchanging of a gracious prince for a merciless tyrant. † Nor is it to be expected that the son Titus, though a prince of extraordinary virtue, should be chosen in preference to his father. But let it suf-

Vespasian meets the news at Cesarea of Vitellius's being chosen emperor. This report goes to the heart of Vespasian.

An invective of the officers against Vitellius and his party; to the honour of Vespasian and Titus. The soldiers bent upon a change.

* i. e. April.

† Suid. Πασοφορίον, τὸ πρὸς τὸν πασόν. See If. c. 22. v. 15. in the Septuagint.

‡ See Mr. Spanheim's seventh dissertation about the excellency and use of coins, p. 649. where this passage is handled at large.

" fice that it is the honour and justice of a
 " prince that establisheth the peace of the throne.
 " Now if either maturity of experience, or
 " vigour of youth, may intitle a prince to the
 " choice, you have the one in Vespasian, and
 " the other in Titus; and all the advantages
 " that attend wisdom, force and resolution.
 " It is further to be consider'd, that in electing
 " the admirable father of this incomparable
 " son, the three imperial legions and auxilia-
 " ries will be enforced with the whole power
 " of the east, that part of Europe that lies out
 " of the reach of Vitellius, and all the in-
 " terest that Vespasian's friends, his brother,
 " and his other son can make in Italy: the one
 " being prefect * of Rome, a charge of great
 " influence and credit, especially at the be-
 " ginning of a reign; and the other so popu-
 " lar, that which way soever he went, the
 " flower of the nobility would be sure to side
 " with him. But now after all, they cry'd,
 " what if the senate itself should put up Vef-
 " pasian for emperor, and take the glory and
 " the merit of the action out of our hands;
 " while we stand upon forms and niceties to
 " no manner of purpose; should not we be
 " finely deceiv'd then? we, that of all men
 " living have the greatest obligation to
 " him."

The army
 presses Vespasian to take
 them into his
 protection:
 which with
 much ado
 they obtain'd.

THIS was the soldiers talk among them-
 selves, at first only in knots and corners: but
 their confidence increasing with their numbers,
 they came unanimously to the point, and one
 and all cry'd up Vespasian, emperor; begging
 him at the same time to take the tottering em-
 pire into his protection. This great man had
 been a long time the supporter of the empire;
 but for the stile of emperor, he absolutely re-
 fus'd it, (though in that very refusal he deserv'd it) declaring that he had much rather
 spend the remainder of his days in the free-
 dom of a private life, than among the snares
 and difficulties of a more illustrious and exalt-
 ed station. The more Vespasian declin'd it,
 the more the officers press'd him; till at
 length, upon his obstinate denial, they came
 all up to him with their † swords drawn, and
 threaten'd to kill him, unless he would sub-
 mit to accept of the honour that he deserv'd.
 He refus'd it a long time; but in the end,
 when he saw they would not be deny'd, he
 yielded to their importunity.

CHAP. XI.

Mucianus presses Vespasian to march against Vitellius; but Vespasian is rather for Alexandria. Of Egypt and the situation of it. Alexandria a dangerous port. The tower of Pharos. Tiberius Alexander a true friend to Vespasian.

VESPASIAN was no sooner advanced
 to the empire, but Mucianus and the
 rest of the officers that invited him to govern-

ment, with the whole army, called out with
 one voice to march against Vitellius; but Vef-
 pasian was rather of opinion for beginning with
 Alexandria; Egypt being one of the most ne-
 cessary and considerable branches of the em-
 pire, in respect of the vast quantities of corn it
 produces: insomuch that if he could but make
 himself master of that country, he was in hope
 that Rome itself would rather turn out Vitel-
 lius than run the hazard, if they stood it out,
 of starving for his sake, as of necessity they
 must without relief from Egypt. He desired
 also an enforcement of two legions that lay at
 Alexandria to join him.

Mucianus
 urges Vespasian to march
 with his army
 against Vitellius.
 Vespasian is
 rather for
 Alexandria;
 and gives his
 reasons for it.

HE propounded also the making of the pro-
 vince a secure place of retreat in the worst of
 fortunes. There is hardly any coming at it
 by land, and no ports to the sea. It is bound-
 ed on the west with the parching land of Li-
 bya: on the south, Syene divides it from
 Ethiopia, and the unpassable cataracts of the
 river Nile: on the east, the Red-sea serves it
 for a rampart as far as the city Coptos; and
 on the north, it stretches out as far as Syria,
 and that which they call the Egyptian-sea,
 and the coast quite thorough wholly destitute
 of ports: so that nature hath provided for the
 security of Egypt in the very situation of it.
 From Pelusium to Syene they reckon two thou-
 sand ‡ furlongs, and three § thousand six
 hundred by sea, from Plinthine to Pelusium.
 The Nile is navigable as far as Elephantine;
 but, as I said before, there is no passing further
 for the cataracts.

Of Egypt and
 the situation
 of it.

ALEXANDRIA, let the weather be never so
 fair, is a nice and a dangerous port; the en-
 trance very narrow, and the rocks so scatter'd
 up and down in shallow water, that he must
 be a very exact guide that knows all the turn-
 ings. On the left hand it is encompass'd with
 a dike, like an arm about it; on the right lies
 the isle of Pharos, which hath been so cele-
 brated for a famous sea-mark. The light of
 it is seen three ** hundred furlongs off at sea,
 and serves for a direction to mariners what
 course they are to steer. About this island
 there are mighty defences of strong keys and
 thick walls, to break the violence of the waves
 that beat upon that quarter; and the rage of
 the billows dashing one upon another makes
 the passage yet more hazardous. But after all
 these difficulties in the way, there is not a
 safer port in nature when you are once over
 the bar. The length of it is thirty †† furlongs,
 and it is furnished with conveniences of store-
 houses for all manner of goods, to be either
 imported or exported.

Alexandria a
 dangerous
 port.

The tower of
 Pharos; a fa-
 mous sea-
 mark.

VESPASIAN was much in the right in his
 politics, when he pitch'd upon Alexandria
 in order to the establishment of the em-
 pire: and upon that occasion, he gave the go-
 vernor Tiberius Alexander to understand, that
 being prevail'd upon by the importunity of
 the soldiers to take charge of the govern-
 ment, he could not do better than to desire

Tiberius
 Alexander a
 great friend
 to Vespasian.

* A prefect signifies governor of a place.

† See Ryckius upon Tacitus, p. 378.

‡ Two thousand furlongs amounted to two hundred and fifty three English miles.

§ Three thousand six hundred furlongs amounted to four hundred and fifty six English miles and a quarter, and one hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

** Three hundred furlongs amounted to thirty eight English miles, lacking fifty geometrical paces.

†† Thirty furlongs amounted to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

the favour of his assistance and advice in the administration. Alexander had no sooner read the letter, but with all frankness and alacrity, he * gave the legions and the people the oath of fidelity to Vespasian; who took it with the greatest expressions and demonstration of joy and affection imaginable: being abundantly satisfy'd before-hand in the certain knowledge and experience of his honour and virtue. Alexander in the mean time made a just and a generous use of the power that was given him for the service of the publick, and apply'd himself in the first place to provide necessities for the reception of the new prince.

C H A P. XII.

Vespasian's advancement pleases all people. He ascribes all his successes to providence. Several presages of his future greatness. Joseph treated Vespasian in the stile of emperor, even while Nero was yet living, and himself a prisoner; for which Vespasian gives him his liberty with honours and rewards.

The news of Vespasian's advancement gives an universal satisfaction.

THE news flew like lightning every where up and down the east of Vespasian's being advanced to the empire; and it was so welcome wherever it came, that all the cities made holiday upon the arrival of it, with vows and sacrifices for Vespasian's happy reign.

THE legions that were quarter'd in † Mesia and Pannonia, and were lately up in arms against Vitellius, for his tyrannical insolence, took the oath to Vespasian with all the cheerfulness in the world.

UPON Vespasian's return from Cesarea to Berytus, there were several embassadors from Syria and other provinces that met him upon the way, with garlands and gratulatory addresses in the name of the cities and people: Mucianus the governor of Syria among the rest, with assurances of the faith and good affection of all in general; express'd by oaths and otherwise, to the person and authority of Vespasian.

Vespasian ascribes his successes to providence. A prophetic hint of Vespasian's future greatness. Joseph treated Vespasian in the stile of emperor while Nero was yet living, and himself a prisoner.

Now Vespasian being so fortunate in all his undertakings, that whatever he did, succeeded to his wish, he began to bethink himself, that such a concurrence of seeming accidents making for him, look'd liker a providential disposition of things in the order of causes and effects, than the work of chance; and that it was the hand of God, not fortune, that had exalted him to that eminence. He then began to recollect what strange prophetic hints and prognosticks he had observ'd in the course of his life; and all pointing to the same end, as particularly a passage of Joseph's, who had the confidence in the very life of Nero, to give Vespasian the title of emperor. This remarkable prediction made such an impression upon Vespasian, (especially from a person that was yet his prisoner) that calling Mucianus and several of his friends and officers about him, he took occasion to make mention of the bravery of Joseph, and how resolutely he had opposed them at the siege of Jotapata; and so from one

thing to another till he came to recount his predictions; which, says Vespasian, I took to be only the inventions of fear to screen himself from punishment; till time and the event of things have now made it evident that they were inspirations. "And, what a shame is it for me now, (says Vespasian) to treat a minister and the messenger of God that brought me the tidings of my preferment, at the scandalous rate still of a prisoner?"

He had no sooner pass'd this reflection, but Joseph was immediately sent for, and set at liberty: from which generous gratitude his officers took their measures what they themselves might expect from so gracious a master, that were his faithful friends and servants. Titus being then present, told his father with submission, that in barely setting Joseph at liberty, the work was but half done; for his chains ought to be broken as well as taken off, to pronounce him an innocent, and to leave him as he found him; according to common practice when men are wrongfully imprison'd: for otherwise he is only discharg'd of the bondage, but the dishonour sticks upon him still. Vespasian concurr'd with him in opinion, and accordingly order'd his chains immediately to be cut to pieces with an ax. So that Joseph did not only get his freedom, but the reputation of a great prophet also for what he had foretold; and credit enough to be farther believ'd in whatever he should say for the future.

Vespasian sets Joseph at liberty for it with remarkable honours and rewards.

C H A P. XIII.

Vespasian takes Antioch in his way to Rome; and sends Mucianus with a great army into Italy. Cecinna draws Vitellius's men over to Vespasian; and the soldiers seize him as a traitor. A fight betwixt Anthony and the Vitellians; the latter worsted, and fly toward Cremona, where they are totally cut off. Cecinna discharged, and sent to Vespasian with the news of the victory. Sabinus seizes the capitol. A bloody battle. Vitellius dragg'd through the streets dead drunk; and stabb'd to death in the city. The people declare every where for Vespasian.

WHEN Vespasian had given the embassadors their answers, and settled all his governments in the hands of fit and careful officers, he chang'd his mind, and went to Antioch; and so forward to Rome, rather than Alexandria, as he thought to have done; the latter being safe and quiet, and the other miserably embroil'd by Vitellius, and standing in more need of him of the two. So he sent Mucianus over land into Italy with an army of horse and foot, by the way of Cappadocia and Phrygia; for he durst not venture his troops upon a winter sea.

Vespasian quits the thought of Alexandria, and takes Antioch in his way to Rome. He sends Mucianus into Italy with an army.

AMONG others there was ‡ Antonius Primus, the governor of Mesia, with the third legion that lay in that province; who desir'd nothing more than to come to an encounter with Vitellius. And so Vitellius, on the other hand, sent Cecinna at the head of a strong army against him. As he was upon his march for

* Ryckius in his notes upon Tacitus, p. 378. discovers an error of Josephus in this place.

† Al. Myfia.

‡ Ryckius in his notes upon Tacitus, p. 502, &c. shews us several errors of Josephus in what follows.

Rome, he met Anthony upon the borders of Italy not far from Cremona; where he stopp'd to gaze upon the numbers, the order and the discipline of the enemy; but durst not engage them. He was now at a nonplus what to do. Fight he durst not, and he could not run away with honour: so that he chose the part of a deserter rather than of a coward. He call'd his centurions, tribunes, and in short, all his officers together, and made use of that occasion to enter into a descant upon Vespasian and Vitellius, still derogating from the latter, and elevating the former; with a design all this while to draw Vitellius's people over to Vespasian. "The former, he said, had but the

Cecinna persuades Vitellius's men to go over to Vespasian.

"name of an emperor; the other, the right "and authority, and the true stamp of an imperial character in his very person, over and above the odds of Vespasian's choice of men "and numbers; to such a degree, in fine, "that there was no contending with him. "And if it be so, says he, why should not we "now do the same thing before-hand, by "choice, that we shall be forc'd to do but "the next hour by necessity? Not but that "Vespasian is able to do his business, to all "manner of purposes, without your help: "whereas Vitellius is not able to stand upon "his own legs, or to protect any party that "adheres to him." Cecinna ply'd his argu-

The soldiers desert and repent, and seize Cecinna as a traitor.

ment so far, till he gain'd his point, and carry'd the soldiers over to Anthony. But the next night, Cecinna's men, betwixt repentance for what they had done, and for fear of punishment in case Vitellius should get the better of it, came in a rage with their swords drawn up to Cecinna to kill him; and they had certainly done it, if the tribunes had not passionately interpos'd on his behalf. So that they spar'd his life; but however order'd him to be kept in chains, and sent away to Vitellius for a traitor. So soon as this came to Anthony's ear, he presently commanded out a party to fall upon them as deserters. They made a short stand; but after the first shock, they gave ground, and took their flight toward Cremona. But Anthony put in with his horse betwixt them and the town; and begirting them a-round, made a great slaughter upon the place, and gave the soldiers the pillage of the town. There perish'd promiscuously in this ravage foreign merchants and townsmen in abundance; with the whole army of Vitellius, to the number of thirty thousand and two hundred persons. There fell of Anthony's men that he brought out of Mesia, four thousand five hundred; who setting Cecinna at liberty, sent him away to Vespasian with the news of the victory; where he was receiv'd with great and unexpected honours to balance the disgrace of being false to his master.

An encounter betwixt Anthony and the Vitellians. The latter worsted, and and fly toward Cremona, where they are intercepted, and totally cut off.

Cecinna set at liberty, and sent to Vespasian, with the news of the victory.

WHEN Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, understood that Anthony was upon his march toward Rome, it put new life into him; so that drawing together the city guards, that night he seiz'd the capitol: great numbers of persons of the first quality coming in to them the next day; and among the rest his nephew

Sabinus seizes the capitol.

Domitian, who had a great hand in the glory of that action.

VITELLIUS never troubled his head about Anthony, but his main spite was at Sabinus, and the rest that join'd with him in the revolt: and being naturally sanguinary and cruel, especially where there was noble blood in the case, he sent a body of his own troops to attack the capitol; and there was great bravery shew'd betwixt them and those in the temple; but in the end, the Germans, overpowering their adversaries with numbers, gain'd the hill. Domitian and several Romans of the highest quality escap'd in a manner by miracle; but Sabinus was carry'd to Vitellius, who order'd him immediately to be put to death, and all the rest were cut to pieces; the soldiers seizing the plunder of the temple, and then setting fire to it.

ANTHONY came up the next day with his army, and the Vitellians gave him battle. They fought in three several parts of the city, and were all slain. After this, came Vitellius out of his palace, wallowing drunk (according to his custom) and overcharg'd with a gluttonous excess, where he was taken up and dragg'd through the streets, villify'd with all sorts of scurrilous and opprobrious language, and in the conclusion, stabb'd to death in the middle of the city. He had now reign'd eight months and five days; and such was his profusion, that if he had liv'd longer, the revenue of the empire would not have answer'd the charge of his debauches. They reckon upon upward of fifty thousand men slain, over and above those already mention'd: and this great action happened upon the third day of the

A bloody battle. Vitellius dragg'd thro' the streets drunk, and stabb'd to death in the city.

† month Apelleus. MUCIANUS next day enter'd Rome with his army, and after some sort of stop put to the merciless rage of Anthony's soldiers (who were still searching in all corners up and down for Vitellius's men, whom they kill'd as fast as they found them, without so much as examining whether they were guilty or innocent) intimated to the people that they should do well to chuse Domitian for their governor till his father came up. But the people being now out of danger, and nothing farther to fear, would not hear of any other governor than Vespasian; and so crying him up to the skies with acclamations, they made a double festival of it; one, for the blessing of Vespasian's coming to the government, the other, for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius.

The people declare every where for Vespasian.

CHAP. XIV.

Vespasian at Alexandria, and courted with addresses from all quarters. He sends away his son Titus towards Jerusalem. Titus's march.

VESPASIAN, at his coming to Alexandria, was entertain'd with the whole history of what had pass'd at Rome, and ply'd with gratulatory embassies and addresses from

Vespasian courted at Alexandria with addresses from all quarters

He sends a-
way his son
Titus towards
Jerusalem.
Titus's march

all quarters, to joy him of his exaltation to the empire. Alexandria is look'd upon as one of the largest cities in the world, next to Rome itself; and yet upon this occasion it was too little for the company. The imperial state of Rome being now settled and secur'd, the people quiet and easy, beyond all expectation, and the winter over, Vespasian began to be-think himself of looking toward the remain-der of Judea, and prepare for his journey to Rome. When he had put every thing in order in Alexandria, he sent away his son Titus with his best troops, upon an expedition a-gainst Jerusalem. He went as far as Nicopo-lis by land, about twenty * furlongs from A-lexandria; and then embarking his troops upon long boats, pass'd down the Nile, along the

banks of the Mendesian canton, to the city of Thumis, and went ashore at Tanis: from thence he went to Heracleopolis, and so to Pe-lusium; where he stay'd two days to refresh his troops, and then march'd away cross the desert, and encamped by the temple of Jupiter Cassius. The next day he went to Ostracine; a place so extremely dry, that the inhabitants have no water but what they fetch from abroad. From thence to † Rhinocorura, where he stay'd a while, and then to Raphia, the first city upon the borders of Syria, and his fourth stage: Gaza was the fifth, and from thence he march'd to Ascalon, and so to Jamnia and Joppa; from Joppa to Cesarea, with a reso-lution to strengthen himself with other addi-tional troops.

* Twenty furlongs amounted to two English miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as hath been before observed.

† Lat. Rhinocolura.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Three factions in Jerusalem. Eleazar began the breach, by setting up the Zelotes against the people. John of Gischala puts in for himself. A fight betwixt John and Eleazar. An encounter betwixt John and Simon. The deplorable state of Jerusalem, that has neither humanity left in it, nor conscience. The march and order of Titus's army.



WHEN Titus had pass'd the deserts betwixt Egypt and Syria, in such manner as is already set forth, he came to Cesarea; with a resolution to draw his troops together there, and to form his army. While he was, as yet with his father Vespasian at Alexandria, giving orders about the administration of the empire which God had put into his hands, the factions in Jerusalem were divided into three parties, and each against the other; which for an ill matter, was well enough to see a common enemy doing justice upon itself. As for the domineering faction of the Zelotes (whose insolence was certainly the ruin of the city) we have spoken both of the rise and increase of it very particularly elsewhere; and it was no more, in short, than one sedition bred out of another. It had somewhat in it of the rage of a wild beast, that for want of other matter to work upon, preys upon its own bowels, rather than not be doing some mischief or other.

Three factions in Jerusalem.

Eleazar began the breach, by setting up the Zelotes against the people.

ELEAZAR the son of Simon was the first that began the separation in the temple, by setting up the Zelotes against the people, upon the pretence of being wonderfully offended at the daily insolencies of John of Gischala, but at the same time doing the same cruel things himself; and in truth, the main excep-

tion was no more than this: that the greater tyrant of the two could not brook to submit to the less: so that betwixt an insatiable thirst after power, and an ambitious impatience of having any body above him; he fell off from his companions and set up for himself, with Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron; two persons of great quality and interest; and likewise with Ezechias the son of Chobar, a man nobly descended; and every one of them at the head of a train of Zelotes. With this party they took possession of the inner temple, and put guards upon the sacred porches and doors, in confidence that the provisions of the place, by reason of the multitude of their daily oblations, would supply them with all necessities; and putting no difference, in fine, as to the common use of things, betwixt sacred and prophane. Being thus posted, the only thing they fear'd was want of men for the execution of any considerable design. John was much the stronger of the two; but what Eleazar wanted in number, was abundantly made good to him by the advantage of the place, for he had his enemy under him. Now John could not attempt any thing upon him but to his loss; so that betwixt the fear of doing a rash thing on the one hand, and the impatience of standing still to do nothing at all on the other, he was not a little divided how to behave himself. But his stomach and animosity

John of Gischala sets up for himself, and makes a party.

A fight betwixt John and Eleazar.

mostity carry'd it in the end however from his discretion; and he made several attacks, both with darts and other weapons of that nature, till the temple was polluted with the gore of dead bodies.

An encounter
between John
and Simon.

ON the other side, Simon the son of Gioras, whom the people in their distress had invited and entertained for their governor and protector, having in his possession the upper town, and the greater part of the lower, carry'd on the assault against John and his party with the greater vigour, when he saw how he was press'd at the same time from above by Eleazar. But John had the same advantage of Simon that Eleazar had of John, who effectually had a double war upon him, and as much the better of the one, as the worse of the other: for just so much as Eleazar was too hard for John, whom he had under him; so much was he too hard for Simon, who was below him again. So that John had little or no difficulty to repulse the attempts of Simon from the lower ground; as he defended himself the best he could from Eleazar that was over his head, with slings and machines to cast darts and stones. And these engines did execution not only upon the people in arms, but upon those also that came out of devotion to worship. For it must be acknowledg'd that these miscreants, even in the outrage of their impieties, gave admittance to all that offer'd themselves upon the account of religion; saving only that the Jews were most expos'd to strict searches and examinations. And for the strangers that were so happy as to escape the malice of a military fury, they fell here and there by casualty and mischance: that is to say, by the random shot of stones and lances, that reach'd the very altar, and cut off the sacrificers themselves in the exercise of their holy function, together with a multitude of common worshippers. Some that came from all quarters of the earth out of devotion to worship in this holy place, fell themselves the sacrifices, and defiled that altar with their blood, that not only the Greeks, but even the wildest of Barbarians had a veneration for. The dead bodies of strangers and of natives, persons holy and profane, were here promiscuously confounded, and their blood flowing up to the very altar.

The temple
polluted with
blood.

Ан, miserable, miserable city! the fire and sword of the Romans, when they enter'd thee by force, and endeavour'd the purging of thee by flames for the iniquities of thy faction and apostacy, with all the desolation that ensu'd upon it; all this, I say, was nothing to the misery of thy present case. Thou wert no longer the seat of God, after turning his holy house, by thy civil broils, into a shambles or a common charnel-house; nor could'st thou ever expect to come off unpunish'd for these impious provocations. But it is not yet impossible; not impossible, I say, by a true repentance to appease the incensed justice of a righteous God, that laid this heavy judgment upon thee. But this were better let alone; for private passions and complaints are not the business of an historian, so that I shall return to my subject, and proceed to the matter of fact that follow'd upon this uproar.

JERUSALEM (as I have said already) was divided into three factions. Eleazar and his party, that had the charge of the first fruits

and oblations, got drunk and fell upon John. John fall'd out upon Simon, and the people that assist'd him with provisions, against himself and Eleazar. When John happen'd to be attack'd at the same time by Eleazar and Simon, both together, he divided his forces, and held those in play that assaulted him on the city-side, with darts from the tops of the porches, plying those in the temple above him with stones and arrows from his machines. When at any time his enemies over head gave him a little respite (as they did frequently, when Eleazar and his people were either tir'd or drunk) he was then at liberty to make stronger sallies upon Simon and his complices; and still as he beat him further and further into the town, he burnt all before him: magazines, granaries, stores, and all houses indifferently, with whatever was in them, that stood in his way. Upon his retreat, Simon follow'd him immediately; and then it was his turn to do the same thing over again. They could have done no more if they had been in a direct conspiracy for the betraying of Jerusalem to the Romans, by putting it out of condition of defence, in destroying all that was necessary to preserve it. And to increase the calamity, every thing was burnt to the ground quite round the temple; the city turn'd into a desert by the very natives of the place, and a field of battle one against another. The provision of corn, in fine, and other necessaries, sufficient to have maintain'd a siege for several years, was almost totally consum'd; which led inevitably to a famine, and the ruin of the city that they brought upon themselves.

John stands a
double attack

Corn and o-
ther necessa-
ries for life,
burnt and de-
stroy'd.

JERUSALEM in the mean time, betwixt the faction within the town, and the besiegers without, was like a great body worry'd and torn to pieces for a prey. Old men and women were under such an astonishment for what they saw and suffer'd, that they pray'd for the success of their very enemies, the Romans, and for a foreign war in exchange for a civil. They lay under the impression of a most scandalous dread and terror. It was now past advising time, and there was no place left either for repentance, composition, or flight; all passages were guarded, and the heads of the factions, how mortal enemies soever in other cases, were all of a mind yet in the agreement of killing any man that deserv'd to live. They suffer'd not one man to escape, that was but suspected to be a well willer to the Romans; but they were all treated like common enemies. Shouts, and the clashing of arms were heard day and night. The fear itself of evils to come was a great misery: but then the sense of those evils being come upon them was a much greater, and their daily lamentations were never yet without a just ground to work upon. Their fears made them smother their sorrows. Grief is dumb when it comes to be stupifying; and that is the tormenting affliction that lies gnawing, like a canker, at the heart, without making any noise. There was no such thing left as reverence for the li-
The deplora-
ble state of
Jerusalem.

Neither
humanity nor
conscience.

and carry'd his life in his hand, as if he were the next moment to die. The faction all this while fought on, with heaps of carcases under their feet, in a kind of triumphant vanity of ostentation, as if the horror of the spectacle had made the living as hard and insensible as the dead. But their heads and their hearts were bent upon wickedness; and whatever came into their thoughts that they were able to compass, let it be never so bloody and cruel, they made no scruple to execute it. Witness John's perverting to profane uses those sacred materials that were set apart for the service of God's house. The people and high priests had once enter'd into a resolution to raise the temple twenty * cubits higher, and to carry up an arch to support the work. To this end king Agrippa, with incredible charge and labour, brought from mount Libanus, certain admirable pieces of timber, both for length and size: but the war breaking out, interrupted the design. So that John, having occasion for the materials, had the trees cut out into lengths for his own proper use, and then fram'd into turrets for his security and defence against Eleazar and his party, who annoy'd him from the top of the temple. They were raised along the wall to the westward, over-against the great hall, as the only place capable of such a structure, by reason of so many stair-cases in the way. John flatter'd himself that this impious contrivance of his would have laid his enemies at his feet: but God in his providence disappointed him, by bringing the Romans in upon him, before he could perfect his work.

The march
and order of
Titus's army.

WHEN Titus had gotten together one part of his army, and order'd the remainder of it up to Jerusalem, he went to Cesarea; where he had with him, over and above the three legions, that had formerly made such havock in Judea under his father, the twelfth legion also; which was nevertheless brave for that unlucky encounter under Cestius; nay on the other side, burning with impatience for the opportunity of a revenge for that disaster. He order'd the fifth legion to meet him by the way of Ammaus, and the tenth by Jericho; while he himself march'd with the rest, in conjunction with a body of royal auxiliaries, larger than ever heretofore, and a great number of Syrians. The detachments that were sent by Vespasian under Mucianus into Italy, out of the four legions, he made good out of two thousand choice men of the Alexandrian army that he brought along with him, and three thousand more that follow'd him from the Euphrates: and there was the best of friends also, both for integrity and council, Tiberius Alexander, formerly the governor of Egypt, but now chosen to command the army; being the first man that own'd and stood up for Vespasian in the infancy of his government, enter'd into a league with him, and stood firm to it in despite of all the hazards of an uncertain fortune. He was likewise qualify'd with all the natural advantages for martial undertakings, that resolution, generosity, and wisdom, could give a man.

CHAP. II.

Titus marches into the enemy's country; and takes a view of Jerusalem. The Jews make a desperate sally. Titus preserved by providence. His bravery and conduct.

TITUS being now advancing into an enemy's country, this was the order of his march. The auxiliaries went first; after them the pioneers; and in the next place, those that were to mark out the camp; which were follow'd with the officers baggage, and a convoy; and then came Titus himself with his guards; the choicest of his men, and his ensign-bearers about him; a body of horse following them at the head of the machines. The next in course were the tribunes, and other officers, with a train of choice men under their command: the Roman eagle after them, with the ensigns of the legions about it, and trumpets before them; the body of the army marching in rank and file, six in front; and the common soldiers, every man following the legion he belong'd to, with their luggage before them. The mercenaries and their guards brought up the rear. In this order Titus advanced, according to the method of the Roman discipline, by the way of Samaria up to Gophna; a place that his father Vespasian had formerly taken; and there he found a garison, where he took up his lodging that night, and prosecuted his march next morning to a place that the Jews call The valley of Thorns, near the village of Gabath Saul, or, The valley of Saul; where he encamped that evening near thirty † furlongs from Jerusalem.

AT this place Titus put himself at the head of about six hundred choice horse, and led them toward Jerusalem to take a view of the town, and learn what he could of the state and disposition of the Jews. For being well assured that the people were altogether for peace, and as weary every jot of their oppressors as they were of the oppression itself; and that they wanted nothing, in fine, but strength and opportunity for a revolt; he did not know but that upon the sight of him and his army, their hearts might fail them, and they might perhaps bethink themselves of bringing the matter to terms of accommodation before it came to blows. Possess'd with these thoughts, Titus advanced toward the city, and so long as he went forward in the ready way to the walls, there was not one creature appear'd upon the battlements. But upon crossing over toward the turret call'd Psephinos, there sallied out a vast number of Jews from the gate over against the sepulchre of Helena, on the quarter they call the woman's tower, that brake quite through the middle of Titus's body, and cutting off the communication betwixt the two divided parties, they could not relieve one another. In this confusion the Jews singled out Titus, with a very small number of his people about him, in a place where there was no going forward for the enclosures, gardens, and ditches betwixt him and the wall; and his retreat was intercepted, on the other hand, by

Titus advances into an enemy's country.

Titus marches with a party to take a view of Jerusalem.

The Jews make a desperate sally upon him.

* Twenty Jewish cubits amounted to full thirty six English feet, that is, twelve yards.

† Thirty furlongs amounted to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as hath been already more than once observed.

Titus preserv'd by a wonderful providence.

The conduct and bravery of Titus.

a strong body of the enemy that was gotten betwixt him and his own people. But Titus's men not knowing the danger their general was in, and believing him to be yet safe and in the crowd, shifting for himself, they had nothing more to do, they thought, but every man to look to one, and so to follow their captain. Titus finding, in this extremity, that he had nothing but his sword and his courage left him to trust to, call'd out to his fellow-foldiers to follow him, and in the same instant spurred desperately into the enemies body, to force his way thorough to the rest of his men. Now this was a time and action to give all people to understand how far the providence of God interposes in the event of wars, and in the personal preservation of emperors and princes. For Titus, who came not out (as I said) to fight a battle, but to make a discovery, had not provided himself of arms, either for his head or his body, and yet not one dart or arrow, of all those showers that were thrown against him, once touch'd him, but were carried off from the mark, as if they had been design'd to miss it; Titus in the mean time clearing his passage on both sides with his sword in his hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his enemies under his horse's feet. This fearless resolution of Cesar drew the rage of the whole party upon him with fury and clamour; crying out one to another to fall upon him, as the only check to their successes. But which way soever Titus turn'd, the Jews fled before him; and yet at the same time others pressing him flank and rear, and his companions all the while sticking close and bravely to him. They found by this time that there was no way to come off but by one seasonable generous charge, quite thorough and thorough. They made the push immediately, wherein one of Titus's friends was kill'd, horse and man; another overthrown and slain, and his horse taken and carry'd off; while Titus, with the remainder of his people, got back again to his camp, without so much as one wound. The Jews took such heart upon this temporary advantage, that they look'd upon it as an earnest of greater things to follow: but their hopes deceiv'd them.

CHAP. III.

Domestick factions are united by a foreign war. The Roman soldiers being surpriz'd without their arms, are beaten from their camp. A skirmish betwixt the Jews and the Romans. Titus missing, and the Romans at their wits end to know what was become of him. The Jews make a running fight of it.

UPON the coming up of a legion that night from Ammaus to join Cesar, he marched away next morning early to Scopus; a place seven * furlongs to the northward from the city. It stands low, and in a fair prospect both of the town and of the temple; and so properly enough called Scopus. He order'd two legions to encamp upon the place,

and the fifth legion to withdraw three † furlongs farther off; where they might intrench without any danger from the enemy, being already wearied off their legs with a tedious night's march. These legions were no sooner at work upon the orders, but the tenth legion came up from Jericho; a place lately taken and garison'd by Vespasian. This legion was appointed to encamp six ‡ furlongs to the east of Jerusalem, and the mount of Olives; which is over against the city, and the valley of Cedron betwixt them.

THE factions in the town continued tearing one another to pieces, as the bitterest adversaries in the world, till the dread of a foreign war and a common enemy reconciled them again. For, upon the very sight of the Roman camp, and the order of it, the three seditious parties agreed the matter, and united again; reasoning with themselves upon the equity and necessity of such a composition, and expostulating one with another, after this manner. "What will be the end of this business, do you think, if we stand still to see ourselves surrounded with forts and troops; our lives and liberties at mercy, and we all this while coop'd up within walls, and our arms a-cross, the tame spectators of a licentious war, to the advantage of our enemies, and our own ruin? Nay, says another, we are only valiant against ourselves, and in cutting one another's throats to make way for the Romans to a conquest without blood." Upon this they gather'd into parties and cabals; and in that very instant betaking themselves to their arms, made a furious excursion cross the valley upon the tenth legion, with horrid clamours and outcries, as they were intrenching their camp. This sally was such a surprize to the Romans, that they were half distracted at it; and it was so much the greater, upon an opinion, both that the Jews durst not offer at it, and that their divisions had made them incapable of such an agreement. But the foldiers, in fine, being at work without their arms, the Jews fell upon them unawares; whereupon every man quitted his post: some ran quite away, others fled to their arms, but were cut off before they could make use of them. Upon the credit of this victory ready to their hands, the Jews came flowing in still more and more; and though they were not in truth very numerous, their good fortune made them appear so, both to the Romans and to themselves. Of all nations under the heavens, the Romans are certainly the people that best understand the art and discipline of war, and discharge their military exercises and duties with the best conduct and grace; and yet upon the astonishment of this unaccountable surprize, they trembled; and turning their backs, the Jews follow'd them upon the pursuit; and upon turning their heads as any of the enemy came up with them, some they stopp'd or repuls'd, others they kill'd, or wounded; for in the heat of their rage they kept themselves upon no manner of guard. But as the numbers encreas'd on the one hand, so of necessity must the confusion on the other,

A foreign war unites the domestick factions.

The soldiers surpriz'd without their arms.

* Seven furlongs were seven eighths of a mile, that is, three quarters and half quarter of an English mile, and ten geometrical paces and an half.

† Three furlongs amounted to a quarter and half quarter of an English mile, and four geometrical paces and an half.

‡ Six furlongs amounted to three quarters of an English mile, and nine geometrical paces.

till

The Romans
beaten from
their camp.

till in the end the Romans were forc'd totally to abandon their camp; and the whole legion had been entirely cut off, if Titus had not come in the precise minute to their succour, and, betwixt reproaches of cowardice on the one side, and exemplary bravery on the other, put a stop to their flight. Titus took this opportunity of joining the fugitives, with a party of choice men he had about him of his own; and charging the Jews in the flank, he kill'd several of them upon the spot, wounded more, and drove the whole body down into the valley in great disorder, and not without a considerable loss of men, before they could gain the other side of the bottom. Upon their passing the valley they made a stand, and maintain'd a fight with the Romans a cross it till mid-day. In the afternoon, Titus enforced the legion with the troops he brought to succour it; and posting parties up and down to secure the Romans against excursions, he order'd the remainder of his forces up the mountain, to encamp and fortify upon the top of it.

A skirmish
betwixt the
Jews and the
Romans.

The Jews that were within distance of observing this motion from the walls, took it for a direct flight; and one of their intelligencers gave to understand as much by a signal from the town, by shaking a garment in the air, as a way of intelligence concerted among themselves. Upon this intimation, the Jews sallied forth in such an outrageous fury, that they look'd liker a herd of wild beasts than a multitude of men. The violence was so impetuous that not so much as one man in the contrary party durst stand the shock; but they were all driven, as if it had been by a blow from an engine, some one way, and some another, pressing up the mountain all that was possible for refuge. About half way up the hill, Titus made a stand, with a few of his generous resolute friends about him; who, out of the veneration they had for the person and dignity of the emperor, besought him not to expose any longer his own sacred life against the worthless lives of a desperate rabble of Jews, whose condition was such, that death was the best thing could befall them; but rather to consult his own quality and safety; minding him that he was not there in the circumstances of a soldier, but in the character of the sovereign master of the world; and that it was not for him to think of standing alone, when the foundations of the earth sunk under him. Titus took no more notice of what they said than if he had not heard it; but stood upon his guard against all opposers, and encounter'd all assaults: cutting some over the face, killing others that press'd upon him, and forcing some again down the mountain into the valley. The vigour and the resolution of this prince kept them in some sort of awe, though not enough to fright them into the city again: but opening to the right and left, they attack'd his people on each hand of him; while Titus galling them in the flank, gave some obstruction to the pursuit.

When the Romans, from their camp above, took notice what havock was made of their companions below, it struck them with such an horror and amazement, that the whole legion dispers'd upon it; taking for granted that the Romans were not able to stand before

the Jews, and that Titus himself had quitted the field; or his soldiers (they thought) would never have forsaken him. While they were in the distraction of this panick terror, running up and down like madmen, they knew not why, nor whither, there was an alarm given to the whole legion, by some that had seen Titus labouring for life in the middle of his enemies, calling upon them with outcries to hasten away to the rescue of their general. This reproach, betwixt the shame and the conscience of having abandon'd their commander, transported them to such a violent pitch of rage, that, without any farther thought of shifting for themselves, they fell with all their might upon the Jews, and drove them away before them down the brow of the mountain. Not but that they made their retreat fighting too, and for a while disputed every foot of ground they lost; till the Romans, by the advantage of the higher station, drove them by force all to the valley. Titus press'd hard upon those he had to do withal, and so sent the legion back to make an end of their trenches; he himself staying with his own soldiers about him, to keep the enemy at a distance. Now if I maybe allow'd to speak the just truth of the matter, without flattery, envy, or detraction, this was the second time that Titus sav'd this legion in the same day. And the soldiers were now at liberty to fortify and settle their camp.

The Romans at their wits end for fear of their general.

The Jews make a running fight of it.

CHAP. IV.

The paschal feast at hand. A cursed design under the cover of religion. The three factions contracted into two. Titus moves toward Jerusalem, and orders the levelling of the passes.

THE Jews had no sooner a little breathing-while from the hostilities of the Romans, but they fell presently into civil discord again among themselves. The paschal feast, or the feast of unleavened bread, being now at hand; that is to say, the fourteenth of the month * Xanthicus, which is the day from whence the Jews date their deliverance out of Egypt; Eleazar caused the temple gate to be set open, for a free entrance to all people that had a mind to come to worship. John made use of this religious occasion and pretext, for a cover to a most execrable wickedness that he had in his heart. He pick'd out a select number of his own people that were the least known, and most of them licentious and prophane: and these he secretly intermingled with the worshippers; giving them daggers, and private arms under their coats, with instructions how to behave themselves. The temple was immediately all in a tumult both within and without; and this uproar was looked upon as a general design upon the whole multitude, by those that were not of the plot. But Eleazar and the Zelotes knew better; and that the malice of this exploit was principally levelled at them: and thereupon the guards drew off from the gates; others leapt down from the towers without striking a blow, and crept into the temple vaults to hide themselves. The common peo-

The paschal feast at hand.

An execrable design under the cover of religion.

* i. e. April.

ple that betook themselves to the altar, were miserably destroy'd; some of them squeez'd and trampled to death in the croud; others lay weltering in their blood up and down, or their brains beaten out with swords and cudgels. Where any man had a pique at another, it was but making him one of the contrary faction to cover his revenge; and a particular grudge was pretence enough to take away any man's life, or to call him a Zelote. But after all these barbarous inhumanities upon the innocent, the guilty found some sort of quarter yet, in a connivance of their escapes out of those vaults and holes, where they had absconded. The Zelotes, being now absolute masters of the inner-temple, pressed harder and harder still upon Simon; the faction being now reduced to two divisions, that were in three before.

The three factions reduced to two.

Titus moves from Scopos toward Jerusalem, and gives order for the filling up and levelling all the passes.

TITUS was at this time thinking to decamp from Scopos, and to advance nearer Jerusalem: so that in order to his removal, he posted a competent strength of his best troops to prevent and encounter inroads, and gave it in charge to another body of men, to see all the ways levelled betwixt that and Jerusalem. Upon this, the hedges, the walls, and the country people's fences about their gardens, were all taken away, and the trees cut down round about, fruit-trees and all, though never so choice; the hollows all filled up, the crags plain'd, and the whole tract of ground from Scopos to Herod's sepulchre, and the pool of serpents (otherwise called Bethara) all made smooth and even.

C H A P. V.

The Jews lay their heads together to put a cheat upon the Romans. Titus has no faith in the pretence. The Jews out-wit the Romans. Titus threatens his men with martial law; but upon the officers mediation, Titus grants them their pardon. The siege of Jerusalem.

The Jews design a cheat upon the Romans.

THE Jews had at this time a plot in their heads, how to put a trick upon the Romans. Some of the boldest of the party made a step out of the town, a little beyond the place they call the womens towers; upon a pretence, that they were forced out of the city, for fear of a party within it that was for peace; and that they durst not venture any farther, for fear of the Romans: but there they kept themselves as close, and as much out of sight as they could. There was at the same time another party upon the walls, bawling out as loud as they could, and in the name of the inhabitants, for a peace and an alliance with the Romans; imploring them at the same time to come over to them, and they would open them the gates. And for the better grace of this imposture, they counterfeited a squabble and a contest among themselves: some pretending to press out to the Romans; and others casting stones at them to hinder them and still persisting in appearance either by fair means or by foul to make their way. At this rate, after several feigned attempts and repulses, they returned back again like mad-men at the disappointment. The cheat went down well enough with the common soldiers, who look'd upon the town to

be as good as their own already, and press'd so eagerly to be in action, as if there had been nothing wanting, but the ceremony of opening the gates to put them in possession of it. But Titus had no faith at all in the pretext of this invitation; having made them an offer by Joseph, but the day before, of as much as they seem'd now to desire, and they rejected the proposal. So that Titus commanded his soldiers every man of them to stand to their arms, and to maintain their posts. But in the mean while, some of those that were employed upon the trenches, betook themselves to their weapons in a hurry, and ran toward the gates. The Jews, that pretended to be driven out of the town, let them pass by without any interruption, till they were got up within a little of some of the towers near the port; and then following them close upon the rear, they hemmed them in within reach of stones, darts, and all manner of shot of that quality from the walls; where great numbers of them were kill'd and wounded; being so pent up by those that pressed upon the backs of them, that there was no getting clear of the wall: beside that, betwixt shame and confusion on the one hand for their disobedience, and the fear of punishment for it on the other, they were hardened into a resolution of prosecuting what they had begun. But, in fine, after a long dispute, and with an equal loss on both sides, the Romans in the conclusion broke thorough the body of the Jews; who yet pursu'd them in their retreat with lances, and other such-like weapons, as far as the sepulchre of Helena: and not without insolent and contemptuous reproaches upon the Romans, for being out-witted, and made such fools of. This they did, waving their bucklers over their heads; leaping and dancing all the way they went, with shouts of joy and triumph.

Titus has no faith in the pretence.

The Jews out-wit the Romans.

WHEN the Romans were thus come off, their officers treated them with menaces and scorn; and Titus himself received them with a speech of resentment and indignation, to the following purpose: "How comes it, says he, that the Jews, that have nothing but their despair for their directors, should yet manage their affairs with so much consideration, stratagem and success?" The question is answer'd in one word: they live in obedience to their superiors, and in good will and union one with another: "Whereas the Romans, that have been hitherto so famous for their excellent order and discipline, and consequently for their good fortune, are now fallen off, and destroy'd by the headstrong intemperances of their own folly, in making war without officers; and, which is worst of all, Cesar himself to be a spectator of this. What a scandal will this be to the very rules and methods of arms! or what will my father say, do ye think, when he shall come to hear of it; a general, that in the whole course of a long and a military life, never met with any thing like it before? Now such is the severity of martial law, that it makes it capital for any man to depart from the strict rule of discipline, even in a small matter; but in this case, the whole army is a deserter. And be it known to you all, that, according to the strictness of the Roman conduct, victory itself is a scandal

Titus gives his men a severe reproof, and threatens to deliver them up to the law.

The soldiers
interpose on
their behalf,
and Cesar par-
dons them.

"dal when it is gain'd not under the direction
"and command of the general."

TITUS delivered these words with some
sort of indignation; which gave the officers
to understand, that the law was to be exe-
cuted: and upon this, the whole body of the
offenders gave themselves for lost; being sa-
tisfy'd in their consciences, that they had de-
serv'd the justice they fear'd. But, in this in-
terval, the legions did in a manner beset Ti-
tus, with petitions and intercessions on the
behalf of their unfortunate companions; im-
ploring his mercy toward the failings of a
few rash people, for the sake of a greater num-
ber that stood firm; and upon an assurance
that they would atone by their future ser-
vices for their past faults. Cesar found his
interest, as well as his inclination, in comply-
ing with this mediation; for tho' in the case of a
single person disobeying orders, it may be re-
quisite to use severity, the same reason does
not hold yet in a multitude. Titus, in fine,
forgave and forgot all that was past; upon
condition, that his people would be more du-
tiful and cautious for the time to come: and
from thence forward he set his thoughts at
work, how to revenge himself on the treache-
rous Jews.

The siege of
Jerusalem.

His first business was to lay all level be-
twixt himself and the town; which was the
work only of four days: after which, he or-
dered the best of his troops to advance to-
wards the ramparts, betwixt north and west:
the foot drawn up in seven battalions, and the
horse in three squadrons, with archers betwixt
them. This being a force sufficient to pre-
vent or repel all excursions, the baggage of
the three legions, and the train thereunto be-
longing, were all out of danger.

TITUS encamping at the distance of two
* furlongs from the city, over-against the
tower called Psephinos, upon that angle of
the wall, where it winds off from the north
to the westward; intrenching also another part
of his army toward the tower Hippicos, about
two furlongs likewise from the city; keeping
the tenth legion still where it was, upon mount
Olivet.

CH. A. P. VI.

*The description of Jerusalem. Three walls. The
old wall impregnable. Three famous towers.
A dismal conflagration. The magnificence and
situation of the temple. The womens oratory.
The holy sanctuary. The inner part of it,
with the partitions. The candlestick, table and
altar. The outside of the temple. The roof.
The altar before the temple. No unclean per-
son suffered to enter. The priests exemplary in
their conversation. The priests veil. The
Ephod. Fort Antonia.*

The descrip-
tion of Jeru-
salem.
Three walls.

THE city of Jerusalem was surrounded
with three walls, saving only upon the
quarter toward the inaccessible valleys, where
there was but one. It was erected upon two
hills; the one directly fronting the other, and

a deep valley betwixt them; all cover'd with
houses. The mountain that the upper town
stands upon, is much the higher and the
steeper of the two; and for the strength of the
situation, king David, the father of Solomon
that erected the temple, gave it the name for-
merly of the fortrefs or castle; and this is it
which we call at this day the upper market.

THE lower town is seated upon an hill that
bears the name of Acra, with a steep declivity
round about it. There was formerly another
hill also over-against this, somewhat lower
than the Acra, and divided from it by a large
valley: but in the time of the Asmoncans,
their princes filled up this bottom; and cut-
ting off from the hill Acra, they join'd the
town to the temple; by which means it over-
looked and commanded all the rest.

The lower
town.

THE name of the valley aforesaid, that se-
parates the upper town from the lower, is
Tyropeon; and it stretches as far as to the
fountain of Siloe: that affords an excellent
water to drink, and great plenty of it.

The valley of
Tyropeon,
and the foun-
tain of Siloe.

THERE are likewise without the town two
other towns seated upon hills, next to inac-
cessible, by the crags and precipices every
where round about them.

THE oldest of the three walls was extreme-
ly strong, by reason of the depth of the val-
ley below, and the over-hanging of the rock
from above, whereupon it was erected. And
beside the natural advantage of the situation,
it had all the helps that David and Solomon,
and several other princes, could contribute to
the further strengthening of it, by art, industry,
and expence. It began on that side, at the
tower Hippicos; and so to another tower call'd
the Galleries, running along by the town-
house, to the west porch of the temple. It
passed on the other side, reckoning from the
same place, by † Bethso, down to the Essene
gate, and so southward, by the fountain of
Siloe; where it strikes off to the eastward,
toward the pool of Solomon; and thence by
Ophlas, to the east porch of the temple.

The old wall
impregnable.

THE second wall begins at Genath, a gate
belonging to the former wall; and so runs
on, upon the north side of the city, to the
fort Antonia.

THE third wall began at the tower Hippi-
cos, and so ran northward to that of Psephi-
nos; over-against Helena's sepulchre, the
queen of Adiabena, and mother of king Izates;
keeping along by the royal caves, from the
tower at the corner, toward that which they
call the Fullers-monument; whence it came
up to the old wall in the vale of Cedron; and
this was the compass of it. This wall was
the work of Agrippa, for the security of that
part of the town that he had built, which was
otherwise naked and defenceless. The city
was by this time grown so populous, that the
place was too narrow for the inhabitants; so
that by little and little they crept out into a
kind of suburbs, and on the north side of the
temple next the hill, their buildings encreas'd
extremely.

THERE was a fourth mountain that fronted
Antonia, with ditches cut out, of a prodigi-
ous depth betwixt them; insomuch, that there

* Two furlongs amounted to a quarter of an English mile, and three geometrical paces.

† Bethso.

was no coming at the foundation of Antonia, to undermine it: beside that, the sinking of the trench added so much to the height of the tower. They gave the fourth mountain the name of Bezeth, or the New-town; being an enlargement only of the former. When this place came to be inhabited, the people earnestly desired to have it fortified: and Agrippa, the father of this king of the same name, modelled his design, and ran up this wall about it; as you have heard. But upon a suggestion of fancy, that Claudius Cesar might perhaps take some offence and jealousy at the pomp and ostentation of so magnificent a work, Agrippa went no farther than the laying of the foundations, and so dropp'd the project: but if he had gone on, Jerusalem could never have been taken.

THE stones of this wall were twenty * cubits in length, and ten over; and so hard and firm withal, that they were proof either against mining or battery. The wall was also ten cubits thick, and it would have been answerably high in proportion, if the fear of Claudius (as I told you) had not put a stop to Agrippa's design. The Jews, 'tis true, carry'd up the wall afterwards to twenty cubits, with battlements of two † cubits at the top, and parapets of three; which in all make ‡ five and twenty cubits. The wall was fortified with towers of twenty cubits square, every jot as substantial as the very wall; and not inferior, for strength and beauty, to the stones and workmanship of the temple itself. These towers were rais'd twenty cubits above the wall, with winding stair-cases leading up to them; lodgings and eating rooms on the top, and cisterns for rain-water. Upon the third wall there were ninety towers all of a make, and at the equal distance of two § hundred cubits one from another. The middle wall had only fourteen towers; the old wall, sixty; and thirty ** three furlongs was the compass of the whole city.

The third wall was all over a wonderful piece of workmanship from one end to the other; but yet not comparable to the tower call'd Psephinos: it stands upon the angle of the wall, north-west of the city, upon that quarter where Titus had encamp'd. The height of it was seventy †† cubits; and so advantageous a prospect, that in a clear day one might see Arabia from it, the sea, and the uttermost confines of the Hebrews. The figure of it was with eight angles. Just against this was the tower Hippicos, and there were near

at hand two other towers of Herod's erecting upon the old wall, which for size, curiosity, and strength, were looked upon as the most famous master-pieces in the world: for the king, over and above the natural greatness of his mind, gratify'd the impulse of his inclination also, in doing all he could for the good and glory of the city. He dedicated his three towers to the honour and memory of the three persons he had the greatest esteem for in the world; his brother, his friend, and his wife: the two former having signaliz'd themselves by dying gloriously in the field of battle; the other being put to death by himself, out of a spirit of jealousy.

THE tower of Hippicos (the name of one of his friends) had four angles, five and twenty cubits over, and thirty ‡ in height, and the whole body of it solid. Above this was a platform of stones accurately jointed; and a receptacle for rain water, of twenty cubits deep. Over this terras were yet two stories of five and twenty cubits each, and divided into several chambers or quarters; and over that building were battlements of two cubits high, and parapets of three cubits all around; amounting in the whole to the height of eighty § five cubits.

HEROD call'd the second tower Phasaël, by the name of his brother. It was forty * cubits square, and in height, after the manner of a pillar; all massive within from top to bottom. And above this was a porch of ten cubits high, supported with arches, and set out with other curiosities. Over the middle of this porch was another, with rich baths and apartments to it, suitable to the magnificence of the royal founder. On the top of it were battlements and fortifications; the whole height of the tower falling little short of ninety † cubits. It had at a distance some resemblance of the watch-tower of Pharos, the famous sea-mark to those that sail'd toward Alexandria; only much the larger of the two, and at this time the residence of Simon, that tyrannical oppressor.

HEROD gave the third tower the name of the queen Mariamne, his wife. It was twenty cubits square, length and breadth, and five ‡ and fifty cubits high. It must be allowed, that the structure, the rooms, and the furniture, of the two other towers, were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the curiosity, the beauty, and the ornament of this, as this fell short of the strength and dignity of the other two: the king rightly distinguishing be-

Three famous towers to the honour of his brother, his friend, and wife. Hippicos, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne.

* Twenty cubits amounted to full twelve, and ten cubits to full six English yards.

† Two cubits were something upwards of three English feet, and three of five English feet.

‡ Twenty five cubits amounted to something more than forty five English feet; that is fifteen yards.

§ Two hundred cubits amounted to three hundred sixty four English feet; that is to one hundred twenty one yards and a foot.

** Thirty three furlongs amounted to four English miles and half a quarter, and forty nine geometrical paces and an half.

†† Seventy cubits amounted to something upwards of one hundred and twenty seven English feet; that is to forty two yards and a foot.

‡‡ Thirty cubits amounted to something upwards of fifty four English feet; that is to eighteen yards.

§§ Eighty five cubits amounted to something more than one hundred fifty four English feet; that is to seventy one yards and a foot.

* Forty cubits amounted to something more than seventy two English feet; that is to twenty four yards.

† Ninety cubits amounted to something more than one hundred sixty four English feet; that is to fifty four yards and two feet.

‡ Five and fifty cubits amounted to something more than one hundred English feet; that is thirty three yards and one foot.

twixt the masculine virtues of the two heroes, Hippios and Phasael, and the soft tenderness of a fair lady in the person of Mariamne.

Now as to these three towers, the height was prodigious; and yet the place they were rais'd upon, made it seem much more than it was. For the old wall they stood upon, was itself erected upon a very high piece of ground: and these turrets again were advanc'd upon the top of a mountain, that was yet thirty cubits higher than the antient wall. Neither were they less admirable for the materials they were made of, than for the structure. The stones were neither common, nor of a weight to be removed with hands; but of white marble cut out into planks of twenty cubits long, ten in breadth, and five cubits deep; and so artificially put together, that there was no joints to be seen; but every distinct tower look'd like one entire piece.

The palace royal.

THIS was on the north-side of the city, and just within it there stood a royal palace, so rich and curious, that it is not for the tongue of man to express it: beside that, it was all enclosed with a wall of thirty cubits in height, and turrets of the best work and masters, planted at equal distances one from another round about it; with splendid lodgings and treating-rooms to receive an hundred persons. There was an incredible collection of the choicest marbles for variety and beauty, that could be gotten for money. The beams and timbers that supported the roofs were for length and thickness beyond imagination; and so were the ornamental additions toward the finishing of the work. There were a world of chambers with commodious passages, and contrivances innumerable; for sight as well as for convenience; the whole being magnificently set out and furnish'd, with all the advantages of gold and silver, and whatever else was precious. There were also porches and galleries in abundance, leading in a kind of circle from one to another, and in each of them a row of pillars. Now for the distances betwixt those pillars that lay to the open air, nothing could be more agreeable than the prospect of so many groves and nurseries of so many several plants; long and pleasant walks, beset with cisterns, fountains pipes, and brazen figures to spout out water, with volaries of tame pigeons gathering about it for refreshment. But it is impossible for any man to do this palace right in the description of it; beside that my heart bleeds at the very thought of the story, to consider what a devastation hath been made here by an impious crew of incendiaries and traitors. For this conflagration was not the work of the Romans, but of a band of wicked miscreants, as we have already observ'd upon the beginning of this sedition, who burnt all from the fort Antonia; and then carrying it on to the palace, set fire to the roofs of the three towers.

A dismal conflagration.

THE temple was built, as I said, upon a very hard rock, which was so steep on all hands, that at first there was scarce ground sufficient on the top of it for the temple, and the enclosure that was to be about it. But when king Solomon erected this fabrick, he

order'd the running up of a wall to the eastward of it, to keep up the earth: and having so far secur'd it, he built a porch upon the rampart. There was not as yet any other fortification; but the people carrying up earth from time to time afterwards to supply the defect, the hill came by degrees to be enlarged. They brake down some time after this the north wall, and took in as much ground there too, as served in time to come for the foundation of the whole temple.

THE design succeeding so much beyond expectation, they encompass'd the hill with three walls; but with a prodigious expence of time and treasure: for it was not only a work of many ages; but the whole mass of religious oblations from all parts of the world, to the honour and service of God and his worship, was spent upon this undertaking, reckoning the charge as well of the upper as of the lower temple; which latter was erected upon a foundation of at least three * hundred cubits deep, and in some places more; but the depth did not appear, in regard that the valley was now fill'd up to the very level of the streets in the city. The stones provided for this mighty undertaking, were of forty cubits in length; which gave them to understand, that there was nothing impossible where there was money and good-will; and that constancy, time, and patience, could work miracles.

The situation, magnificence, and structure of the temple.

As the foundations were wonderful, so the dignity of the superstructure was not inferior to that of the ground work. The galleries above were all double, upheld by pillars of white marble all of a piece, and five and twenty cubits in height, and wainscotted with cedar; which, for the curiosity of the work, and the smoothness of the grain, was a delightful entertainment to the spectator, without need of any additional ornaments either of painting or carving. They were all thirty cubits over, and six † furlongs the whole compass of them, including the tower Antonia. In the open air, where there was no covering over head, the ground was pav'd and checker'd with all sorts of stones: but the way to the second temple was lin'd on each hand with stone balusters, delicately wrought and polished, of three cubits high. In this passage there were also several pillars orderly dispos'd, with inscriptions and precepts upon them in Latin and Greek, upon the subject of continence and chastity, and forbidding strangers to enter into that holy place. For the second temple was call'd holy, and it was fourteen steps above the first. The figure of it was four-square, with a wall of its own; which, though forty cubits without, was yet but five and twenty cubits within, the place being cover'd with the steps that led to mount it. Now this wall being built upon an advance ground, with stairs to it, part of the inside was so blinded with the mountain that it could not be discerned.

At the top of these fourteen steps, there was a plain level of three hundred cubits up to the wall; and from thence, five steps more to the gates of the temple. There were also

* Three hundred cubits amounted to something upwards of five hundred and forty six English feet, that is one hundred and eighty yards and two feet.

† Six furlongs amounted to three quarters of an English mile, and nine geometrical paces, as hath been before observed.

The womens oratory.

four from the north, as many from the south, and two from the east.

THE women had an oratory, or a worshiping place by themselves, with a partition wall to it, and two gates; one to the south, the other to the north; which were the two only passages of entrance to the women: neither were they permitted to pass their own; for that place was free indifferently to women inhabitants, as well as strangers that came thither upon devotion. The west side of it was a dead wall, without any door at all. Betwixt the aforesaid gates, and over-against the wall within near the treasury, there were galleries with stately pillars to support them, plain and simple, and not much inferior to those below.

SOME of these gates were plated all over with gold and silver; posts, front and all; but there was one, without the temple, of Corinthian brass; which is much the most curious metal of the three. There were double doors to every gate, each thirty cubits high, and * fifteen broad. They were wider within, and withdrawing-rooms on each hand, of thirty cubits square, after the manner of turrets; and upward of twenty cubits high; and each of them borne up with pillars of twelve † cubits in thickness, the other gates being of the same dimensions in proportion. As to the Corinthian portal on the east-side of the temple where the women came in, it was undoubtedly the largest, and the most magnificent of them all; for it was fifty ‡ cubits high, the gates forty; and the gold and silver plates upon it more substantial than those that Alexander, the father of Tiberias, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen steps from the wall that parted the men and the women to the great gate; which was five short of those that led to the other gates.

The holy sanctuary.

THE temple itself; that is to say, the holy temple or sanctuary, was placed in the middle, with twelve stairs up to it. The height of it was an hundred § cubits, and the breadth as many in the front; but backward it wanted forty of the number. For upon the entrance, there were two additions raised (like two shoulders) of twenty cubits each. The height of the first gate was seventy cubits, and five and twenty over; but it had no doors to it, being a figure of heaven, open and visible to the whole world. The front and outsides of it were all over gilded; and nothing to be seen in the inside of the temple neither, which had not likewise a dazzling lustre.

The inner part of it, with the partitions.

THE inner part of it was divided into two partitions. The first of them in sight was open to the top, which was ninety ** cubits in height, forty in length, and twenty over. The inside of the gate was, as I said, plated all over with gold, and the wall gilded every where about it. There were also leaves and branches of vines over head, and clusters of

grapes equal to the bigness of a man, that hung dangling down all of gold too. The other partition of the temple being ciell'd above, appear'd the lower of the two. The doors to it were of gold, five and fifty cubits in height, and sixteen †† broad, with a piece of Babylonian tapestry hanging before them, of the same dimensions, and interwoven with blue, purple, and scarlet, most artificially put together, and wrought to admiration. And the mixture was not a bare curiosity neither, but a mystical allusion to the four elements, either by the colours, or by the matter they were made of; the scarlet representing the fire, the silk the earth that produc'd it, the azure, the air, and the purple, the sea from whence it comes. So that this veil or hanging was an emblem of the universe, only excepting the celestial signs.

THIS entrance leads you into the lower part of the temple; the height and length of it sixty ‡‡ cubits, and the breadth twenty. This length of sixty cubits was then subdivided into two unequal parts, one of forty cubits, and the other of twenty. The former part of forty cubits, had in it the three wonderful rarities that had been celebrated over the whole world, the candlestick, the table, and the altar of incense. The candlestick had seven branches, (all out of the same stem) with seven lights, representing the seven planets. The twelve loaves of shew-bread upon the table pointed at the twelve signs in the Zodiac, and the course of the year. By the thirteen sorts of perfumes in the censer upon the altar of incense (divers of these odours being extracted out of the deep of the inhospitable sea) we are given to understand that God is master of the universe, and that all things are made for his honour and service.

The candlestick, the table, and the altar, three pieces of art.

THE inner part of the temple, being only twenty cubits in height, was divided by a veil also from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any man permitted to enter in, or so much as look into it; and it was called the sanctuary, or the Holy of Holies. Upon the sides of this lower temple there were several lodgings, leading from one to another, with three stories over head, and passages into them out of the great portal. Now the upper part being narrower than the other, could not have the convenience of the same order of chambers; but it was forty cubits higher, though the less splendid of the two. The height, in fine, upon the whole, was an hundred cubits, and the plan only sixty.

THE beauty and curiosity of the temple, on the outside, was agreeable and charming beyond imagination; being fac'd every where with substantial golden plates, that sparkled like the morning sun; and every jot as dazzling to the eye to gaze upon them. Where there was no gilding, the structure was all so delicately white, that it look'd at a distance

The outside of the temple.

* Fifteen cubits amounted to something more than twenty seven English feet, that is nine yards.

† Twelve cubits amounted to something more than one and twenty English feet, that is seven yards.

‡ Fifty cubits amounted to something more than ninety one English feet, that is thirty yards and a foot.

§ An hundred cubits amounted to something more than one hundred and eighty two English feet, that is three score yards and two feet.

** Ninety cubits amounted to something upwards of one hundred and six four English feet, that is fifty four yards and two feet.

†† Sixteen cubits amounted to something more than twenty nine English feet, that is ten yards lacking a foot.

‡‡ Sixty cubits amounted to something upwards of one hundred and nine English feet, that is thirty six yards and a foot.

to travellers like a marble mountain, or a pillar of snow.

The roof.

THE roof of the temple was cover'd and arm'd all over with pointed spikes of gold, to keep off the birds from nestling upon it and fouling it. There were a great many stones in this building, of forty * five cubits long, † five in height, and six ‡ cubits broad.

The altar before the temple.

THE altar before the temple was †† fifteen cubits high, and square; and four angles to it like horns. The ascent to this altar was on the south-side, and very difficult by reason of the declivity of the passage. There came no hammer upon it, nor any iron-tool in the working of it.

No unclean persons admitted into it.

THERE was a partition rais'd of stone work, curiously wrought, and of one cubit in height, enclosing the temple and the altar, and separating the people from the priests.

No people troubled with the Gonorrhea, and no lepers were suffer'd, either in the temple, or in the city. No women were allow'd to come near the temple in the time of their courses; and even when they were over, not to pass further than as we have said above. Neither were men permitted to enter the inner temple without being first purify'd, and even then also, they were not to mingle with the priests.

THOSE of the § sacerdotal race, that were hinder'd by any defect from the exercise of their function, took their places yet with those that had none, and had their allowances in common with the rest; only under the distinction of a lay habit: for no man is allow'd to wear the vestments of a priest, but he that actually executes the office.

The priests exemplary in life and conversation.

THE priests that served in the temple and at the altar, were to be persons exemplary in their lives and conversations, and without either scandal or blemish: Their clothing fine linen; temperate and abstemious in their eating and drinking, for the reverence of the holy function. The high-priest went up with the other priests to the altar every seventh day, and upon the first day of every month, and upon all publick anniversary festivals; where he officiated in a veil girt about him, and hanging down over part of his thighs; with a linen veil under it that reach'd down to the ground: and over both these, he wore a large violet colour'd garment, fring'd at the bottom; and golden bells and pomegranates interchangeably fasten'd to it: the bells representing the thunder, and the pomegranates the lightning.

The priests veil.

And the mystery of it.

His pectoral was ty'd about him with party colour'd ribbons; as gold colour, purple, scarlet, linen and violet: which were the colours also, as I have said already, of the veils of the temple.

The Ephod.

THE mixture of the Ephod was the same too, only more of gold in it; and in the shape of it, not much unlike that of a breast piece. It was bound together with two golden buckles in the figure of asps, and set with sardonyx stones, the largest and the richest that were to be got, with the names of the

twelve tribes of Israel inscrib'd upon them. There were also four rows of precious stones, hanging down in the order of three and three in a row: that is to say, a sardonyx, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, jasper, sapphire, agat, amethyst, a lynx stone, onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; with the same names upon them respectively as before.

HE had upon his head a silken tiara, with a crown over it of violet colour; and another crown over that of gold, with the sacred vowels engraven upon it.

THE high-priest's ** every day's habit was not so rich and magnificent; but this was only made use of for the solemnity of once a year; and that for him alone too, and when he enter'd into the holy of holies; which day was strictly observ'd as a religious fast. But I shall have occasion hereafter, and elsewhere, to be more particular upon the subject of the city, the temple, and our laws and customs, as there shall be occasion for it.

The fort of Antonia.

THE fortress of Antonia was built in an angle, betwixt the two galleries of the first temple, looking west and north. It was rais'd upon a rock of fifty cubits in height; inaccessible on all hands; and, in fine, Herod's master-piece, both for magnificence and contrivance. The rock was faced and cruited with thin scales of marble from the bottom to the top, both for ornament and for security-sake; for it was so slippery, that there was no going up or down. This tower was enclos'd with a wall only of three cubits high; and within that compass stood the castle of Antonia of forty cubits; with the state, splendour, and conveniences of a court, lodgings, and offices for all purposes; spacious halls, and places of parade for the use and service of a camp. So that for matter of necessities, it was rather a city than a fort; and for the magnificence, it look'd like a palace. It was, upon the whole, the resemblance of a tower, and encompassed with four other towers at equal distances one from another, and one from every corner: three of them of fifty cubits in height; and the fourth, that look'd to the south and eastward, of seventy cubits; and from thence they had the view of the whole temple. From the place where the galleries join'd, there were upon the right and left two pair of stairs; which serv'd for a passage to the soldiers into the temple: for when the Romans were masters of Jerusalem, there were guards posted still upon that quarter, to prevent seditions upon their publick festivals and meetings. The temple commanded the city, as Antonia commanded the temple. This place had a guard upon it, and Herod's palace was as good as a fort to the upper town. The mountain Bezeth (the top mountain of them all) was cut off, as I said before, from Antonia, and join'd to part of the new town: beside that it was the only blind upon the north side of the temple. This is all I have to say at present of the city and the walls; being to speak further of them hereafter.

* Forty five cubits amounted to eighty two English feet, that is twenty seven yards and a foot.

† Five cubits amounted to something more than nine English feet, that is three yards.

‡ Six cubits amounted to something above ten English feet, that is three yards and a foot.

†† See this, and the other measures not here explained, reduced to English measure in the preceeding Chapters.

§ See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. p. 102. l. 3. c. 11. Ed. Amstel.

** Cuneus confutes this opinion of Josephus, in his Rep. Hebr. l. 2. c. 1. See Bonfrerius upon Leviticus, who gives another reading of the text.

C H A P. VII.

Simon fifteen thousand strong. John in possession of the temple. Simon master of the upper town, and Monobazus of the hill Acra. The Romans at the gates, and the factions in the town as violent as ever. Titus views the place where to give the assault. Nicanor basely wounded, and Titus meditates a revenge. A siege resolv'd upon, and the manner of it. Titus orders three attacks. The factions fall heavy upon the Roman engineers. Titus supports the machines. The Romans worsted by surprise: but a party of Alexandrians recover the honour of the day. Titus finishes the work. John the Idumean slain by an Arabian.

Simon fifteen thousand strong.

SIMON had a body of ten thousand men, beside Idumeans; which were five thousand more; fifteen thousand in all: ten thousand of them under fifty captains, and Simon himself the commander in chief: the other five thousand under twenty officers; and these were the most daring mutinous part of the whole faction. The principals among them were James the son of Sofas, and Simon the son of Cathlas.

John with six thousand men possess'd of the temple.

JOHN was now in possession of the temple, with six thousand men, under the command of twenty captains; and there came in to him (all quarrels apart) four and twenty hundred of the Zelotes; who lifted themselves under Eleazar, whom they had formerly serv'd, and Simon the * son of Jair.

Simon master of the upper town,

IN this opposition of the two parties the people were a common booty, and the least seditious were a prey to them both. Simon was now master of the upper town, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and so likewise of the old wall that runs out to Siloe; and the bending to the eastward goes on to the palace of Monobazus. This Monobazus was the king of the Adiabeniens, a people beyond Euphrates. He was possess'd also of the hill Acra, the seat of the lower town, as far as the royal residence of Helena the mother of Monobazus.

and Monobazus of the hill Acra.

JOHN all this while had the command of the temple, and some places about it; but for Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, and what lay betwixt him and Simon, it was all consum'd to ashes, and of no other use or service than for a field of battle. The Romans were at this time drawn up before the very gates; and yet the sedition within the walls continued as fierce and furious as ever. The enemy's pressing upon them brought them now and then, by fits, to their senses again: but upon the least intermission, they presently relaps'd, and broke out into factions and divisions among themselves; contending afresh again upon the foot of their former pretensions. Now this was the greatest service to the Romans they could have possibly done them; for they treated one another worse than they were treated by the common enemy: having this comfort yet in their misery, that they had no new calamity to fear. They were put to harder extremities, 'tis true, before the city was totally destroy'd; but the Romans did yet a greater thing than the taking of the place: for whereas the sedition did but destroy the city, they destroy'd the very

The Romans at the very gates, and the sedition in the town as hot yet as ever.

sedition; which was a far greater work than the bare demolishing of the walls. So that, in short, the Jews themselves brought this ruin upon their own heads, and the Romans were only the executioners of divine justice upon them for their impieties; as will better appear in what follows.

WHILE matters were at this pass in the city, Titus with a party of choice horse took the whole tour of the walls, to consider upon what quarter it lay most expos'd to an attack. There was no coming at it he saw, for either horse or foot, by the way of the vallies; and on the other side, the first wall was so firm, that it was proof against their battering engines. He bethought himself a while, and after a little pause pitch'd upon that part of the line toward the sepulchre of John the high-priest, as the place that lay the most exposed to an assault; both as the first wall was lower there, and likewise cut off from the second wall; the fortifying of that place being neglected, in regard that the new city was not as yet peopled enough to attend it: beside (he conceived) that they might pass from thence to the third wall, and so to the upper town; and, with the help of Antonia, take the very temple itself.

Titus takes a view of the place where to give the assault.

WHILE Titus was a considering and weighing these things within himself, a particular friend of his, Nicanor by name, was wounded in the left shoulder by an arrow from the wall, as he was labouring with Joseph (being an excellent speaker) to bring the Jews over to desire a peace. Titus was so transported at the ungrateful behaviour of these people toward their best friends and advisers, that he immediately took up a resolution of besieging the town in form, and taking it by force. Upon this, he gave the soldiers the pillage of the suburbs; ordering them to make use of the rubbish and ruins for works and platforms. He divided his army into three bodies, assigning to all his troops their work and stations. He disposed of his archers and slingers upon the mounts, in the middle of the body; with engines to cast stones and other shot before them; which serv'd them to two purposes, either to repel the enemy's sallies, or to hold them in play upon the walls. The trees were all cut down, and the suburbs laid naked in an instant; and the timber employ'd upon fortifications. All hands, in fine, were at work on the Roman side; and the Jews were not idle neither.

Titus's friend Nicanor, at the same time, basely wounded for advising a peace. Titus in revenge resolves upon a siege in form, and to carry it by force.

THE people that had been formerly exposed to robberies and murders, finding the faction so wholly taken up in their own defence, began to flatter themselves with some prospect of ease, in the very hope that the Romans themselves, if they got the better of it, would effectually revenge their quarrel, by putting it into their power to do themselves justice. John's people made a very vigorous opposition to the besiegers; but he himself durst not stir out of the temple for fear of Simon. Now Simon, being posted next the enemy, was never cut of action. He planted all along the wall the shot and engines that he had formerly taken from Cestius, and out of the fort of Antonia. But his people made little advantage of it, for want of understanding the right

John's people do their parts; but he himself dares not appear. A combat, and the manner of it.

* Lat. Arini fil.

use and management of them; only some little skill they had got from here and there a deserter among them. But yet the Jews made use of them however, to gall the enemy from the ramparts; with stones and arrows: sallying out also in small parties, and coming to handy blows with the Romans: who on the other side cover'd their workmen with hurdles and * Gabions. The Roman legions had every one of them wonderful machines, to disappoint the insults of an enemy: the tenth especially; not only for the casting of larger stones, but for throwing them farther. Every stone was of a talent † weight; and did execution not only at hand, but to the top of the walls or ramparts; though it were at a full ‡ furlong distance: and where it fell, it carry'd a whole file before it. The Jews were several ways advertised of these stones: first, as they were white, and easily discern'd in their passage; secondly, by the noise they made in the air; and thirdly, by the notice that was given from those that were set to watch them: for there were people plac'd up and down upon the towers, to observe the playing of these engines; and still as any of them were discharged, the watch man cry'd out in his mother tongue, (THE STONE COMES) which gave every man time to look to himself, and get out of harm's way, so that the stone often fell without doing any manner of execution. The Romans after this, discoloured the stones, that they might not be discover'd in their course; and by the help of that invention, killed several Jews sometimes at one blow. But this was not enough yet to divert the Jews from opposing the progress of the Romans in their fortifications; for they persisted night and day in doing all that was possible to be done, by policy and courage, to obstruct their proceeding.

Titus advances with his rams, and orders three attacks.

The factions propose joining in one common defence:

So soon as the Romans had completed their works, they cast down a line and plummet, to take measure of the distance betwixt the mount and the wall: which could not be done otherwise; for there was no abiding near it for the shot and darts that were shower'd down from above. When they found the place just fit for the rams, Titus order'd them to be brought up, and the other machines to be advanced nearer the wall, that they might have more liberty to play: and hereupon, they set three batteries at work at a time upon three several parts of the wall. The terrible noise and knocking of these engines was heard all over the city; with the cries of citizens upon the terror of it, and the faction itself trembling under the apprehension. The divided members of this sedition, finding themselves now to be all under one common danger, bethought themselves of joining in one common defence: crying out one to another, that at this rate they were only doing the enemies work; and if they could not agree to make a firm and lasting union among themselves it, would behove them however at present to join unanimously in a confederacy against the Romans. Simon, upon this, sent away a herald to those that had shut themselves up in the temple; with commission to tell them, that so

many of them as had a mind to quit the temple, and advance to the wall, had free liberty to do it. John did not much confide in the good faith of the message; but left his people to their own freedom.

THE factions united immediately upon this overture; and, forgetting former animosities, They match immediately up to the walls in a full body. So soon as they had posted themselves for their purpose, they fell to work with their fires and torches upon the Roman engines: pressing furiously also upon those that had the ordering of them, and plying them with darts and other weapons of offence without intermission. In this heat of rage and resolution, the Jews leap'd down desperately from the walls in troops, upon the very engines, tore off their covers, and broke in upon the guards that were set to defend them, doing some execution by skill, but more by an outrageous boldness.

They match immediately up to the walls in a full body, and fall desperately upon the Roman engines

BUT Titus, who never fail'd his friends in a time of need, clapt a party of horse and archers upon the guard of the machines, to keep off the fire, and holding the Jews in play upon the walls, to leave the engineers at liberty to do execution. But all this battery made little or no impression yet: only the ram of the fifth legion shook the corner of a tower, but without any damage to the wall itself; for the tower being much higher than the wall, it tumbled down without drawing any part of the wall after it.

Titus supports the machines.

THE Jews having for some short time intermitted their sallies, the Romans took it to be either out of fear or weariness; and so went their way carelessly up and down the works and camp as in a state of security. But the Jews taking notice of this from the town, and how the Romans were scatter'd and out of order; they made a furious excursion upon them out of a sally-port from the tower Hippicos; set fire to their works, and, in the heat of this success, push'd the besiegers back to their very camp. The alarm pass'd immediately through the whole army, and the Romans far and near drew presently together to the relief of their companions: but the daring hardness of the Jews was not yet able to support itself against the discipline of the Romans. They over-ran at first all that they met withal; attacking those that they found in a body: but the heat of the conflict was about the engines; how to burn them on the one side, and to save them on the other. The air was torn with uncertain outcries from both parts: and this encounter upon the shock, cost many a brave man his life. But the Jews were much the bolder and the more adventurous of the two. The fire had by this time laid hold of the machines; and they had certainly been destroy'd with all that belong'd to them, if they had not been supported by a choice party of Alexandrian troops; who behav'd themselves that day to a miracle, and had a great share in the honour of the action.

The Romans worsted by a surprise. And beaten to their camp.

A party of Alexandrians puts a stop to the pursuit, and recovers the honour of the day.

Titus finishes the work, and forces the Jews into the city.

THESE troops gave the Jews a stand; till the general himself, with a brave body of horse, broke in upon them. He cut down twelve men with his own hand, and drove the rest

* Gabions were baskets about four foot diameter, and five or six foot high, which being filled with earth, were placed about the batteries, &c.

† An Hebrew talent weighed an hundred and fourteen pounds and fifteen penny weight troy.

‡ A furlong was one hundred and twenty five geometrical paces, that is half a quarter of a mile.

before him into the city. This exploit was the saving of the engines.

THERE was a Jew taken alive upon this encounter; whom Titus ordered to be crucify'd in sight of the walls, to try how far such an exemplary terror might work upon them. But for all this, after his departure, one John, an Idumean officer, as he was talking with a soldier of his acquaintance before the walls, was shot with an arrow quite thorough the heart by an Arabian, to the great grief of all that knew him, Jews and Zelotes; having the reputation of a worthy man to all purposes, both for wisdom and valour.

John the Idumean, a famous officer, slain by an Arabian.

C H A P. VIII.

A tumult occasion'd by the fall of a tower in the night. The Jews fear nothing else. The ram made the first breach. The Jews quit the first wall, and betake themselves to the second. They make several bold sallies. The discipline of the Romans is too hard for the hot-headed rashness of the Jews. The Jews are proof against all hardships. Simon's men had a strange veneration for their master. A glorious action of Longinus.

A terrible tumult in the Roman camp, occasion'd by the fall of a tower.

THE next night there happen'd a most dreadful tumult in the Roman camp. Titus had order'd the raising of three towers, of fifty cubits in height, to be erected upon three several ramparts; so as to have the command of the town wall. In the dead of the night one of these towers fell of itself down to the ground; with so dreadful a clatter, that the surprize frighten'd and alarm'd the whole army. The Romans could not tell what to make of it; but ran presently to their arms, and put all the legions into a confusion, and uproar. Some fancy'd the Jews were attempting something against them: some, in fine, surmising one thing, some another; till they came in the end (no enemy appearing) to have a jealousy one of another, and every man to demand the WORD of his next neighbour, with the same formality and strictness as if the Jews had been in possession of the camp. They lay under the consternation of this panick terror, till Titus had learnt out the whole matter, and made the truth of it publick by proclamation over the whole camp. This, with much ado, put an end to that confusion.

The Jews stand firm against all difficulties but the towers.

THE Jews all this while cheerfully sustained all other difficulties, but that of the towers; which was in truth not to be disputed or avoided. From those turrets they were gall'd with all sorts of machines, by archers, flingers, &c. and no remedy. For first it was impossible for them to carry up their platforms to the height of these towers; and then they were too strong and too heavy to be over-turn'd: and there was no burning of them neither; for they were all plated over with iron. So that all the Jews had to do, was to get out of the reach of the Roman darts, arrows, and stones, without making any opposition to the force of the rams; which, by little and little, and the shock of

repeated strokes, in the conclusion did the work. The Romans had one terrible machine, which the Jews called Nikon, or the Conqueror; and it was this ram that made the first breach. The besieged were by this time so spent with watching and fighting (having been upon duty all night) that betwixt levity and ill advice, they came to an agreement among themselves to quit the first wall; having two other yet to trust to. Upon this, they retir'd, and the Romans mounted the breach that Nikon had made: and after that opened the gates to the whole army; the Jews being all withdrawn to the second wall. It was now the seventh * of the month Artemisius, when the Romans made themselves masters of the first wall: the greater part of it they destroy'd; and so likewise the north quarter of the town, which Cestius had ravaged before.

The ram, or that which they call the Nikon, made the first breach.

The Jews quit the first wall, and withdraw to the second.

TITUS being now remov'd to a place they call'd the Assyrians camp, possessed himself of all betwixt that and the valley of Cedron; somewhat more than a bow-shot from the second wall: resolving from thence to begin his attack; which he went in hand with immediately. The Jews posted themselves orderly upon the wall, and made a gallant resistance. John and his companions commanded in the fortress Antonia, and the north-side of the temple from the sepulchre of Alexander. Simon and his party maintain'd the passage from the monument of John the high-priest, to the gate by which water is convey'd to the tower of Hippicos. The Jews made several desperate sallies, and came many times to a close fight with the Romans, hand to hand; but the Roman discipline was too hard for the unskilful temerity of the Jews, and beat them back with loss: only upon the walls they had the better of them. The Romans had both fortune and conduct on their side; but the Jews supported themselves by a boldness resulting from despair, and by a natural hardness against either fatigue or danger. And it is farther to be consider'd, that the Jews fought for life and safety, the Romans for speedy victory: and they were neither of them to be tired out; for approaches, assaults, sallies, forlorns, and combats of all sorts, were their daily exercises. They began at the dawn of day, and so continued till night parted them: when both sides were kept waking; the one for fear of their walls, the other for fear of their camp; all night in arms, and the next morning by day-light ready for a battle. The Jews valu'd themselves so much upon the contempt of death, and hazards, that they made an emulation of it who should dare most, as the only way to ingratiate themselves with their superiors. Such was the fear and reverence they had for Simon, that all and every man that he had about him, would have dy'd at his feet, if he had but said the word; nay, and have been their own executioners too. Now for the Romans, they were so wonted to victory that they did not know what it was to be overcome. So that they needed no other encouragement to do bravely, than experience and success: beside, that war was familiar and habitual to them, by

They make several bold sallies.

The Roman discipline too hard for the brutal temerity of the Jews.

The Jews are proof against all manner of fatigues or dangers.

A strange veneration that Simon's men had for their master.

* i. e. The fifth of May.

the continual exercise of arms in the service of a glorious empire; which with the presence and assistance of a martial prince, over all the rest, could not but inspire them with a more than ordinary courage. What could be more infamous than cowardice, with a martial emperor for a witness of it? or what more charming on the other side, than the honour and reward that naturally follows great actions, in the bounty and esteem of Cesar? This ardour and ambition of men's signalizing themselves, transported several heroical spirits, 'tis true, into the attempt of things extravagant, and beyond their force.

THERE was at this time a strong body of the Jews drawn up before the walls, and they were come already within distance of exchanging blows and lances with the Romans. In this instant of time, one of the Roman horsemen (Longinus by name) spurr'd into the middle of the enemy's army; where he killed two of the best men they had: one of them, as he was coming to engage him, he struck thro' the jaws with his lance, and he ran the other thorough the body afterward with the same weapon; coming off to his party at last without a wound. He made himself famous by this action, and provoked others to a generous emulation of following his example. The Jews all this while were so intent upon doing mischief, that they never heeded what they suffer'd; and reckon'd upon death as nothing, if they had but one life in exchange for another. But Titus had an eye upon the saving of his men, as well as the gaining of a victory, and look'd upon the heats of an inconsiderate rashness, but as another sort of desperation: neither would he allow any exploit for true valour, that was not govern'd by caution and prudence, and with the least danger to his men, and the most to his enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Castor, a bold, a crafty, and a treacherous Jew. He desires a treaty, and Titus embraces the motion. The whole story a cheat from first to last. Castor makes an escape from the very flames. Mistaken mercy is cruelty.

THE ram being now pointed against the middle of the tower on the north-side of the city, Titus pour'd in such showers of arrows upon the defendants, that they all quitted their posts: only one sly crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, and ten of his people with him, lay skulking behind the battlements. But when they had lain still a-while, they felt a shock that made the tower stagger under them. Upon this, they got up; and Castor, in the language, posture, and tone of a suppliant, address'd himself to Titus for quarter, and begg'd to be spar'd. Titus was so good-natur'd as to fancy the Jews had now enough of the war, and so put a stop both to the battery and the archers; telling Castor at the same time, that if he had any thing to say, he was ready to hear him. Castor made answer, that there was nothing he desir'd so

much as a treaty. With all my heart, says Titus; and if all your companions be of the same mind, I am ready to grant you your pardon. Upon this offer, five of the ten pretended to join with Castor; the other five cry'd out, that so long as they might die free, they would never live slaves. During this dispute, there was nothing farther of hostility. But Castor in the mean time sends privately to Simon, to make the best of his time, and to consider what was to be done, and leave it to him to illude the Roman general a-while, under the pretext of advising his companions to a peace. Castor acted his part so to the life, that there were swords drawn upon it, blows given, and men seemingly kill'd: but the whole story was a cheat.

TITUS, and those about him, were all amazed at the inflexible obstinacy and boldness of the Jews; and not without a compassion for their misery: but being upon the lower ground, they could not see so distinctly what was done above. While this pass'd, Castor was wounded with an arrow near his nostrils; who presently drawing it out, held it up to Titus, as an appeal to him for justice. This prince repented the injury to such a degree, that he bad Joseph (standing next to him) go to Castor from him, and give him all assurances in his name of amity and fair quarter. Joseph begg'd his excuse, and not only declin'd going himself, but dissuaded his friends also that would have gone; telling them, that this pretended submission was nothing but treachery. But one Eneas, however, a deserter to the Romans, would needs be venturing for all this; especially upon Castor's invitation; who bad him bring somewhat along with him to put a sum of money in, that he intended to present him. Eneas was forward enough to go upon these terms; and had no sooner put himself in a posture to receive the present, but Castor dropp'd a great stone down from the wall, which Eneas had much ado to avoid; but it wounded the man that stood next him. This treachery gave Titus to understand the danger of unseasonable good nature; and that a steady rigour is the best defence against fair words and plausible pretensions. So that to revenge himself upon Castor and his companions, for the affront they had put upon him, he betook himself to his batteries again with greater violence than before. When Castor and his people found the tower tottering, and just ready to sink under them, they put fire to it; and so made their escapes into a vault thorough the very flames. This exploit gave them a mighty reputation among the Romans, for men of resolution and courage; upon an opinion, that in this action they were no other than *devotees.

TITUS made himself master of this part of the wall within five days after the taking of the first: and now finding the way open to the second wall, he drove out the Jews before him, and with a thousand choice men entered the town, among the clothiers, braisers, salesmen, and all the cross narrow passages up to the wall. Now if Titus had immediately broken down the greater part of this wall, as by the laws of war he might

Titus accepts of the motion.

Five of the ten divide; one half seemingly for it, and the other against it.

The whole story a cheat from first to last.

A glorious action of Longinus.

Castor and ten more with him lay close behind the battlements.

A bold, a crafty, and a treacherous Jew.

Castor desires a treaty.

Castor makes his escape thorough the very flames.

* A devotee, in this sense, is one who voluntarily offers himself up to death for the good of his country.

have done ; the victory would have cost him little or nothing : but considering the miserable necessities of the Jews on the one hand, if they stood it out, and the security of their retreat on the other hand, if they had a mind to be gone ; Titus relented yet once again, in confidence that they would better bethink themselves, and never imagining that they could be such ungrateful monsters, as to be treacherous to a man that had taken so much care for their preservation.

Mistaken
mercy is
cruelty.

CHAP. X.

Titus a prince of tenderness and humanity. The spite and malice of the factions. A sharp fight, and the Jews get the better of it. Titus recovers the day. The Romans get the second wall, and lose it again. The famine a greater calamity than the war. The second wall holds out three days ; and Titus masters it upon the fourth.

TITUS being now entered the town, would not suffer so much as one prisoner to be kill'd, or one house to be burnt : and he was so fair to the faction themselves too, that if they had a mind to fight it out, he left them at liberty so to do ; provided only that they should not force and oppress the people. He promis'd the inhabitants also at the same time, to maintain them in their lawful possessions, and to give them back again what had been taken from them. These proposals were generally acceptable ; some desiring the city might be spar'd for their own sakes, others that the temple might be spar'd for the city's. But this humanity and tenderness was all imputed by the faction, to the want of courage in the general : for Titus, they said, had only offer'd these conditions, because he despair'd of ever winning the other part of the city ; the faction threatening death at the same time, to any man that should but open his mouth for a peace or a treaty. The Romans were no sooner got into the town, but the Jews annoy'd them all manner of ways ; by blocking up the narrow passages, galling them from the houses, and forcing the guards by sallies from the walls to quit their towers, and retire to the camp. Never was such a confusion and outcry as betwixt the soldiers within the town, in the middle of their enemies, and those without the town, for fear of their companions within. The Jews being both more in number, and better acquainted with the by-ways and secret passages than the Romans, they were too hard for them upon all encounters : and the breaches not being wide enough to march out many abreast, they were so put to it in the croud, that, if Titus had not come in just as he did, scarce a man of them had got off. But upon setting a body of archers at the end of every street ; and Titus posting himself still where there was most danger, with Domitius Sabinus for his second (a brave man upon the main, and one that did wonders in that action) they held the Jews in play with their darts and lances, till they brought off their men, under the cover of that diversion. Thus were the Romans, after the gaining of the second wall, beaten out again.

The humani-
ty and ten-
derness of
Titus.

The malice
and calumny
of the faction.

A sharp fight,
and the Jews
too hard for
the Romans.

Titus reco-
vers the day.

The Romans
gain the se-
cond wall, and
lose it again.

THE resolute part of the citizens had the vanity to flatter themselves, upon this success, into an opinion, either that the Romans would never dare to look them in the face again ; or if ever it should come to a battle, that they themselves were invincible. Now if these wicked men had not been judicially infatuated, they would have considered, that the Romans, whom they had lately repulsed, were but a small handful, to the vast numbers they were yet farther to encounter : to say nothing of the famine that still encreased more and more upon them every day. For the publick ruin serv'd hitherto only for the nourishment of these people, and the blood of the citizens for their drink. Good men, in fine, fell into great necessities ; and not a few dy'd, even of famine itself : but the loss of these people was some sort of consolation to the faction ; and they only wish'd well to those that would have a war with the Romans. As to the rest, they look'd upon them only as an useless unprofitable burden to the publick ; and this was the kindness they had one for another.

A famine
worse than
the war.

THE Romans made another attempt to recover the wall again, which they had gotten and lost ; and for three days successively, without intermission, they ply'd the assault with one attack upon the neck of another, and were as valiantly repulsed. But on the fourth day, Titus gave so furious a charge, that they were not able to stand it any longer : and upon this push, he got possession of the wall, demolished the northern part of it, and immediately placed garisons in all the towers to the southward.

The second
wall stands it
out three
days, and Ti-
tus carries it
the fourth.

CHAP. XI.

Titus victuals and prepares for action. He tries council and argument as well as force. Joseph harangues the Jews. A starving famine in the city. Instances of God's providence toward the oppressed : as in the case of Pharaoh Nechao, the Egyptian bondage, the plagues of Egypt, the Assyrians taking the ark, Sennacherib's mighty army, Jerusalem destroy'd by Zedekiah, and the story of Antiochus Epiphanes. God is merciful to the penitent. Joseph's generous resignation. The miseries of the famine. Jerusalem was effectually burnt by the Jews.

TITUS's heart was now set upon storming the third wall ; but not looking upon it as a work of time or difficulty, he bethought himself of trying what might be done by gentler methods towards the reducing them again to their duty and their reason ; in hope that, betwixt force and famine, they might be prevailed upon to hearken to better counsels : for their booty and provision was well nigh spent on the one hand, and Titus in as much ease and plenty as his heart could wish on the other : insomuch, that upon a day of general muster, Titus order'd his troops to be drawn up and paid in sight of the enemy ; the foot advancing with their swords drawn, and the led horses so gloriously caparison'd, that the whole field sparkled with gold and silver. Nothing, in fine, could have been a more agreeable charming fight to the

the Romans, or a more terrible one to the Jews; who were gotten in swarms together upon the old wall, on the north-side of the town: beside that the houses were all croud-ed, and the whole city cover'd with people, gazing at the bravery of this pomp: which was such, in short, that it struck a damp into the very boldest of the factious Jews, and would, in all probability, have brought them over to the Romans, if they had not been conscious to themselves of having committed too many unpardonable outrages against the people; beside that it was certain death on the other hand, to give over the dispute. So that they rather chose to die like men of honour by the chance of war, than tamely by a butchery. But the fates had so order'd it, that the innocent were to fall with the guilty, and the city itself with the faction.

Titus spends four days in victualling his camp; and on the fifth prepares for action.

WHEN Titus, after this, had pass'd away four days in victualling his camp, without any act of hostility, he divided his army upon the fifth day into two bodies; and finding no disposition in the Jews to a peace, he fell to casting up of works against the fortrefs Antonia, near John's monument, in hope of gaining the upper town from that quarter, and then making himself master of the temple from Antonia: for without taking the fort, the city, though taken, could not be maintain'd. Against each of these two places, he advanced two attacks, and posted a legion at every mount to cover the workmen. They that wrought next the monument, were galled by the Jews, and by Simon's people; and the other against Antonia were yet harder put to it by John's party, and his bands of Zelotes; who had both the higher ground, and the advantage of their machines, an engine which by daily use and practice they were now come perfectly to understand. They had three hundred cross-bows, and forty slings for stones, which very much annoy'd the Romans, and put a check to the progress of their design.

He tries persuasion and advice, as well as force.

TITUS did so far presume upon his fortune, that he reckon'd the town as good as his own beforehand; but still, however, as he ply'd the siege on the one hand, he did not forget to make trial of persuasion and advice, as well as force, to bring the Jews to reason, on the other. And considering, that words in many cases are of greater efficacy than arms, he made it first his own request to the Jews to consult their own safety, by surrendering the city into his hands, which he could make himself master of at pleasure; and then left the rest to Joseph, upon an opinion, that the humanity of such an office from the lips of their own countryman, and in their own language, might probably find better success. Joseph, in pursuance of Titus's commission and appointment, took a walk about the town; and at last, making a stand upon a rising ground, within hearing of the enemy, and out of reach of their shot, he deliver'd himself to them in words to this effect.

Joseph harangues the Jews.

I AM now to beseech you, my dear friends, says Joseph, as you love your lives and liberties, your city, your temple, and your country, let your tenderness appear upon this occasion, and learn to be merciful to yourselves

from your very enemies and strangers. The Romans, you see, have so great a veneration for holy things, that they make a conscience of laying violent hands upon any thing that is sacred, and without pretending to any part, or interest in the communion: whereas, instead of defending the religion you were brought up in, you are engaged here in a direct conspiracy to destroy it. Do you not see that your strengths are all beaten down already, your weaknesses exposed, and your walls defenceless; and that in this condition it is morally impossible for you to hold out any longer against so formidable a power? neither is it a new thing, in case of the worst, for the Jews to be subject to the Romans. It is a glorious cause, 'tis true, when liberty is the question; provided it be early enough, and before that liberty is either forfeited or lost; but for people to talk of shaking off the yoke, after they have once submitted to it, and continued in that obedience till they became slaves by prescription; this is not the way to live free, but rather to die with infamy. It would be a scandalous bondage indeed, to serve a master that a man of honour would be ashamed to own; but it is another case to be subject to a people that have the whole world at their feet. As, where's that spot in the universe, that has escaped the dominion of the Romans; saying only where extreme heats or colds have rendered the place intolerable and useless? Fortune is effectually gone over to them; and the great disposer of empires himself, hath in his providence at present made Italy the seat of the universal monarch. Beside, that it is according to the sovereign law of nature, that governs in beasts, as well as in men, to give way to the stronger, and to submit to the longer sword. This was it that made your ancestors, though in power and politicks much your superiors, to pay an allegiance to the Romans: which they would never have done, if they had not been thoroughly convinced that it was God's will to have it so. But to what end is it for you now to dispute a point any longer, that's as good as lost already? for if the walls were yet entire, and the siege rais'd, famine alone would do the work. It has begun with the multitude, and the soldiers turn will be next; and every day still worse than other: for the calamity is insuperable, and there is no fence against hunger. Wherefore, you should do well to be-think yourselves in time, and to take wholesome advice before it be too late. The Romans are naturally a generous enemy, and ready to forgive and forget all that's past; provided you do not carry on the affront to an unpardonable extremity. They are not a people to sacrifice their interest to their revenge, and to charge themselves with the incumbrance of a depopulated city, and a desolated province; but rather for receiving you with open arms into their friendship. But if ever you come to be taken by storm, you must expect to be put to the sword every man of you; those especially that, in defiance of the emperor's grace and mercy, shall continue obstinate to the last. And for your third wall, what have you to look for from it, but the fate of the other two that are gone before? or what if your works were absolutely impregnable?

A pinching famine in the city.

pregnable? the very want of bread, as I told you, would do the office of the sword, and subdue you to the Romans.

WHILE Joseph was thus reasoning the matter with them, they return'd him only bitter and contemptuous reproaches from the walls, for his good-will; and not without darts and stones to accompany their revilings: so that when he saw they were not to be wrought upon, either by admonition, or by affliction, he betook himself to the history of former times, for precedents and arguments to his present purpose.

Ah! miserable and unthankful wretches that you are, says he, to forget your best friends, and to encounter the Romans with carnal and common weapons, as if the victories you have formerly obtained, had been the effect of your own wisdom and virtue! Can you say, that God, the great creator of heaven and earth, ever failed of protecting the Jews when they were oppress'd? Will you never be wiser? Do but consider whence you come, where you are, and what you are a doing; and how glorious a protector it is that you provoke by these outrages. Why do you not call to mind the divine exploits of your illustrious ancestors, and the wonderful deliverances that God hath wrought for them by the sacredness of this holy place? It gives me a horror to think of exposing the history of God's miraculous dispensations to a people so unworthy of the blessing; but yet, upon this occasion, I shall dispense with that scruple, to shew you that the war you are now engaged in, is not so much against the Romans, as against God himself.

PHARAOH NECHAO, a king of Egypt, carry'd away with a mighty army, Sarah, the queen and mother of us all. Now you would have thought perhaps that Abraham, the husband of Sarah and our common father, having at that time the command of three hundred and eighteen lieutenants, and troops innumerable under them, should have attempted the righting of himself by arms: but he chose rather to lie quiet; offering up his prayers toward this holy place which you have polluted, to implore God's assistance. And what came of it, but the king's sending the queen back again untouch'd to her husband, the second night after she was taken away; the Egyptian in the mean while, contracting a veneration for the place, which you have defiled with the blood of your countrymen; till in the end, finding himself haunted with frightful dreams and visions, he posted away back again into his own country; but first scattering large donatives of gold and silver among the people, in token of the reverence he had for a nation so much in God's favour.

WHAT shall I say now of our predecessors transporting themselves into Egypt; their four hundred years bondage under a foreign tyranny, and their submitting with patience and resignation to God's good pleasure, even at a time when they were strong enough to have redeem'd themselves by force! To tell you now how the Egyptians were infested with serpents, and tainted with all manner of diseases; how the fruits of the earth were blasted, the Nile corrupted, and ten plagues immediately succeeding one another, would be no

more than what every body knows: but those of our ancestors that God had design'd to the priesthood, were conducted out safe and sound, without either blood or danger, under the guard of a special providence.

AND so when the Assyrians forced away from us the holy ark, how did Palestine, Dagon, and the whole nation that was concerned in it, rue the seizure of it! Their guts became putrid and rotten, and the pain of the gripes intolerable; insomuch, that their bowels and their excrements came away together. And what was the end of it, in the conclusion, but the bringing of the ark back again to us with the sound of musical instruments, and with the same sacrilegious hands that took it away, to expiate in some degree for the wickedness! This was the work of God himself in favour of our ancestors, for casting themselves entirely upon his providence and mercy, without having any recourse to common means.

AND what became of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and his prodigious army, when he sat down before this place, accompany'd with the whole strength of Asia? was he cut off by the arm of flesh, or any human power? No. But when the Hebrews were peaceably and quietly at their prayers, the angel of God confounded in one night that army: and the Assyrian found a hundred and eighty five thousand of his men dead upon the place next morning, the rest flying in a fright from the unarmed Hebrews, that had no thought of pursuing them.

YOU know likewise that our people were seventy years captives in Babylon, without making any attempt toward the recovery of their liberty, till God put it in the heart of Cyrus to discharge them, and to dismiss them into their own country; where they began to offer sacrifices again to God, as their only deliverer and preserver. But to be short, What great thing did our forefathers ever bring to pass, either with arms, or without, but by God's particular direction, and assistance in the execution of his orders? If they stay'd at home, they were victorious without fighting; it being God's pleasure that it should be so: and when they fought in a confidence of their own strength, they never succeeded. As for instance; when the king of Babylon laid siege to this city, our king Zedekiah gave him battle contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremy; and what was the event of it, but the routing of his army, the taking of Zedekiah prisoner, and the destruction both of city and temple before his face? Do but observe the difference now betwixt the moderation of that prince and people, and of yours. The prophet told them plainly, that they were fallen under God's displeasure for their wickedness; and that, if they did not deliver up the city, it should be forced from them by assault: and yet for all this foreboding, neither prince, nor people, offer'd him any violence. To say nothing now of what passes within your walls; (an iniquity, in truth, not to be express'd) I shall only take notice how barbarously I myself have been treated by you both in words and actions: and what's my crime, I beseech you, but the honest liberty of telling you your faults; and advising you for the best? But you have not patience to hear the very story of your own daily practices.

The Assyrians taking the ark.

Sennacherib's mighty army.

The captivity of Babylon.

Jerusalem destroy'd by Zedekiah.

Several instances of God's providence in favour of the oppressed.

The cause is rather God's cause, than the Romans.

Pharaoh Nechao.

The Egyptian bondage.

The plagues of Egypt.

The case of
Antiochus
Epiphanes.

It was much the same case too, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, laid siege to this city. Our forefathers, having many ways incurred God's high displeasure, press'd the enemy to a battle, without waiting for his divine direction and assistance: The Jews were totally defeated, the town taken and pillag'd, and the sanctuary, for three years and six months, wholly abandon'd. In few words, what was it but the stubborn crossness of our own people that first irritated the Romans against the Jews? Whence are we to date our slavery, but from our own seditious countrymen; when the two factions of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, in an ambitious heat of competition, brought Pompey into the city, and made the Jews that were unworthy of liberty, slaves to the Romans? When they had held it out three months, they render'd the place; though in a much better condition to defend it than you are, and infinitely short of what you are in transgressing and prophaning the laws and religion of our country. We all know what was the end of Antigonus the son of Aristobulus; in whose reign, the Jews were punish'd with another judicial captivity for the sins of the people. And did not Herod the son of Antipater likewise besiege Jerusalem with the assistance of Sosius a Roman general, and at the head of a Roman army? After six months the town was reduc'd, and sack'd by the enemy, as the just judgment upon the party for their iniquities.

HERE is enough said to shew that this way of arms and sieges, hath been ever fatal to our brethren; and that the end of such a war would be certain ruin. And therefore it seems reasonable to me, that those that are in possession of this holy place, should entirely remit themselves to the conduct of God's providence; who will never be wanting to them that serve him, and keep his commandments. But you for your parts lead your lives in a direct opposition to his holy will, in leaving undone what you are commanded to do, and in doing what you are forbidden. How much have you more to answer for, than those that you have seen taken off by a vindictive justice in the career of their wickedness! As for the secret sins of theft, fraud, treachery, and adultery, you look upon them as trifles, and not worth the speaking of. But you value yourselves upon oppression, murder, and other sins of the first magnitude, that were hardly ever heard of before. Nay, and you have made the holy temple itself the scene of your wickedness; a place so sacred, that the Romans themselves have a veneration for it, notwithstanding the inconsistencies of their religion with ours. And yet this place, that the very Romans have so great a reverence for, is polluted and blasphem'd by those who have been train'd up to the temple worship. With what face now can you pretend to expect assistance from a power that you have so impiously provok'd? But you take it for granted that you are just, humble and righteous; and your hands as clean as our king's were, when he stretch'd them out to implore succour from heaven against the Assyrian, and when the return of his prayer was, the next night, the utter ruin of the enemy's army. Now if you will have it that the Romans behave themselves as the Assyrians did, you may expect

that God will deal with them after the like manner. But this is quite another case: for the Assyrian compounded for a sum of money to save this city; and then broke his oath, and set fire to the temple: whereas the Romans only demand a yearly tribute; and no more neither than what our fathers pay'd to their fathers. Let this be made good to them, and the temple and city have nothing to fear; but you shall enjoy your families, your liberties, and your estates; with the free exercise of your religion, and under the regulation of your own laws. You must be mad to imagine that God will treat tyrants and murderers, and men of moderation and justice, all alike; especially when punishment and vengeance are but the work of a moment to the Almighty.

THE Assyrians, you see, were destroy'd the first night they came before the town; and if it had been the will of God to set the one free, and to chastise the other, he would have pour'd down his wrath upon the Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians: either when Pompey first forced Jerusalem; or Sosius, after him; or when Vespasian harass'd Galilee; or now at last upon the attack of Titus. But neither Pompey, nor Sosius, met with any signal opposition from heaven; and they both succeeded in their enterprizes upon the place. As for Vespasian, he advanced himself to the empire upon the credit of the war he made upon us. And what do you think of almost a miracle, wrought in favour of Titus? Siloa, you know, and other fountains without the city, were drawn so low before Titus came hither, that water was hardly to be got for money; but since his arrival here, the springs are grown so full again, that there is sufficient for the Romans, to all manner of purposes: and not only for themselves, and their cattle, but for the gardens too. The same thing happen'd at the time when the king of Babylon, before mentioned, march'd up to Jerusalem with his army; took the town and city, and laid them both in ashes: now this prodigy was the forerunner of that ruin and conflagration. Not that I take the wickedness of those days to have been comparable to that of the present age: but it looks as if God had abandon'd his own house and people in favour of the enemy. Make it the case now of the master of the house, and a vicious and debauch'd family. If he be a virtuous man, he'll shift his quarter, and never endure to be under the roof with that sort of people. How can you imagine then, that God will countenance your abominations? an all-seeing God, that searches the privacies of your hearts, and reads your thoughts in their very conception? But alas! you have no privacies at all, no reserves; but make your very enemies the confidants of all you do. You live in a kind of competition who shall be the lewdest, and value yourselves upon an ostentation of your wickedness.

BUT God is not inexorable to those that confess their misdoings, and truly repent; which is the course that you must take, if ever you hope for mercy. Wherefore cast away your arms; let your hearts bleed for the judgments you have brought upon your country. Do but look well about you, and consider the sweetness of the place, the glory of the city, and the majesty of the temple that you are now

God is merciful to the penitent.

about

about to betray, with the inestimable mass of treasure that is there deposited, in donatives, and oblations from all parts of the world. Can any man have the heart now to think of exposing these magnificent curiosities to fire and pillage? or of seeing those excellencies destroyed, which of all things under the sun are best worth the preserving? If you were not harder, and more insensible than stones, this reflection would move you; or, if nothing else will work upon you, bethink yourselves of your parents, your wives, your children, and your families, that are at this instant upon the brink of perishing, either by famine or by the sword. It will be said perhaps, because I have a wife of my own, a mother and a family, (of some credit formerly) concern'd in the common hazard, that it is for their sakes, and my own interest, that I give this council. But if either the sacrificing of their lives, or mine, or both, may conduce to your safety, I am ready to deliver them up all, upon condition that you will be wiser, and honest, when we are gone.

Joseph's generous resignation for the good of the country.

THIS discourse of Joseph drew tears from his own eyes; but the factions were not one jot soften'd with it, neither did they judge it safe at any rate to close with the Romans: but, on the contrary, the common sort were stagger'd at it, and made it their business too, how to save themselves by flight. To this end, they sold what they had that was valuable, though at easy rates, and swallow'd the gold for fear of being robb'd upon the way: by which means they supply'd themselves with necessaries when they got over to the Romans; Titus, in the mean time, leaving the stragglers at liberty to go whither they would. And this discharge was still a greater encouragement to their escape; for they got clear of the city broils without being slaves to the Romans: But John and Simon, and their companions, clapt a strict guard upon the passes, and took as much care to keep the citizens from going out, as the Romans from coming in: so that the least suspicion, or pretence of a suspicion, was enough to take away any man's life that they thought fit to suspect. And it was all one to the rich whether they stay'd or attempted to fly: for they that had any thing to lose, were sure to fall under a jealousy; and that jealousy was death.

THE rage of the faction, and the pinch of the famine encreased daily; and when there was no corn any longer in sight, they broke open houses for it. If they found any upon the search, the owners were severely handled for denying it; or, if none, they were put to the torture to discover their stores. Nay, they drew inferences of guilt from the very bodies of the miserable; and to be hail and sound, was made an argument of private stores and plenty. The consumptive were dispatch'd out of hand; though no need, one would think, of putting them to a violent death, who were ready to die for want of bread. There were several of the better sort that sold all they had in the world for a bushel of wheat; and others of the poorer, for the same proportion of barley: and then shutting up themselves, with their purchase, in secret hiding-holes, some fell to feeding on the corn without grinding,

and some again stay'd the baking of it; according as they were more or less press'd by hunger or danger. There was no such thing as the ceremony of setting or spreading a table; but happy was he that could snatch a bit from the coals betwixt raw and roasted. Never so miserable a calamity, or so lamentable and horrid a spectacle; where the strongest still star'd best, and the weaker had nothing more to do than to bemoan their misfortunes: starving being certainly of all deaths the most deplorable, as it takes away all sense of shame, tenderness, and respect. Wives forc'd away the meat out of the very mouths of their husbands; children did the like by their parents; and what was yet more barbarous, mothers by their infants; taking away from them, as they lay languishing in their arms, the very last support of life: and this could not be done so privately neither, but some body or other was still at hand to take away that from them again which they had taken from others. Wherever they saw a house shut up, they concluded there was eating in that house; and presently forcing the doors, they tore the meat ready chew'd out of the very throats of the people; just as they were about to swallow it, though to the hazard of choaking them. They had no mercy either for age or sex; but beat the old men that offer'd to defend what provision they had got, and dragg'd the women by the hair, for endeavouring either to keep or to conceal any thing. Neither did sucking children escape any better; but they were torn away from the mother's breasts, and dash'd against the ground: so that infancy and grey hairs had the same quarter. There could hardly be a more unpardonable affront, when any of these freebooters were abroad upon adventure, than for him that was pursu'd to outrun his pursuer, and to eat his own bread before the other could come up. They spar'd for no manner of cruelty, provided they might but get something to stay their stomachs: as the putting of people to exquisite pains in their private and most sensible parts; thrusting up pointed sticks into their bodies, and other such like torments, not to be mentioned without horror: and all this for the discovery, perhaps but of one single loaf of bread, or an handful of flour that they had conceal'd. And their tormentors were not hungry neither; for the tyranny would have been more pardonable, if they could have pleaded necessity in their excuse. But this was purely a wanton piece of inhumanity, when they were victual'd themselves with six days provision before-hand. Some poor wretches, that had given the Roman guards the slip, and crept out of the town by night for herbs and sallad, had the ill hap to fall into their hands when they thought themselves out of all danger; where they were stripp'd of all they had, and glad at last, after a thousand importunities and prayers, only for part of their own again, for which they had run so great a hazard, to compound for their lives. This was the treatment they receiv'd from the common soldiers; but persons of quality were carry'd to the usurpers themselves: some of them put to death for treason, and a design of betraying the city to the Romans, upon the testimony of false witnesses;

* See Spanheim's notes upon Callimachus, p. 718.

and this was still one of the articles, that they had a mind to go over to the enemy. Those that Simon had pillag'd were carry'd to John, and John's prisoners to Simon, as if they had been quaffing healths one to another, and sharing their carcases betwixt them. They were divided, in fine, who should be uppermost; but perfectly well agreed in the methods of their tyranny and usurpation. They went halves in their robberies, and he was reckon'd the greater knave of the two that cozen'd his companion of any part of his moiety in the booty, to which they were both equally entitled.

It would be endless to run through the history of their iniquities; but to comprize all in a little, I am verily persuaded, that there never was so miserable a city, or so barbarous a people, upon the face of the earth: in fine, the better to palliate their inhumanity to strangers, they revil'd the very nation of the Hebrews, and own'd themselves (as in truth they were) for a company of slaves and scoundrels, vagabonds and bastards. In the conclusion, they laid the city in rubbish and ashes; nay, and the burning of the temple was effectually their act too, both in the hastening of it, and by the forcing of Titus, even against his inclination, upon those extremities. As the upper town was in a flame, the Romans gave many instances of a generous compassion, (as will be seen hereafter) but not so much as a sigh, or a tear to be heard of among the Jews. But of this farther in its proper place, with remarks upon the whole matter.

The burning of the city was their own act.

C H A P. XII.

The Jews miserably tortured and crucify'd. Titus severe in his own defence. Scandals cast upon the Romans. The Jews hard and resolute. The Romans raise four mighty works. The Jews set fire to the bulwark. Simon attempts the other mounts. A brave action of three Jews. The Romans beaten from their works. Death without mercy for a Roman to quit his post. A bloody fight upon mounting the engines. Titus begins to despair of carrying his point.

TITUS, all this while, ply'd his works daily; but not without loss of men from the walls. It was the Jews practice to steal out the night, and look abroad for provisions; and not without some soldiers among them, that could not get wherewithal in the city to answer their necessities. These people were most of them poor, and durst not desert for fear of having their wives and their childrens throats cut that they left behind. Neither durst they take their families along with them for fear of discovery. Titus being aware of these difficulties, ordered out a detachment of horse to way-lay the Jews in the vallies. Hunger had made them desperate, and so venturing out, they fell into the enemy's ambushes. When they found themselves beset, they were than forced to fight upon necessity, for fear of some punishment worse than death itself; beside that it was now too late to think of begging quarter. In short, they were master'd; and after exposing them to all manner of tortures, they were crucify'd in the sight of the besieged. Titus was not at all pleas'd

The miserable distress of the Jews.

Tortur'd and crucify'd in the sight of the besieged.

with the severity of this rigour; especially considering there did not pass a day wherein they did not take at least five hundred Jews prisoners: but he did not find it safe, either to discharge so many obstinate prisoners that he had now at mercy, or to spare men enough to look after them from the service of the army: beside the hope he had, that the terror of such an example might move them to bethink themselves, lest it should come to be their own case. They were all crucify'd, but in several ways and postures: some, to express their rage; others, their hatred; and some again, their mockery and contempt: but the number of the prisoners was so great, that they wanted room for more crosses, and crosses for the bodies. And so far was the horror of this execution from softening the faction, that, as they ordered the matter, it wrought a clear contrary effect by the help of this invention. The friends and relations of the fugitives, and those that had but the least inclination to a peace, were dragg'd out to the walls, to shew them what they were to trust to that went over to the Romans; positively maintaining all the while, that the men they saw in chains were not prisoners of war, but deserters, that sued for mercy. This device kept a great many from deserting, till the truth came to be known; though some there were that immediately flipt away to the enemy to avoid starving, which they look'd upon as incomparably the more miserable death of the two.

Titus forced upon severities in his own defence.

Prisoners of war they pretend to be deserters that could get no quarter.

TITUS, upon this, caused several of his prisoners hands to be cut off, and so sent them away to John and Simon, in such a plight, that they might neither look like deserters, nor be taken for such; advising them at the same time to put an end to the war, without forcing him upon the destruction of the city; for it was not yet too late, upon a seasonable submission, to preserve their lives, their country, and their temple, entirely to themselves. But Titus advanced his works all this while; quickening and encouraging the workmen, being resolved very suddenly to follow his words with effects, and to gain his point by force, which he could not compass by reason and persuasion.

THE Jews, in the mean time, casting out a thousand curses from the walls, against both Vespasian and Titus, declared one and all their contempt of death, and how much their liberties were dearer to them than their lives: and that, provided they might plague the Romans, they car'd not what became either of themselves or of their country; which Titus told them, were in danger to perish. And as for their temple, they look'd upon the world to be much the more magnificent structure of the two; or however, they made no doubt but God would take care of his own house; and upon him they depended for protection, in despite of all their threatnings, which God would never suffer to take place. This was the substance of their outrageous and unmannerly reply.

The obstinate malice and resolution of the Jews.

ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes was by this time come up, attended with a train of armed troops; having one company, among the rest, of stout young fellows for his guard, all about the same age; accoutred and train'd up after the Macedonian way; from whence they took the name

of Macedonians: not for their birth, neither did the greater part of them answer the character of that people. Of all the princes that were ever subjected to the Roman empire, the king of Camagena was undoubtedly the most prosperous and successful, for the former part of his life; but in his latter days his fortune forsook him, and verify'd the old saying, "That no man is to be pronounc'd happy before his death." He had a son of a martial enterprising spirit; of a robust body, and bold to the degree of rashness. This son of his was saying one day, that he wonder'd the Romans stood trifling before the walls at that rate, and did not rather push it to an attack. Titus answer'd him with a smile, that the way was open to any man that had a mind to't. The word was no sooner out, but Antiochus led up his Macedonians to the assault, and gave proof both of his valour and conduct in the management of the action: but his followers however were almost all of them kill'd, or wounded; having made such boasts before-hand what wonders they would do, that they could not in honour quit the undertaking. This gave the young men to understand, that the Macedonian courage would never do the business without Alexander's fortune: so that they were forc'd to quit the attempt, and bring off the remainder of their men as well as they could.

The Romans raise four mighty works in seventeen days.

It was upon the twelfth of the month * Artemisius, that the Romans began the platforms formerly mention'd; and upon the nine and twentieth that they finish'd them, after seventeen days hard labour; for there were four of them in all, and they were mighty works. There was one toward Antonia, that was rais'd by the fifth legion, over against the middle of the Struthian pool: there was another cast up by the twelfth legion, within twenty cubits of the former. The tenth legion, (which was more considerable than the other two) threw up another work to the north, over against the pool call'd Amygdalon; and at thirty cubits distance from the last was a fourth mount, erected by the fifteenth legion, not far from the monument of John the high-priest.

The Jews set fire to the bulwark.

THESE works were no sooner up and perfected, but John caus'd a mine to be wrought under that which look'd toward Antonia, and several wooden props to be set up all along the trench, to keep the weight of the earth above from falling; dawbing the wood-work with a bituminous matter that would take flame immediately. So that John had now no more to do, but to set fire to the pillars; which when the props were gone, brought down the whole bulwark with a most hideous noise. There was no fire to be seen at first, but only a smothering dust and smoke, till the flame at last broke thorough all opposition, and shew'd itself. This was so astonishing a surprize to the Romans, that it put them to their wits end to receive such a baffle, when they made themselves sure of their point. Neither was it to any purpose to think of quenching the fire, when their ramparts were gone.

Simon attempts the other mounts.

It was but two days after, this that Simon and his people made an attempt upon the other mounts; where the Romans had already plant- ed their rams, and began to batter. There

was one Jeptheus of Garfis, a city of Galilee; A glorious action of three Jews, Megastarus, a domestick of queen Mariamne's; and one of Adiabena, the son of Nabateus, who from a misfortune he had was called Agiras; which signifies lame: these three men, with torches in their hands, flew directly to the machines; and breaking through the enemies troops, with no more concern than if they had been among their friends, set fire to them; and in despite of all opposition, with darts and arrows, they pursu'd their design till their engines were all in a flame. These were reputed three of the bravest men that appear'd in that war.

UPON the mounting of the fire, the Romans dispatch'd away a detachment from the camp to the relief of their companions; but the Jews, in the mean time, pour'd their shot upon them from the walls; and without any regard to their own lives or persons, fought it out hand to hand with those that were endeavouring to put a stop to the fire. The Romans did all they could to save their rams; the covers of them being consumed already: and the Jews ventur'd into the very flames to hinder them; and would not let go their hold, though the iron-work of them was burning hot. The fire pass'd from thence to the ramparts; and there was no help for it. Upon this, the Romans finding themselves encompass'd with flames, and no hope left them of saving the works, withdrew into their camp. The Jews had so many enforcements out of the city, that the encrease of their number made them more and more pressing and inconsiderate: infomuch, that in the heat of their success, they advanced to the very camp itself, and attack'd the guards. Now the office of these guards, according to the rule of the Roman discipline, was to do duty by turns, and relieve one another; and not a man of them, upon pain of death without mercy, to quit his post, under any colour whatsoever. These people having this charge before-hand, either to fall like men of honour, or to suffer an infamous death as deserters, they made a generous resistance, and brought several of those back again, betwixt necessity and shame, that had abandon'd their station; and with their engines, put a stop to the excursions of the Jews from the city. They made their fallies without any guard or defence for their own security; fighting all they met, at a venture, and casting themselves like madmen upon the very points of the enemies pikes, and falling in pell-mell among them. The Jews, in fine, gain'd more upon the Romans by a rash hardiness, than by pure courage: and the Romans, on the other hand, gave way rather to the outrageous boldness of the Jews, than for the apprehension of any mischief they could do them.

The Romans beaten from their works; and their batteries destroyed.

Death for a Roman to quit his post.

TITUS, at his return from Antonia, where he had been to find out a commodious ground for advancing his attacks, gave the soldiers a severe rebuke, for suffering themselves after the gaining of the enemy's works, to be distress'd in their own, and in a manner besieg'd by those that were no better than prisoners themselves. Titus, upon this, with some of his choice troops, surrounded the Jews, and charged them in the flank; while they, on the

A sharp fight upon the dismounting of the engines.

other side, maintain'd their ground with a wonderful resolution. Upon the engagement of the two bodies, it rais'd such a dust and clamour, that there was nothing distinctly to be either seen or heard; and neither friend nor foe to be known asunder: neither were the Jews thus obstinate out of any confidence in their own strength, but out of despair of safety; while the Romans were so enrag'd, on the other side, betwixt the nicety of military honour, and the passion they had for the person of the emperor, which was then in danger, that if the Jews had not retreated into the town just as they did, they had undoubtedly been all cut to pieces: but still the loss of their bulwarks went to the heart of the Romans; and to find it the work but of one hour to destroy what had been so long a railing. This disappointment, together with the dismounting of their engines, put them out of all hope of ever gaining the place.

Titus in despair of gaining his point.

CHAP. XIII.

Titus consults a council of officers. Some for pushing it to a battle; some for making good the ramparts; others for intercepting provisions. Titus orders the running up of a wall: The course and compass of it; and this wall finished in three days.

Titus calls a council of war. Some for a main battle.

Some for repairing the ramparts. Others for no ramparts at all, but rather for intercepting provisions.

WHILE things were in this posture, Titus call'd a council of his chief officers to advise him what to do. Some warm men among them were of opinion for a general assault, and falling on with the whole army; for there had been nothing done as yet they said, but in skirmishes, and parties; and if it came once to a main battle, the Jews would never be able to stand the dint of the very darts and arrows. The more considerate part were for renewing and repairing their ramparts; others for having no works at all, but only watching the victualers, and keeping the city from provisions; and so committing the rest to the famine, which would do the business of the sword without striking a blow. There is no beating of people out of their resolution that have a mind to die. Now Titus, 'tis true, thought it dishonourable to lie still at the head of a formidable army, altogether without action; and to fight with a people so bent upon their own destruction, a great piece of folly and imprudence. As for the erecting of new works, he found it morally impracticable for want of materials; and so, for the watching of all passages, to secure the avenues; for it was not a thing to be done, in regard both of the compass of the town, and the difficulties of the places: or, if the high-ways were all block'd up, the Jews would yet find out other private conveyances in case of necessity; and by the advantage of knowing all the secret passages, leading to and from the city; so that if the Jews should find out means of conveying relief into the city by stealth, it would but protract the siege, and lessen the honour of the victory by the delay. Or let it be granted now, that all this may be done, and

the reputation of the Romans, together with the safety of the army, be provided for, both in one, dispatch is yet to be prefer'd to glory: but the sure way to do the thing at last, with caution and expedition, must be by running a wall quite round the city. By this means all excursions will be prevented, and the Jews either forc'd to deliver up the place in the depth of their despair, or weaken'd by the pinch of their necessities, into an incapacity of defending themselves: whereas otherwise, the dispute will be endless. "But this shall not hinder me, says Titus, from giving orders for the repairing the works; especially when the weaker part of those that are left, are already sufficient to put a stop to the courses of the enemy. This may be look'd upon perhaps as a project of insuperable difficulty; but if it had been less, it would not have stood with the dignity of the undertaker: neither are great things to be brought about without labour, but by the more immediate assistance of an Almighty power."

TITUS made an end of what he had to say, with an order to his officers immediately to set about the erecting of this wall, and to enter upon it with a regular distribution of the whole army into their proper stations. The word was no sooner given, but the soldiery were all transported by a kind of divine impulse into a generous emulation of outdoing one another: for after the measuring of the ground, and the dividing of the legions, the same spirit of competition ran through the whole body. The common soldiers with their serjeants, the serjeants the like with their captains, the captains with their colonels, the colonels with their lieutenant-generals, and all in subordination to Titus; who was so intent upon his business, that he never miss'd a day of taking a round and viewing the whole work.

TITUS began this wall at a place called the Assyrians camp, where he himself had his quarter. He carried it forward to the lower Cenopolis, and so by the way of Cedron to mount Oliver, which he enclos'd on the south as far as the rock Peristereon; together with a neighbouring hill that overlooks the vale of Siloah. From thence he turn'd his point a little to the westward, and so onto the valley of the fountain. He took his way next to the sepulchre of Ananus the high-priest; and so enclosing the mountain where Pompey had formerly encamp'd, he return'd to the northward, and pass'd on to a village called Erebinthonicus; took in Herod's sepulchre toward the east, and there joined one end of the wall to the other where he began.

THE compass of this wall was nine and thirty furlongs; thirteen forts built on the outside of it, and every fort ten furlongs about. But the most incredible part of the story was the finishing of an enclosure in three days, which might well have taken as many months. Upon the perfecting of this work, there were guards posted in all the forts, that did duty every night under their arms. Titus went the first round himself. Tiberius Alex-

Titus orders the erecting of a wall about the town, and disposing the whole army into their proper stations.

The course of the wall.

The compass of it.

The wall finish'd in three days.

* Thirty nine furlongs amounted to four miles, three quarters and half quarter, and eighty two geometrical paces and an half, English measure.

† Ten furlongs amounted to an English mile and quarter, and fifteen geometrical paces.

under the second, and the commanders of legions the third. The soldiers and the watch slept by turns; but keeping a continual guard in the castles all night.

C H A P. XIV.

The miserable distresses of a devouring famine. The Romans make ostentation of their plenty, to enflame the envy of the Jews. Four ramparts raised at Antonia larger than the former.

The dismal ravage of a devouring famine.

THE shutting up of the Jews in the town put them to the utmost degree of despair; for the famine was now so outrageous, that it swept away whole families. The houses were strew'd with the carcases of women and children, and the narrow lanes with the bodies of old men that lay dead there; young men walked the streets like so many ghosts. There was no such thing as burying the dead; some wanted strength to do the office; others wanted will, as being discouraged, partly by the great number of them, and partly in regard they did not know but their own turn might be next. Some there were that expir'd themselves in the very act of burying others; and some again hastened away to their graves before their time, to make sure of a resting place while they were yet living. And yet in the depth of all this misery, there was not heard so much as one groan or outcry; but all other passions were stifled in the pain of a tormenting hunger. Those that dy'd last, stood gazing with dry eyes, and ghastly looks, upon those that were out of their pain before them. The city was all wrapt up in a profound silence, and heaps of dead bodies piled together up and down in the night. But the most deplorable part of the story, was the insolence and brutality of the free-booters: in so much that the famine itself was nothing to it. They broke into houses, which at that time were no better than charnel-houses; stript the dead to their very skins, and then made themselves sport with their nakedness; trying the temper of their swords upon the bodies of the miserable wretches as they lay half dead. If any man called for a hand or a sword, to dispatch him out of the way, and deliver him from the misery of the famine, he was repulsed with an insensible cruelty and neglect. As they came to the point of death, they still clos'd their eyes toward the temple; and it went even then to the hearts of them to leave these wretched miscreants yet among the living, that had so lewdly prophan'd that holy place. When they were now no longer able to endure the putrid corruption of the dead bodies, order was given to have them all interred at the publick charge: but for want of room to dispose of them, these impious monsters cast them down head-long from the walls into the vallies; which was so horrid a spectacle, that Titus, upon taking the round of the place, finding the ditches so filled and annoyed with rotten carcases and pestilential vapours, stretched out his hands to heaven in an appeal to Almighty God, that he had no hand in making it so. This was the state and disposition of the city at that time.

WHILE the faction was now so coop'd up within their walls, that there was no stirring out of the town; beside the double mortification they endur'd of famine and despair; the Romans at the same time, pass'd their days merrily, and at ease, in an abundance of all sorts of necessary provisions, out of Syria, and the neighbouring provinces; in so much that several of the Romans, out of an invidious ostentation of their stores, came up to the very walls, to irritate and insult the wants on the one side, with exposing the plenty on the other. But all wrought nothing upon the insensible hearts of the seditious; in so much that Titus, in pure compassion to the remainder of a miserable people, resolv'd to go on immediately with casting up new works afresh, and hastening the dispatch as fast as he could. The only difficulty was the providing of wherewithal to carry it forward; for the wood near the city was all cut down already for the former works and destroy'd, so that they were now forced to fetch all their timber for a second supply at ninety * furlongs distance from the place; and there were four ramparts erected at the fortress Antonia larger than the former. Titus lost no time, and having the faction now at mercy, he gave them to understand as much. But they went on still without the least sign of remorse, and with as little regard to their own bodies and souls, as if they had been the bodies and souls of other people: for the dead they tore to pieces like dogs, and choak'd up the sick and languishing in prisons.

C H A P. XV.

Matthias recommends Simon to the city. Simon murders him in requital, by the hand of Ananias the worst of men. Ananias put to death. Judas in a plot to destroy Simon. Simon surprises the town. Joseph wounded, and reported to be kill'd. Titus rescues him, and he recovers. The Jews swallow their gold. Two thousand of their bellies ript up in one night. Titus transported at so horrid an outrage. The love of money is the strongest of all appetites.

WHEN Simon had first put Matthias to death; and this was the requital he made for getting him admitted into the city. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, a priest, in high esteem with the people, and no man generally better belov'd. The Jews were hardly used (it seems) by the Zelotes; and upon John's joining with them, Matthias mov'd the calling in of Simon to their assistance; but without any caution, or conditions, or any bargain before-hand whatsoever, not apprehending any treachery from him. Simon had no sooner made himself master of the town, but he treated Matthias as one of the greatest enemies he had, and imputed the advice he gave for the opening of the ports, to gross simplicity, and over-sight: so that upon this, he was arraign'd and accus'd for holding intelligence with the Romans, and a sentence of death pass'd upon the father, and his three sons, (the fourth having made his escape to

The Romans make an ostentation of their plenty, to reproach the Jews in their extrem necessities.

Four ramparts erected at Antonia, larger than the former.

Matthias brings Simon into the city.

* Ninety furlongs amounted to eleven English miles and a quarter, and an hundred thirty five geometrical paces.

Simon in requital puts Matthias to the torture, and then murders him upon the bodies of his three sons.

Ananus, the vilest of men, the executioner.

Ananias put to death, and Joseph's father made prisoner.

Judas the son of Judas in a plot to destroy Simon.

the Romans) without so much as hearing what he had to say for himself. The only favour this venerable old man had to desire of Simon, in return for the obligation of letting him into the town, was, that he himself might die first; but Simon refused that grace, and commanded the father to be last executed, to keep him so much the longer in pain. Matthias, in the conclusion, was put to death upon the bodies of his sons, and in the sight of the Romans, according to Simon's order to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, the most inhuman miscreant Simon had about him. Neither did he content himself barely to execute the detestable sentence; but in a frolick of insolence, and derision, when he was just upon the point of striking the stroke, "You would fain have gone over to the Romans, says he to Matthias, and let them bring you off now if they can." But in short, to consummate the inhumanity, the bodies were all refused burial, by the special command of Simon himself.

THERE was also Ananias a priest, the son of Masbalus, nobly descended; and Aristeus, a native of Ammaus, and secretary to the council; who, with fifteen more of the principals of the people, were all put to death. The father of Joseph was also made a prisoner, with a proclamation upon it, that no man should presume to come at him upon pain of treason. Nay, it was made death also, without either trial or mercy, but so much as to pity them.

It fell out after this, that Judas, the son of Judas, an officer of Simon's, and a commander of one of the turrets, lamenting the brutal oppression of a miserable people, and also not forgetting in the first place his own preservation, took an occasion to confer with half a score of the trustiest friends he had, upon that subject. "How long, says he, are we to crouch under the burden of this tyranny, or what hope of safety is there in the service of so false, and so cruel a master! We have sword and famine to encounter, and the enemy as good as within our walls already; Simon, of all men living the most ungrateful. We live in a perpetual fear of punishment from him; and the Romans, on the other hand, are most certainly men of faith and honour: so that we have no more to do, but to deliver up the walls, and to preserve ourselves, and our country, both in one. Neither has Simon any cause of complaint, only he suffers a little sooner."

WHEN the ten men were come to an agreement, Judas betimes sent the remainder of his people several ways, for a blind to his design; and about the third hour of the day, called out to the Romans from the turret, and gave them to understand the resolution they had taken: some gave no heed to it; others no credit; and some again thought it not worth their while to master a place they might get without danger. By this time Titus had drawn some troops up to the wall; but Simon, having got intelligence of the de-

sign, immediately surpriz'd the turret; and killing the guard, in the very view of the Romans, tumbled the bodies down the wall.

While Joseph was walking up and down there, and doing the Jews the best offices he could by his intercession and advice, it was his fortune to be knock'd down with a stone from the battlements: whereupon the Jews made a desperate rally, and had carry'd him off a prisoner, if Titus, in that instant, had not sent a party to his rescue. During this skirmish, they got away Joseph, before he was well come to himself again. The faction took it to be as they wish'd it; and mightily overjoy'd they were in the belief that Joseph was slain. The rumour pass'd for current through the city, and put the inhabitants into a dismal consternation, for the loss of their mediator and patron among the Romans. The tidings of Joseph's death being brought to his mother in prison, she told her guards that she heard as much, and that she should never see him more. Upon this occasion, the women condoled with her; and she herself deploring her own misfortune, that in bearing a son, who, she hop'd, would have bury'd the mother, she was not now in condition to pay those funeral rites to her son. But the mother was not long the worse, nor the faction long the better, for the mistake of a false report. For the danger of Joseph's wound was quickly over; and upon returning to his post again, he gave them all to understand, that, in a short time, they should pay dearly for what they had done: but still animating the people all along to return to their obedience. The sight of Joseph put his friends in countenance again, and cast as great a damp upon the hearts of the faction.

IN this extremity there were several deserters went over to the Romans: some leapt the wall, and made their escape that way; others got off under a colour of attacking the enemy with stones. But instead of avoiding one calamity within the town, they fell into a worse without; and the surfeits they contracted in the camp, were much more mortal than the famine they left at home. For being empty with a long famine, and puffed up with a drop-sical distemper, they could not come to their eating again, but by little and little, without danger of bursting: and the most miserable part of the story is yet behind.

THERE was a fugitive surprized among the Syrians, in the very act of searching for gold, that had been swallow'd, and passed thorough him, as I said before: now the faction put all people to the scrutiny; and there was such plenty of gold in the town, that twelve * Atticks at present were as much worth as five and twenty heretofore. The fame of this discovery was presently all over the camp, and that the Jews who deserted had conceal'd gold in their guts: whereupon, the Arabians and the Syrians ript up two thousand of their bellies in one night for their treasure: which I take to have been the most barbarous butchery the Jews ever suffer'd.

Simon surprizes the town.

Joseph wounded with a stone, and said to be kill'd. Titus rescues him, and he recovers.

The Jews carry off gold in their guts.

Upon this report two thousand of their bellies were ript up in one night.

* Admitting (which is most probable) that the author here means an Attick drachme, the value of twelve in silver amounted to six shillings and ten pence half farthing, and in gold to five pound nine shillings and six pence; and of twenty five in silver to fourteen shillings and three pence, and in gold to eleven pounds eight shillings and three half-pence English money. This valuation is made from Dom Calmer's tables, whom in these affairs we have chiefly follow'd, tho' it is the lowest that has been made by any author; some, of good authority, having valued them at near one seventh higher.

Titus transported to the highest degree.

TITUS was so transported at the brutality of this action, that he had certainly order'd his horse to surround them, and put every man of them to death with darts, that had a hand in it, if the number of the guilty had not been so much greater than that of the slain. Hereupon he called his officers together, as well Romans as auxiliaries, and finding several of his own people concern'd in the outrage, he enter'd into an angry expostulation with them upon the whole matter. "Is it possible, says he, to the Romans in the first place, that any soldier of mine should be guilty of so unmanly a cruelty, for a doubtful and uncertain advantage, and not blush at the thought of so infamous and scandalous a purchase?" And then again to his auxiliaries. "Can you think it reasonable, says he, that the infidelities, the murders, and the inhumanities of the Syrians and Arabians, in a foreign war, where they take all manner of licence, should be imputed to the Romans, and the malice of the one laid at the others door?"

Now Titus could not altogether excuse his own people, and was so transported at it, that he threatened death without mercy to any man that should presume to commit any of those outrages over again: appointing the legions also at the same time, to make a strict search after all suspected persons, and he himself would have the hearing of the cause. But avarice will stand all hazards. Beside that, cruel people are naturally covetous, and the love of money is the most insatiable of all appetites. Fear and precaution, 'tis true, in some cases may be brought to hear reason: but when a people are given up once to a spirit of reprobation, the ordinary ways and means of security turn to their destruction; and what Cesar so severely prohibited in publick, was nevertheless executed upon the Jewish deserters in secret. Only their custom was, upon any fugitives coming over, first, to make sure that none of the Romans should be within sight, and then cut up the Jews bellies for the execrable booty: and when they had done, they found little more, in fine, than vain hopes. This horrid practice however frightened the Jews out of their desertions, and greatly reduced the number of them who were already come over to the Romans.

CHAP. XVI.

John advances from pillage to sacrilege. The very race of the Jews rooted out. Six hundred thousand dead bodies carry'd out of the city.

WHEN the pillage fail'd, John advanced to sacrilege; seizing to his own use several donatives and oblations, with divers necessary vessels for the service of God's wor-

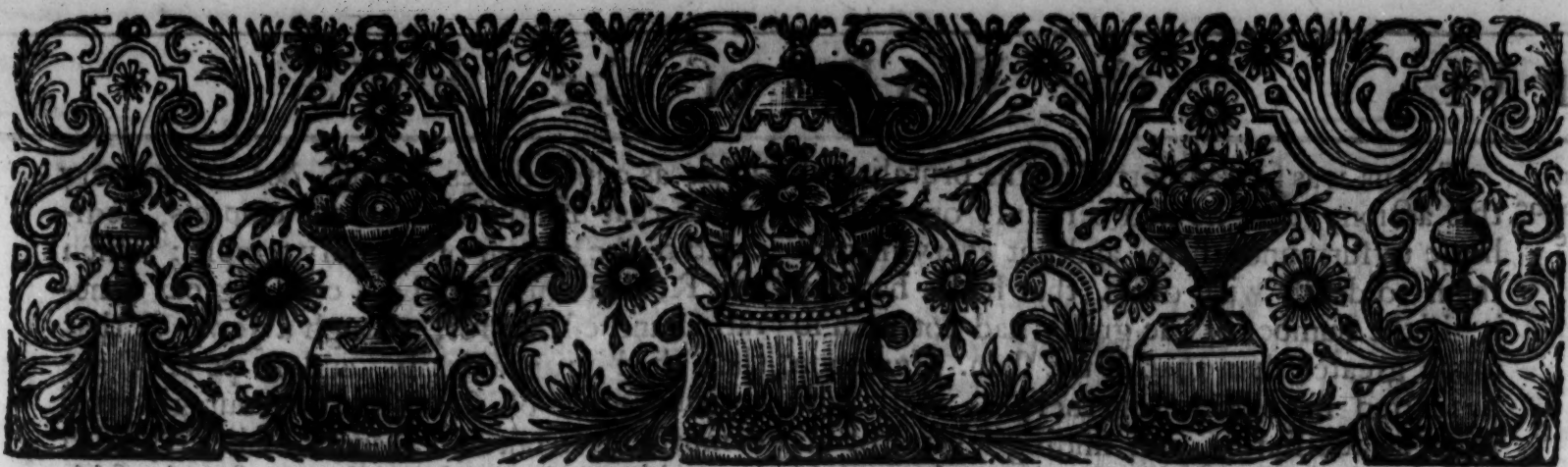
ship; as cups, dishes, tables, &c. to the very pieces that Augustus, and the empress, dedicated to the honour of the holy temple; which the Roman emperors had ever a great veneration and esteem for, though a Jew, at that time, had profan'd it, and stript it of the very bounties of strangers; encouraging his companions to take all manner of liberty with holy things: "For it was but reason, he said, that they, who fought for the temple, should live by't". So that he made no scruple of distributing among the people the holy wine and oil, that was reserv'd in the inner part of the temple for sacrifices: and as John made the distribution, the multitude took their parts of it, drinking, and anointing, without any difficulty. My heart is full, and I cannot forbear giving it vent. I am persuaded, that if the Romans had delay'd the calling of these wicked people to an account, this city would either have been drown'd, or swallow'd up with an earthquake, or have been destroy'd with thunder and lightning, like Sodom; the Jews being much the wickedest people of the two: infomuch, that for their stubbornness and iniquity, the whole race of them was rooted out.

It would be endless to recount the several instances of their misery. Manneus, the son of Lazarus, had the command of one of the city gates; and going over to Titus, he gave him this account: that from the time of Titus's encamping before the town (from the fourteenth of * Xanthicus to the first of Panemus) there pass'd thorough that gate one hundred thousand fifteen hundred and eighty dead bodies, and this was no more than what fell to his share to take notice of, by virtue of a commission to that purpose: beside what were bury'd by their relations; that is to say, thrown out of the city, having no other way of burial. After this, upon the computation of divers men of quality that deserted, there were six hundred thousand poor people carry'd out of the gate; beside others innumerable, that for want of friends to carry their carcases out of the city, were pil'd in heaps, and shut up in large houses. Wheat was by this time valued at a talent for a bushel; and now since the walling up of the town so close, that they were cut off from all provision, to the value of a single spire of grais, they were brought to that pinch of extremity, that they were glad to rake vaults and sinks for sustenance, and to feed upon ordure, and other nastiness, enough to turn a body's stomach but to look upon it. The bare story of the calamity drew pity from their very enemies; but the faction in the city, that both saw and felt their sufferings, were not so much as sensible that their own rebellious obstinacy had been the cause of it. But they were hurried on, under the fatality and impulse of a blind insatiation, to the irreparable ruin both of themselves and of the city.

* From the fourteenth of April to the first of July.

The value of a Jewish talent in silver, which we suppose to be the talent here meant, amounted to three hundred and forty two pounds three shillings and nine pence of English money.

"What would not these people do, said the Romans, if they had fortune on their side; that behave themselves with this bravery, in defiance of all opposition!" Upon this consideration,



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

The state of Jerusalem. From a civil war they advance to a foreign. A paradise turn'd into a desert. The Jews outdo the Romans. They attempt the firing of their engines, but fail. Jerusalem assaulted. The Jews make a bold defence. The Romans fall to mining. Titus to his army. The Jews firm in all extremes. Titus's opinion of a future state. An encouragement to his soldiers to do their duty. A gallant action of Sabinus.

The state of Jerusalem.



THE state of Jerusalem was every day worse and worse; and the faction still more and more fierce and turbulent, as they grew more and more miserable: the famine having now taken possession of great and small, all alike. It was a sad spectacle to see how the streets were cover'd with dead bodies, the air infected, and the very passages choak'd up with carcasses that were trampled under foot like the ruins of a fought field; and without any consideration either of terror or pity, or how soon it might come to be their own case. They began with cutting one another's throats, and advanced from a civil war to a foreign; as if divine providence had not made haste enough to perfect their destruction. For they did not contend so much for any hope they had of victory, as in a transport of rage and despair.

From a civil war to foreign

THE Romans, upon this pinch, were hard put to it for materials to finish their works; but yet, upon cutting down all the woods within ninety furlongs of the city, they made a shift in one and twenty days to raise their platforms. But never was known so dismal a change of things, from a paradise to a desert; and, instead of the most delicious country under the heavens, for curious gardens, plantations, and houses of pleasure, not so much as a tree or a cottage left standing, or any thing to be seen but the marks of desolation and ruin:

A paradise turn'd into a desert. Not a stick of wood left within ninety furlongs of the town.

infomuch that strangers could not forbear weeping, to see the difference betwixt the old Jerusalem and the new. For the war had so far defac'd the beauty and the glory of the place, that it was hardly to be known again; and people enquir'd for Jerusalem in the very heart of the city itself.

UPON perfecting the mounts, the Jews and the Romans were both equally solicitous for the event. The Jews were either to destroy them once again, or to lose the city, and one disappointment more on the other hand would put the Romans out of condition to repair them: for there was no more wood to be gotten, and the soldiers were quite harrass'd out with the fatigue of the service. Not but that the Romans all this while, were more afflicted for the calamity of the city, than the citizens for themselves; who kept up their courage yet in despite of all difficulties. But when the Romans found themselves over-reach'd by stratagem, their inventions eluded, the wall proof against their machines, and themselves worsted, in fine, at handy-strokes, their very hearts fail'd them; especially having to do with an enemy, that instead of sinking under the discouragements of famine, war, &c. rather gather'd spirit from the opposition. "What would not these people do, said the Romans, if they had fortune on their side; that behave themselves with this bravery, in defiance of all opposition!" Upon this consideration,

The Jews too hard for the Romans.

"consideration, the Romans doubled their guards.

They attempt the firing of the Roman engines, but fail.

JOHN and his people in the castle of Antonia, did all that was to be done, before the rams were mounted, to prevent the danger of a breach. But it was so much labour lost, for the design they had of setting fire to the mount with flaming torches, came to nothing. The truth of it is, they did not behave themselves like Jews, either for union or vigour, and so were forc'd upon a retreat. But as they fell short of themselves, on the one side, so the Romans also went beyond themselves on the other, in planting so strict a guard on the bulwarks, that there was no possibility of doing any execution by fire: beside, that they were resolv'd every man of them to die upon the spot, rather than to submit to so irreparable a mischief as the losing of that post; for nothing could have put the soldiers in a greater confusion, than to see brave men outdone by policy, their courage baffled by a hot-headed temerity, military discipline and experience confounded by popular outrage, and the Romans, in fine, overcome by the Jews. While the Jews advanc'd, the Romans were ready with their darts to encounter them; and the foremost that fell did not only hinder his next man, but the exemplary danger of the one, serv'd for a warning to the other. As for those that press'd upon the enemy's weapons, some of them were surpriz'd at the dignity of the Roman order, others at their numbers, and some again march'd off with their wounds: so that in the conclusion, they all quitted their ground, every man shifting the blame off to his fellow.

They blame one another.

Jerusalem assaulted.

The Jews make a bold defence.

THE assault was given on the first of the month * Panemus; and the Jews being now drawn off, the Romans advanced with their rams toward Antonia, in defiance of all they were able to do, by fire, sword, stones, and all other ways of hostility whatsoever. Not but that the Jews depended much upon the strength of their walls against the battery of the machines: but they did what they could however to keep the Romans at a distance from fixing them. The inference they drew from this way of management was, that the Jews were conscious to themselves that Antonia was in danger, and that this apprehension made them bestir themselves so much. They continu'd the battery, and the wall stood hitherto firm; but the Romans fortifying themselves under the defence of their bucklers against the shot and stones from above, they apply'd themselves to digging and mining; and when, with indefatigable labour, they had loosen'd four stones under the foundation of the work, the night drawing on, they betook themselves on both sides to their rest. In this interim, that part of the wall that John had undermin'd for the destruction of the former works, fell down all on a sudden. This unexpected accident was a surprize to both parties. The Jews, that had reason to be troubled at it, especially when they might have foreseen and prevented it, were yet in as good heart as if Antonia had been their own still: and the joy of the Romans, on the other hand, for an accident that appear'd so seasonable, was as quickly dash'd upon the sight of another wall, that John had

The Romans fall to mining

carry'd up within the former; only the latter appear'd to be the less defensible place of the two, both as the ruin of the one facilitated the passage to the other, and as the work of the new wall could not yet be so firm and settled as that of Antonia. But there was no thought of scaling it, and coming off alive.

TITUS was not now to learn the force of reasoning, and fair words, upon the minds of men of arms and honour; or how generous spirits might be wrought upon by plausible insinuations of artifice and address, into not only the neglect of danger, but the very contempt of death itself. With this thought in his head, he summoned the flower of his army together, and spake to them after this manner:

"My brave fellow-foldiers, says he, there can be no place for encouragements, where there is no danger: neither would it become me to offer it, as if you wanted it, or you to take it. Exhortations are more properly for doubtful cases, wherein all brave men will advise themselves. It will be a hard work, I must confess, to master the wall we have here before us: but great souls are given us for great and glorious exploits; and death is an advantage when it is follow'd with immortal fame for a reward: beside that it shall be my care to reward those that deserve it. In the first place, I would have you think of that for your encouragement, that works a contrary effect upon others. I speak of the insuperable patience and constancy of the Jews in the worst of fortunes. As what can be more ignominious, than for the military Romans, that study war in peace, and are so wonted to conquer, that it is almost natural to them to be victorious; for these, I say, to be beaten out of their strength and courage by the Jews, and at the latter end of the day too, with God's providence most evidently on their side, and the enemy nothing to support them, but the fury of their own extravagant despairs; beside that they suffer daily under the judicial vengeance of God's high displeasure in our favour: witness their factions, famine, siege, and the ruin of their walls, even without battery; which are but so many declarations from heaven against them, to our advantage. It will not become us therefore to truckle to our inferiours, and to cast off the divine protection. Shall the Jews that have been train'd up to slavery, and consequently have little or no credit to lose upon that account; shall these people, I say, have the bravery to charge into the middle of the Roman troops, and look death in the face, rather than run the risk of the same condition over again; and all this, out of mere ostentation and vanity, without the least hope or prospect of success? and shall we, on the other hand, that are effectually the lords and masters of the universe, and in a manner entitled to a right of conquest; shall we, I say, lie still and idle, without so much as one bold attempt upon our adversaries, waiting only in our arms, till hunger and fortune shall give up the enemy, without any difficulty, into our hands? 'Tis but taking Antonia once, and the town is our own. Or, in case we should

Titus to the flower of his army.

The Jews firm and steady in all extremes.

* i. e. July.

Titus his notion of a future state.

He that does well shall be sure of honour and reward.

"meet with any resistance from within (which I do not expect) it would not be worth the speaking of; for the advantage of the higher ground lays the enemy at our feet without all hope of recovery. I do not take upon me here to celebrate the history of those heroes, that having ended their days in the field of battle, shall yet live in the memory of future ages to perpetuity. As for those worthless wretches that think of going down body and soul into the grave together, I wish them a death suitable to that abjection of mind. No man of sense and spirit can be so far ignorant of the state of souls departed, as not to understand that those that fall by the fate of war, are immediately translated into the heavens among the stars, to appear from thence, to their posterity, like good angels, or influences to prepare them on the other side for those mansions of bliss. But for those that die in their bed, as we say, or of some bodily disease, their souls, from that instant, are buried in darkness, let them be never so purify'd from pollution, and their names and memories for ever sunk and forgotten. Now since so it is, that death is inevitable, and that the sword compar'd with any disease is the easier death of the two, how mean and degenerate a cowardice would it be to withdraw the use of a life from the service of the publick, which is an indispensable debt to nature, and a man's country?"

"This may look, perhaps, as if I took the storming of this wall to be certain death; but resolution is above danger; and he that fears nothing, despairs of nothing. The fall of the first wall has open'd a way to the rest; and the second will be easily overborne, if you do but encourage and support one another: only stand firm, and your very numbers will do the work: and who knows at last but you may carry your point without blood too. You are to prepare however for a vigorous opposition, and to assure yourselves, that upon any advantage, either by stratagem, or by force, they will never be able to withstand us. And for him that first mounts the breach, it shall be my care, whether he lives or dies, to crown him with honours and rewards."

THESE words of Titus cast such a damp upon the spirits of the army, that there was but one man in the field had the heart to answer the end of this discourse. His name was Sabinus; a Syrian born, and a soldier of the guards; and a man eminent both for courage and execution: one that had never seen him before, would hardly have taken him for a military man, either by his make, or by his outward appearance: he was a little black man; but had a soul too large for his body. This man made his reverence, and address'd himself to Titus in words to this effect. "I do here (says he) make a tender of myself to Cesar with all my heart, for the first man to give the assault. May Cesar's fortune answer Sabinus's good-will. Or if I should miscarry in the attempt, what I lose one

way, I get another, in the honour of laying down my life for my master; which makes it all one to me whether I live or die."

UPON these words, with his sword drawn in his right hand, and his shield over his head in his left, he advanced toward the wall about the * sixth hour of the day, at the head of eleven men, who follow'd him purely in emulation of his virtue. Sabinus, in this action, encounter'd all the enemies stones and shot, with a spirit more than human; and several of his followers were knock'd down upon that attack. But this did not hinder Sabinus yet from pressing forward upon the enemies darts and arrows, till he had mounted the wall, and forced the Jews to abandon their station, for fear of an enforcement of greater numbers to over-power them. But what shall we say now to the spiteful malignity of fortune, that takes delight to cross all virtuous undertakings? for when this hero was just upon the perfecting of his work, he was most unluckily overborne with the fall of a stone. The Jews looking behind them upon the noise, and finding Sabinus lying alone there, and in a manner senseless, they all fell upon him with their darts. He defended himself upon his knees, with his buckler over his head, as long as he could, and revenged himself upon his enemies with his sword; killing some, and wounding others, till in the end, being able to strike no longer, he breathed his last under a shower of their darts.

THE bravery of this man deserved a more propitious fate; he but died yet as great as he lived. Three of his companions were crush'd to death with stones from the top of the wall, and there were eight more carried off wounded to the camp. This action pass'd upon the third day of the month Panemus.

CHAP. II.

The Romans find the guards asleep at Antonia, and cut their throats. A terrible fight upon it, with a great slaughter and confusion. A battle of ten hours; and the Jews get the better of it.

TWO days after this, there were got together twenty of the guards of the platform, the ensign of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter; and making a silent march over the ruins up to Antonia, in the dead of the night, without any opposition, they found the advance guards fast asleep, cut their throats, and so taking possession of the wall, the trumpet sounded. Upon this alarm, the rest wak'd and fled, without waiting to see what numbers had entered the place; but betwixt fear and fancy, they gave them for granted to be very strong. Titus immediately, upon this notice, put himself at the head of the choicest troops he had about him, and so took his way up to the ruins. The Jews were so terrify'd at this surprize, that some of them made for the inner temple; others, toward the mine that John had wrought to supplant the

A glorious action of Sabinus, one of the guards to Titus; and the glorious end he made.

The Jews made a bold defence.

The Jews made a bold defence.

The Romans march up to Antonia, find the guards asleep, and cut their throats.

A brave exploit Julius's

An error misfortune his; a remarkable death.

* i. e. Our twelve o'clock, or noon.

† i. e. July.

A sharp fight upon it.

With a great slaughter and confusion.

A battle of ten hours, and the Jews carry it.

Roman works : but the two factions of John and Simon giving all for lost, if the Romans should get the temple, there follow'd a fierce and an obstinate fight upon it, before the very doors of the place; the one fighting for life, the other for victory. Launces and darts were of little or no use on either hand; but the dispute was now decided by the sword. In this confusion, there was no distinguishing who and who were together; but all crouding, without either order or discipline: and such a medley of outcries, that there was no understanding one another. The slaughter was great on both sides, and the ground covered with arms and carcases. There was no place either to run away, or to pursue: but as they had the better, or the worse of it, they advanced, or retired; shouting and exulting on the one hand, and lamenting on the other. The front of both armies was of necessity either to kill, or to be kill'd; for there was no distance left betwixt them for a retreat. The battle, in fine, lasted ten hours: that is to say, from the ninth * hour over night to the seventh next day. But the furious obstinacy of the Jews carried it from the resolution and conduct of the Romans; and it was well for them they did so, for their last adventure was at stake. But the Romans, in the conclusion, contented themselves for the present, that they had gotten Antonia, with only one part of their army; for the legions, upon whom they chiefly depended, were not as yet come up.

CHAP. III.

A brave exploit of one Julian a centurion; and as notable a misfortune. The Romans shut up in Antonia. The names of the Jews that signalized themselves upon this occasion.

THERE was one Julian, a native of Bithynia, and a centurion; a man well born, and one who for skill in martial discipline, corporeal puissance, and undaunted resolution gave signal proof of his being the most accomplish'd soldier I ever heard of in the whole war. This Julian, as he was standing by Titus in Antonia, and the Romans at that time giving way to the Jews, he took his opportunity, and made a desperate leap on a sudden into the thickest of the enemy, and so gave them chace in his single person up to the innermost corner of the temple. This prodigious action put the multitude into such an amazement, that there was more in it (they thought) than the bare force of flesh and blood. But Julian pursu'd his course; some he overturn'd, others he overtook, and put to death: nothing, in short, was more agreeable to Cesar's friends, or a more dreadful spectacle to his enemies. But there was a fatality yet that befel this man, not to be foreseen, or avoided. For having his shoes studded with iron nails, after the fashion of other soldiers, as he was running upon the pavement, he got a slip; and the Romans, upon the clash of his arms,

broke into an outcry, for fear he might have done himself some mischief. The Jews at the same time fell upon him with swords and darts, while he fence'd off several blows with his buckler; and still as he try'd to get up again, he was borne down with multitudes. And yet, such was the proof of his arms, that even at his length upon the ground, they had some difficulty to dispatch him. But, what with loss of blood and other weakness, no mortal daring to succour him, he gave up the ghost.

CESAR was most sensibly touch'd, to see so brave a man made so publick and so deplorable a spectacle; and especially to find himself under the utter impossibility of saving a person he had so great a mind to preserve. But there were others that might have relieved him, if they had but had the courage to attempt it. Julian, in fine, after a long struggle with human frailty, and leaving several of his enemies wounded behind him, departed this life, to his everlasting honour, both with friends and foes. The Jews at last carry'd off the dead body, and after another repulse to the Romans, shut them up in Antonia. The Jews that signaliz'd themselves in this action, were Alexas, and † Gyptheus, of John's party: and of Simon's faction, there were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merton: James the son of Sozas, captain of the Idumeans; and Simon and Judas the sons of Jair.

The Romans shut up in Antonia. The names of the Jews that signalized themselves in this action.

CHAP. IV.

Titus invites John out to a fair battle. John's ribaldry in return. John deliberates upon the matter. Jeckonias's piety and prudence. The fate of Jerusalem draws on; and God punishes the Jews by the hand of the Romans. The Jews give it out that the Romans put all the deserters to death; but Titus proves the contrary. Titus has no hand in these abominations.

TITUS, being now resolved to tear up the foundations of Antonia, and to level the ways for the more commodious march of his whole army, he called for Joseph, and (understanding that on that day, which was the seventeenth of the month ‡ Panemus, the solemnity of their daily sacrifice could not be observ'd for want of a congregation, and that the people were much troubled at it) sent him to John a second time upon the same errand: that is to say, if John had a mind to fight, let him bring what numbers he pleas'd, and he should have the liberty to put it to a battle; provided only that the city and the temple might not be exposed in the common ruin, and that he would give over prophaning God's holy name and worship. Or, if he had a desire to revive the religious services that had been for some time discontinued, he might appoint which of the Jews he pleas'd to officiate.

Titus makes ready to march, and clears the way for his army.

He invites John out to a fair battle for the saving of the temple and city.

A brave exploit of one Julian a centurion.

An eminent misfortune of his; and as remarkable a death.

* That is, according to our division of time, from three in the afternoon till one o'clock next morning; for the Romans began their day at our six in the morning, which they called the first hour: their ninth hour therefore must be our three in the afternoon, and their seventh next day our one in the morning.

† Al. Tiphtheus.

‡ i. e. July.

Now Joseph did not think it sufficient to acquit himself of this commission to John alone; but mounting an eminence where he might be furthest heard, he communicated Cesar's pleasure to the Jews in Hebrew, as loud as he could deliver it: begging of the Jews all the while to have compassion of their country, and to prevent the burning of the temple, before it was too late; with liberty to solemnize their prayers and sacrifices, as formerly.

John's execrable ribaldry in return.

THE people gave Joseph a sorrowful hearing, without so much as one word speaking. But John, after several virulent and opprobrious invectives against Joseph, superadded this irony; "That there was no danger of Jerusalem, if it was the city of God".

Joseph reasons the case according to his commission.

"No doubt of it, says Joseph. (interrupting him with a loud voice) you have made a conscience of keeping every thing pure and holy, and of paying your duty to that God from whom you pretend to look for help. What would you think of that man now, but as the worst of enemies, who should rob you of your daily bread? And yet at the same time you make no difficulty at all of robbing Almighty God of his daily sacrifices and oblations. And what's your quarrel after this to the Romans, but for standing up in defence of your own laws and worship, which you yourself suppress? Never was there so miserable a turn of religion and state! strangers and enemies do the office of your best friends; and the Jews themselves, both by blood and education, crueller than Barbarians one to another. But repentance is never out of season, let the case be never so desperate. As in the instance of Jechonias the king of the Jews; who, when the Babylonians made war upon Jerusalem, quitted the town upon choice, before it was taken, and gave up himself, mother, and relations, for hostages, to save the holy city and temple from being laid in ashes. The name and honour of this prince stand upon record to this day, in an anniversary solemnity, to the memory of that illustrious action. I cannot recommend you to a more pertinent or seasonable precedent: and let your distress or offence be what it will, my life for yours, the Romans shall pardon it. Wherefore consider well with yourself, who it is that advises you; what they are to whom I pass this promise; what moves me to it; and in whose name I undertake it. Heaven forbid that I should ever submit to be so mean a slave, as to forget what I owe to the place of my nativity, and to the laws of my country! And after all this, what do I get for my good-will now, but fresh indignities, railings, and injuries? And all this is not yet so bad neither as I deserve, for endeavouring to preserve a race of people that fate and providence are resolved to destroy. What can be clearer than the frequent predictions we meet with in history, pointing at the destruction of this miserable city; and that the time of it is then near at hand, when the Jews are tearing out the hearts one of another? Now this is so far come to pass, that not only the houses, but the temples, are polluted with the blood of your own tribes. And what is all this now, but the divine judgment of God, punishing the

A memorable instance of Jechonias's piety and prudence.

The fate of Jerusalem near at hand. God punishes the Jews by the hands of the Romans.

Jews by the hand of the Romans, which will probably end in purging the city by fire?"

JOSEPH could go no further for sobs and tears, which put the Romans into a tender admiration at the softness and humanity of his very disposition: but the more Joseph lamented, the more implacable were John and his confederates against the Romans; inso-much, that they lay in wait to enveigle Joseph into a snare, and take him prisoner. But his discourse wrought very effectually upon several of the nobility. There were diverse of the factious also, that finding the case desperate, and giving all for lost, would have gone over to the Romans, if they durst have stirr'd for fear of their own guards. But others there were, that taking their opportunity, stole from their companions and deserted, in which number were the high-priests, Joseph and Jesus; the three sons of Ismael, that had his head cut off at Cyrene; four sons of Matthias; and one son of another Matthias, who made his escape to the Romans, after Simon the son of Gioras had put the father and three of his sons to death, as has been said already. There were also a great number of persons of condition that deserted with the priests, who were graciously received by the emperor, but sent away to Gophne for the present, with a promise of large possessions to be distributed among them at the end of the war. Titus gave them this assignment by themselves, to avoid the uneasiness of a mix'd conversations among people of different manners, laws, and customs; and they were very thankful for the allotment.

Several of the better sort give their companions the slip.

WHEN they were all withdrawn to their colony, and none of them seen any longer in the city, the faction rais'd a spiteful and slanderous report, how the Romans kill'd all the deserters as fast as they came over to them, with a design to fright others from leaving their companions. This invention succeeded once again, as before; but Titus, being now aware of the stratagem, call'd them all back again from Gophne, and order'd them to take the tour of the walls with Joseph, and shew themselves to the town, which brought over more proselytes to the Romans than ever. As they were gather'd together upon this occasion, they planted themselves in the sight of the Romans, and pressing the faction with importunities and lamentations, begg'd of them either to take the Romans into the town, and deliver their country; or otherwise quit the temple, to prevent the firing of it; which the Romans would never agree to but upon the last extremity. This did but make the faction more and more outrageous against the fugitives, with their stones, darts, arrows, slings, and other hostile engines; which being planted at the very gates, made the temple look more like a castle than an house of religious worship; and the dead bodies lay every where so thick about it, as if it were a common burying-place. They broke also into the holy sanctuary, with their arms still warm and reeking in the blood of their countrymen, and advanced to such a degree of extravagance, that the Romans pay'd a greater reverence to the Jewish rites and ceremonies, than the Jews did to their own. There was not a man in Titus's army, that had not a veneration for the temple

The Jews give out that the Romans kill all the deserters.

But Titus proves it a manifest imposture.

Titus upon

He part

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temple itself, and for the God that was worshipped there, and that did not heartily wish to see the faction repent while there was yet place left for mercy.

TITUS was so sensibly touch'd with the case of these wretched people, that he made one trial more yet, how far John, and his confederates, might be wrought upon by reason. "Tell me, says he, you inhuman miscreants! what were all the bars and partitions for, about this holy place, with the Latin and Greek inscriptions upon these pillars, forbidding all people, upon a penalty, not to pass this enclosure? Neither have we ourselves been less tender of your privileges, in making it death for any man to pass these bounds, not excepting the Romans themselves. How comes the sanctuary after this, to be prophaned with assassinations and murders, and the temple defil'd with blood, foreign and domestick. I appeal to all the Gods of my country, and to the late patron of this holy temple, (who hath now forsaken it,) to my army, to the Jews that have join'd with me, and finally to yourselves, that I am innocent of all these abominations: and I do sacredly promise, that, if you will but comply in quitting this holy place, no man shall approach to offer it any indignity; but that I'll preserve and protect your temple even whether you will or no."

CHAP. V.

Titus forced upon the war. He forms his party, and posts himself upon fort Antonia. An attack in the night, follow'd with a dismal uproar and confusion. Day-light brings them into order again. A drawn battle at last. Several Jewish heroes that fought bravely. Four mounts erected. A bloody dispute. A famous action of one Pedanius. The Jews fire the temple-galleries. A phantastical challenge. Jonathan kills Pudens; and Priscus kills Jonathan.

TITUS, upon this occasion, made use of Joseph for his interpreter; but the faction made a wrong construction of it, and imputed the fairness of the application rather to fear, than good-will, and the Jews grew insolent upon that mistake. When Titus found they had no regard, either to the temple, or to themselves, he resolved, though much against his mind, to carry on the war. But he could not draw up his whole army against them, because there was not room sufficient; so that he detach'd thirty out of every company, with a tribune at the head of every thousand, and Cerealis to command them all in chief. With this detachment they were to have fallen on upon the enemy's guards about the ninth * hour of the night, and Titus himself to have led on the attack: but upon a council of war, the officers were all of opinion for Titus rather to post himself upon the fort Antonia, where he might see and observe how his men acquitted themselves, without running the risque of any common danger in his own person; beside, that it would inspire his people with a new

soul, to shew their bravery in the sight of their general.

TITUS, in fine, render'd himself to the reasons of his officers and friends; and so withdrew to a watch-tower in Antonia, where he might see and judge of the whole action; charging his officers at the same time to take strict notice who did well, or ill, that he might see them rewarded, or punished accordingly. The matter was no sooner settled, but order was given, and an hour appointed, for the attack. The Romans did not find the enemy asleep this time, as was expected; but the advance guards came presently to blows, with a confusion of clamours; and, upon wakening their fellows, brought them on the multitudes to second them. The Romans stood the first shock; but the numbers that follow'd fell indifferently upon their own people, without knowing friend and foe asunder: for betwixt the noise of the uproar, and the darkness of the night, they knew neither voices nor faces apart; but following the impulse only of a blind rage and passion, they fell foul upon what came next in their way at a venture. But the Romans keeping themselves in orderly bodies all this while, under the cover of their bucklers, and knowing one another by the word, or signal, made a tolerable shift in the conflict; whereas the Jews moved not one sober step backward or forward; but mistaking their enemies for their friends, and their friends for their enemies, destroy'd more of their own men than the Romans themselves did. But upon break of day, so soon as the light shew'd them their errors, they betook themselves to a more regular way of combat, and fell to their darts and arrows, both sides as fresh and vigorous as if they had done nothing all night. Now the Romans, who had Titus for the judge, witness, and spectator, of their behaviour, and looked upon the bravery of that day's action as the foundation of their future fortunes, fought one and all in a noble strife and emulation, who should do best; while the Jews at the same time had their own lives and the temple at stake, with the tyrant John at the head of them, cajoling some with fair words, and treating others with menaces and blows. This fight was most of it hand to hand, but with various changes backward and forward; for there was hardly any room either for flight or pursuit. Antonia was, in effect, but a kind of theatre to the battle; Titus and his friends the spectators; calling out to the actors one while to follow their advantage, other while to stand their ground, as they saw occasion; and there passed nothing that escap'd their observation. The dispute lasted, in fine, from the ninth hour of the night, to the † fifth the next day; both sides maintaining their ground, and coming, in the conclusion, to a drawn battle. There were several noble Romans that behaved themselves like heroes; and the most remarkable captains of the Jews were as follows. Of Simon's party, there were Judas the son of Merton, Simon the son of Josias, Jacob the son of Sofa, and Simon the son of Cathlas, Idumeans. And then of

An attack ordered at a set hour in the night.

And follow'd in the dark with a dismal uproar and confusion.

Day-light brings them into order.

Titus forced upon a war.

He forms his party.

Posts himself upon fort Antonia, within view of the action.

* That is our three in the morning.

† That is from our three in the morning till eleven, being eight hours.

John's disciples, there were Gyptheus and Alexas; and of the Zelotes, there was Simon the son of Jair.

The passes about Antonia level'd.

Four mounts erected.

In the compass of seven days, the foundations of Antonia were all turn'd up to the bottom, and a broad way cut out for the legions to march up to the wall; where they immediately fell to work upon four mounts: the first, over against the corner of the inner temple that looks north and east: the second, against the gallery, to the northward betwixt the two gates: the third, toward the west porch of the outward temple; and the fourth, toward the north porch. But it was an infinite charge and labour, the bringing of the materials an hundred *furlongs from the place; beside the many surprizes they met withal by the way; for the Romans were over confident and careless, and the Jews rash and desperate enough to venture upon any thing.

It was the practice of several of the Romans, when they went out a foraging, to turn their horses loose a grazing; and it was then a common thing for the Jews to sally out upon so fair an opportunity, and carry them off. This happen'd so often that Titus imputed it at last rather to the negligence of the Romans, than to the daring industry of the Jews. And he found himself much in the right too; for upon the putting of one soldier to death for the loss of his horse, it secured all the rest; for the soldiers took care never to lose their horses afterwards.

When they had now raised their platforms, and put themselves in condition to mount their attacks against the temple, there came down the next day a rabble of a faction, that were ready to starve in the city for want of pillage. This seditious crew about the eleventh † hour of the day, made an effort upon the Roman guards toward the ‡ mount of Olivet, in hope of either taking them at unawares, or finding them withdrawn to repose themselves. The Romans saw the storm a coming; and taking the alarm in time, drew out all the strength they were able to make, and put a check to a most desperate attempt they had projected upon the wall. It came, in short, to a bloody dispute, and there were great things done on both sides; the Romans valuing themselves upon the reputation of their prowess and military conduct, and the Jews flattering themselves in the force of a fool-hardy and a mistaken valour. The one fought for shame, the other upon necessity: for the Romans looked upon the Jews to be now as good as noosed, and could never have wip'd off the disgrace, if they had let them go again: and the Jews, on the other hand, had no hopes of coming off, but by forcing the Romans, and breaking down the wall.

An attack, and a bloody dispute upon it.

A wonderful exploit of one Pedanius.

THERE goes a wonderful story of one Pedanius, a Roman cavalier, which is thus: The Jews happen'd to be routed once, and pursu'd by the besiegers into the valley: this same Pedanius pushing full speed after them,

overtook a corpulent young man and heavy arm'd, spurring for life. He took him off from his horse by the leg, in the middle of his course, and carried him away a prisoner, for a present to Cesar. Titus was in high admiration at the prodigious strength of this man; but the prisoner was put to death upon it, for the villany of the attempt; Titus's heart at the same time being set upon the dispatch and finishing of the great work.

THE Jews finding themselves every day weaker and weaker, the war hotter, and the contagion ready to seize the very temple itself, the Jews did in this case, as men do in pestilential distempers, by cutting off the infected parts, to save the body. According to this allegory, the Jews began with setting fire to that part of the gallery, that reaching from the north to the east, faced Antonia: where they made a gap of near twenty †† cubits, and wrought the final destruction of the holy place with their own hands.

The Jews set fire to the temple galleries.

ON the four and twentieth of the month above mentioned, the Romans put the same gallery in a flame; and when the fire had gain'd fourteen ** cubits, the Jews took down the roof of it, and so went on still cutting off all communication with Antonia: not but that they might have hindered the burning of it, if they would, as they ought to have done; but their way was to regulate the mischief they did by their own convenience: and all this while there pass'd daily skirmishes and encounters, every where about the temple.

THERE was at this time a contemptible figure of a man, that was a Jew; a dwarfish puny-look'd fellow, and as despicable for his fortune and family, as otherwise; and his name was Jonathan. He went out one day to the monument of John the high-priest, and there talking vain-gloriously of himself, he made a challenge to any man of the whole Roman army to meet him with his sword in his hand. There was no body appeared to take him up; but some despised him; others, as it falls out many times in those cases, were afraid of him: some were not for fighting, they said, with a man that had a mind to die; nor others with men in despair, that fear neither God nor man; or, where there is honour to be lost on the one side, and none to be gotten on the other: beside that a brute and a man are not upon equal terms. When this insolent scoffing Jew had waited a long time for a champion, descending upon the cowardice of the Romans, and no body came; there was a proud arrogant man, one Pudens, a Roman cavalier, who out of an indignation for this affront, stood forth inconsiderately enough, and accepted the challenge; which in the end made sport for the company: the contempt he had for the Jew made him rash and careless; so that getting an unlucky fall by a slip, Jonathan made his advantage of it, and killed him when he was down; trampling the dead body under his feet, and vapouring over it with buckler in his

A fantastical challenge of one Jonathan.

Jonathan kills Pudens.

* An hundred furlongs (as has been before observed) were twelve English miles and an half, and one hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

† That is our five in the afternoon.

‡ Gr. Ελαιών ὄρος.

†† Twenty cubits (as hath been often observed) amounted to something upwards of thirty six English feet, that is twelve yards.

** Fourteen cubits were something upwards of twenty three English feet, that is seven yards and two feet.

And Priscus kills Jonathan.

left hand, and his bloody sword in his right, clattering his arms together, and insulting at the same time with foul language and ribaldry, both against his adversary and the spectators of the Roman army. While Jonathan was in the height of his buffoonry and exultation, Priscus, a centurion, shot him through the heart with an arrow, which struck him dead upon the body of his enemy. This put both Jews and Romans into an uproar, though upon differing motives, and was look'd upon as a just judgment upon Jonathan, for assuming that to his virtue, which was only due to his fortune.

CHAP. VI.

A war betwixt the temple and the mounts. The Jews confound the Romans by a stratagem. Titus pities them. The bravery of Longus. A strange escape of Artorius.

An open war betwixt the temple and the mounts. The Jews destroy the Romans by a stratagem.

THE faction in the temple was now in open war with the foldiers upon the mounts; and on the twenty seventh of the month aforesaid, the Jews bethought themselves of this stratagem. They fill'd the roof of the western porch, betwixt the top of it and the timber, with a quantity of dry wood, sulphur, and bituminous matter; and then pretending to give way upon an attack, they suffer'd themselves to be beaten out, as if they had not been able to maintain it. A company of rash people follow'd them close upon the pursuit, and set up ladders to make good what the other had quitted; but the wiser sort look'd upon the whole to be a trick, and never stirr'd for the matter. Upon the Romans crowding into the porch, the Jews set fire to it, and all was immediately in a blaze, to the astonishment even of those that were out of reach of it; but the most desperate horror and confusion of the rest imaginable. Some plung'd themselves into wells and pits; others leapt head-long down among their enemies, some running one way, some another: some were smother'd in the flame, and others cast themselves upon their swords, to prevent death by another.

Titus pities them with a generous compassion.

THIS spectacle went to the heart of Cesar, out of a generous compassion he had for the calamity of so dismal a miscarriage: not but that he was highly offended at his soldiers, for venturing upon such an attack without orders. But they had this comfort however in their distress, that to balance the loss of their lives they had the love and pity of the prince for whom they dy'd; for they could see him calling and labouring up and down to do all that was possible for their relief: and every instance of his affection was look'd upon as a memorial to his immortal honour. As for those that made a shift to escape the fury of the flames, they were beset by the Jews, and after a stout resistance every man of them put to the sword.

The bravery of Longus.

THERE fell abundance of brave men in this terrible adventure, but none greater than one

Longus; who, with honour to all the rest in general, must not be forgotten upon this occasion in particular. This Longus was a Roman, and in the vigour of his youth. The Jews found him a daring and a dangerous man, and had no way to cut him off unless they could get him down to them upon honour, that he should return safe again without any violence to his person. His brother Cornelius taking notice of this, call'd out to him on the other hand, adjuring him not to do any thing, that either his country or himself should have reason to be ashamed of. Longus upon this, drew his sword, and in the sight of both parties kill'd himself.

A strange escape of Artorius.

THERE was also one Artorius that deliver'd himself from the fire by an artificial address. He was reduc'd to an extremity; and seeing one Lucius, his fellow-foldier, and comrade, within call: "Catch me in thy arms, says he, and break my fall, and I'll make thee my heir." Artorius took his leap; and the other disposing himself to receive him, the weight of the one destroy'd the other, dashing him to pieces upon the place. This miscarriage for the present made many a sad heart among the Romans; but it kept them afterward upon a better guard against the subtilties and stratagems of the Jews, which were very sly and dangerous to those that were not well aware of them.

THE porch was burnt as far as the tower that John erected in his war with Simon, upon the pillars that led to it: and the Jews, after the burning of the Romans, as above, broke down the rest. On the day following, the Romans put fire also to the north porch, and so carry'd it before them to that on the east, that overlooks the valley of Cedron, from a precipice that makes a person's head giddy to look down it.

CHAP. VII.

The extreme misery that attends a famine.

THIS was the face of things about the temple; the city well nigh depopulated with a devouring famine, and the numbers of the miserable inhabitants destroy'd thereby inexpressible. It was enough to create a war in a family, to have but any jealousy of meat in it, and enough to break the tenderest friendships in nature. Those that were evidently starv'd to death could not yet be believed at the last gasp, that they dy'd in want: but they would search the very bosoms of the dead for bread, when they had no longer any breath in their bodies. If they miss'd what they look'd for, their despairs hurry'd them up and down, raging like mad dogs, and staggering like so many drunken men, ransacking every nook and corner of the same houses over and over again; nothing coming amiss to them, which the foulest of brutes themselves would boggle at; girdle, shoe-leather, beasts-skins, &c. nay an handful of old hay was sold for a *tetradrachm. But why do I trouble myself with illustrations of this dreadful judgment, by things inanimate; having at hand

No distress like that of a famine.

* A tetradrachm is four Attick drachma's, and an Attick, according to Calmer's table, where it is valued almost one seventh lower than by other authors, was equivalent to six pence three farthings and three eighths of a farthing English money; four therefore, according to this author, must be equivalent to two shillings and three pence half penny farthing: but as we ourselves have seen and weighed several tetradrachms, we can assure the reader that they were of fine silver, and something heavier than an English half crown.

such an instance for matter of fact as was never known, either among Greeks or Barbarians! and the story is not to be heard or reported without horror. I could be well enough content to pass over this relation, lest posterity should take me for a falsary: but I have so many witnesses to the truth of it, that I should be wanting to my country in such a partiality to the dead, as to suppress it.

C H A P. VIII.

*A mother dresses and eats the flesh of her own son.
Cesar innocent upon the whole matter.*

THERE was a certain rich gentleman beyond Jordan, whose name was Mary. She was the daughter of Eleazar, of the village † Vetezobra; that is to say, the House of Hyssop. She fled in company with several others, and took sanctuary in Jerusalem, where they had the fortune to be besieged. The tyrants stripp'd this lady of all she brought publickly along with her, that was precious; and for any thing else that was conceal'd, either goods or provisions, her house was daily broken up and rifled by the soldiers. Upon this usage, the woman fell foul upon the faction with the bitterest and the most outrageous language; but could not prevail with any of these monsters yet, either in pity or in rage, to put her to death. When she found herself brought to this extremity, that she had no way left in nature to keep body and soul together (the gripes of a tormenting famine having already seiz'd her, and no possibility of getting over them) she deliver'd herself up to fury and necessity, and pitch'd upon the most unnatural resolution that ever was heard of.

SHE had a child sucking at her breast, which she snatch'd up; and looking tenderly upon it, "What, says she, shall I say now to thee, thou most unfortunate infant, to be brought into the world, under a complication of three such dreadful judgments, as war, famine, and rebellion! Which of the three shall I reserve thee for? The Romans will give thee thy life perhaps, but not thy liberty. Now famine will prevent slavery; but for our present tyrants, thou wilt find them incomparably worse than the other two. What canst thou do better now, than to supply the want of a meal's meat to thy starving mother, and sting the party with the horror of the fact? and then finally crown the history of the Jews with the only execrable abomination that is yet wanting to the perfecting of their misery?" With these words, she kill'd her child, boil'd and dress'd it; the one half of it she eat herself, and the other half she set by out of the way, and kept cover'd. The faction presently smelt out the inhuman cookery, and came immediately to the woman's house, with menaces of death without mercy, if she did not forthwith bring them out her provisions. The woman told them that this was all she had, and so shew'd them the remainder of her child. They stood like statues upon the very sight of it, and so fell to trembling, and ran stark mad.

A mother dresses and eats the flesh of her own son.

"Look ye, says the woman, this is really my son, and this dish is of my dressing. I have eaten the one half myself, and pray do you eat the other. You will not pretend I hope, to be nicer than a woman, or tenderer than a mother: but if you make any scruple of conscience at the oblation, I have eaten part of it already, and you may leave the rest where you found it." Upon this, they went their way in a quaking terror, and with some difficulty, left the child with the unhappy mother, the only thing they ever boggled at.

THE noise of this bloody execution was quickly spread all over the city; and such an abhorrence for it in general, as if every single man had had a part in the crime. The dread of the famine made men weary of their lives, and the living envy'd the dead, that were taken away before the extravagance came to the height. The story was quickly gotten from the Jews to the Romans, where some pity'd the people, others hated them for it, and some again gave no credit to it. Cesar acquitted himself, as in the presence of God, that he had done all he could to make the Jews easy and happy, in their lives, liberties, and fortunes: but if they had rather be tearing one another to pieces, than live in union, who could help it? If they had rather have war than peace, or famine than plenty; nay, if nothing else would serve their turn, but that they themselves must fire that very temple which Titus did all that he could to preserve, their own children were meat good enough for such parents; and he was resolved to bury their iniquities in their ruin, and not to leave a city standing under the sun, where mothers devour'd their own children; and the fathers yet the more impious of the two, for keeping up the war, after so many demonstrations of God's terrible displeasure against it. Titus after this, reflecting upon the incorrigible hardness and obstinacy of the faction, gave them all for lost; for if any thing in nature would have wrought upon them, the calamities they had suffer'd already might possibly have reclaim'd them.

Cesar declares himself innocent of the whole matter.

C H A P. IX.

Batteries and mines signify nothing. Titus tries scaling ladders. The Jews make a stout resistance; and the Romans behave themselves bravely. Titus orders the Romans to set fire to the gates. Two treacherous deserters go over to Titus; but he suspects and pardons them. The Jews wrapp'd up in flames. The galleries burnt to the ground. Titus advises with his officers about the temple; some for one thing, some for another, but Titus for saving it. The Jews make a desperate sally upon the Romans: Titus brings them off, and forces the Jews into the temple. This was the second time that Jerusalem was burnt, upon the same day of the month.

WHEN two of the legions had finish'd their platforms, Titus on the eighth of the month † Lous, order'd his rams to be planted against the western gallery of the out-

† Gr. Βαδύχης. † i. e. August.

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Batteries and mines carried on for six whole days successively, to no purpose.

Titus tries scaling ladders.

The Jews make a stout resistance.

And the Romans behave themselves like men of honour. The Romans order'd to set fire to the gates.

Two treacherous deserters go over to Titus.

Titus suspects, but pardons them. The Jews wrapt up in flames.

ward temple; having play'd the best piece of battery he had for six whole days without intermission; but to no purpose; for the work was proof against the engines. There were others at the sametime sapping the foundations on the north side; and when they found that with an incredible labour, they could only loosen some of the outward stones, without moving any of the rest (for the porch stood yet firm) they perceiv'd at last that there was no good to be done by digging and mining, or by the help of levers and bars: so that the Romans betook themselves to their scaling ladders.

THE Jews could not hinder them from planting their ladders; but they made a brave resistance, where there was any place for it: encountering those that got up, hand to hand, before they could put themselves upon their guard; casting others down head-long, as they were mounting; cutting off some as they were advancing with relief; and sometimes overturning ladders, men and all together. So that the Romans loss upon this encounter was very considerable; especially in the disputes they had for the defending or recovering of their colours, as one of the nicest points of honour amongst the soldiers. But, in the conclusion, the Jews kept the ensigns that they took, and kill'd the ensign-bearers; which terrify'd the rest, and forced them to a retreat. Now to give the besiegers their due at last, there fell not a man of them but dy'd like a Roman. Those of the faction that had done bravely in former encounters, did so still; and so did Eleazar, the nephew of the tyrant Simon: but Titus finding by this time, that, in sparing a strange temple, he did but sacrifice his own men, he gave order to his people forthwith to set fire to the gates.

UPON this occasion, there came over to him, Ananus of Emmaus, one of Simon's guards, and the most inhuman wretch he had about him; with Archelaus the son of Magadathes: who flatter'd themselves with the hope of better quarter for leaving the faction upon a winning hand. Titus was so well informed of the barbarous practices and characters of these pretended converts, that he was once in the mind, notwithstanding this pretence, to have cut off both their heads; being fully convinced, that it was pure necessity and design, not affection or good will, that brought them over. Neither did he take them to have deserved their lives for that service, that first set their country in a flame, and then abandoned it. But however, upon second thoughts, he overcame the provocation, and so forgave them, though with a resolution never to trust them.

THE gates were by this time in a blaze; the silver-work over them melted, and the timbers all in a flame; insomuch, that the fire was gotten to the next galleries. This was such a surprize to the Jews to find themselves wrapt up in flames, that they stood staring one upon another as if they had been thunder-struck; without so much as attempting any thing toward their relief; or concerning themselves, either for what was already consumed, or for the saving of the rest. They had, in short, neither heart nor strength left them; and the fire got ground all that day, and the

night following, till by little and little it burnt down the galleries.

TITUS gave order next day for the quenching of the fire, and the levelling of the ways for the march of his army. After this he called a council of his general officers: that is to say, Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant general; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus, of the tenth; Titus Trigius, of the fifteenth: and there were with these, Æternius Fronto, the captain of the two Alexandrian legions; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the governor of Judea: with colonels, and other officers, to advise withal what measures to take in the business of the temple. Some were for keeping up to the strictness of the law of arms; for so long as that temple stood, and the numerous meetings there continued, the Jews (they said) would never be quiet: others were for the saving of the temple, upon condition of the Jews quitting it; and that there might be no farther quarrel about it: but if it should be gotten by the sword, by all means to burn it; not as a temple, but as a castle; for in that case, the fault would be theirs that forced the burning of it, not theirs that did it by necessity. "But, says Titus, interposing here, "if the Jews will be obstinate, and turn a temple into a citadel, shall I revenge the stubbornness of a rebellious people upon stocks and stones, and lay the most glorious fabrick of the universe in ashes for their sakes? It would be an affront to the dignity of Rome itself, to think of depriving the empire of so illustrious an ornament." When Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis, perceived the general's meaning, they came over to his opinion, and so the council was dismissed, with orders to the army to rest and refresh themselves, to be the fitter for action; several choice battalions being commanded out in the mean time to look after the fire, and cut out ways over the ruins. The Jews being now harrassed, with hard labour, and their courage quell'd, were quiet enough for this day: but the day following, when they had gathered strength, and taken heart again, they made a desperate sally about the second hour of the * day through the eastern gate, upon the guards of the outward temple. The Romans stood the first shock, like a wall against them, under the power of their bucklers, with a mighty resolution: but that would not have lasted long against such an odds of fierceness and numbers, if Cesar, with a select body of horse (who saw the action from Antonia) had not come seasonably up to their relief, before they gave ground. The Jews shrunk, upon this charge; and the Romans breaking in upon the front, the rest betook themselves to flight: and then the Romans drawing off in their course, the Jews rally'd and came on again. At this rate they took their turns interchangeably, charging and retreating till about the fifth † hour of the day, when the Jews were forced into the temple, and shut up there. Titus upon this withdrew to Antonia, with a resolution to attack the temple with his whole army the next morning. But God in his providence had from all eternity doom'd it to the fire; and in course of

The galleries burnt to the ground.

Titus calls a council of general officers, to advise about the temple.

But Titus for saving it.

The Jews make a desperate sally upon the Romans.

Titus supports them, and brings them off.

And forces the Jews into the temple.

* That is, about our eight o'clock in the morning.

† i. e. Our eleven in the morning.

Jerusalem
now burnt a
second time
on the same
day of the
month.

time, the fatal day was now at hand: the tenth of the month * Lous, and the very same day whereupon it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon. But this was a conflagration which the Jews brought upon themselves; for Titus had no sooner left them in quiet, but the rebels made a sally upon Cesar's guards as they were at work, by his order, to extinguish the fire: who put the Jews to the rout upon it, and had the pursuit of them to the temple.

CHAP. X.

A soldier pretends a divine impulse, and sets fire to the temple. Titus endeavours to stop it. A dreadful massacre.

A soldier sets
fire to the
temple, un-
der pretext of
a divine im-
pulse.

THERE was at this time a certain soldier, that, without any pretence of authority or conscience for so impious a fact, took upon him to act by the inspiration of a divine impulse. He mounted the shoulders of one of his comrades, and then cast a flaming brand into the golden window that looks toward the apartments on the north-side of the temple. The place took fire immediately, which raised such an hideous outcry among the Jews, that they hasten'd all that was possible to their relief. For this was not a time, by sparing of their lives, or their persons, when they had lost the only thing that had made life precious to them. The news of this conflagration being brought to Titus, just as he was laying himself down in his tent to take a little repose after the fatigue of the combat, he leapt up; and immediately taking his chariot, pass'd away with it to the temple, to try what he could do toward the putting out of the fire. His great officers followed him, and the legions after them, in such a confusion, as is but natural to a prodigious multitude without discipline. Cesar did all that was to be done with words and signs, towards having it extinguish'd; but it all signify'd nothing; for the greater noise drown'd the less, and they were every jot as blind to the signs and motions of his hand, as they were deaf to what he said. Neither were the soldiers govern'd by menaces or commands; but only follow'd the dictates of rage and passion: some were trampled upon, and squeez'd to death in crowds; others choak'd in the sultry ruins of the galleries over the porches; and the same thing, whether they overcame, or were overcome. The common soldiers in the temple pretended, in excuse of their disobedience, that they could not hear their emperor's orders; and they that followed, gave the word forward to throw fire. The sedition, in fine, had no way in the world to prevent it; and which way soever they turn'd themselves, they saw nothing but blood and destruction. As for the poor people, the sickly, and the unarm'd, they put them to the sword wherever they found them: mountains of dead bodies were pil'd up about the altar, and streams of blood flow'd down the stairs; with numbers of miserable creatures weltering in their own gore.

WHEN Titus saw there was no restraining the fury of his soldiers, and that the fury of

the fire increased more and more, he took some of his chief officers along with him into the inward temple; where, upon a strict examination of matters, he found the glory and magnificence of the place, even beyond the very fame of it; or at least equal to the report of the Jews themselves. But Titus observing, that the fire had not as yet taken the sanctuary, and making a true judgment upon it, that it might not be yet too late to save the holy place, he started up, and in his own person earnestly besought his soldiers to do their uttermost to put a stop to the fire; giving it in charge also to Liberalis, a centurion of his guards, to press the doing of it, and to cudgel those that refus'd. But what with an ungovernable rage, and an impotent fondness for war, neither fear nor respect was sufficient to keep them within the compass of their duty. There were others again that had their hearts set upon the booty; not doubting, but where the doors were plated with gold, they should find the inside all fill'd with hidden treasure. While Cesar was so very intent upon the saving of the temple, one of the soldiers at the same time set fire to some of the door-posts; whereupon Titus and his captains were forced to withdraw out of distance of preventing the mischief: so that the temple was destroyed at last, in despite of whatever Titus could do to hinder it.

THIS desolation was a calamity to make a body's heart bleed; the ruin of the most wonderful fabrick that ever was seen or heard of, both for structure, bulk, state, magnificence, the honour of religion, and of holy things. But we have this for our comfort and instruction yet, that there is an uncontrollable fatality attends all the works of the creation, whether animate, or inanimate; and that all things must have their period. It is a most remarkable revolution also, that this second conflagration should so exactly answer the very day and month of the former, under the king of Babylon, as is said already. We reckon from the building of the first temple by Solomon, to the destruction of this in the second year of Vespasian, eleven hundred and thirty years, seven months, and fifteen days: and from that of Haggai, in the second of Cyrus, we account six hundred thirty nine years, and forty five days.

CHAP. XI.

A cruelty that spares neither age, sex, nor quality. Nothing to be seen but fire and blood. Several priests engaged in the quarrel. The temple consumed to ashes, and all that was in it. Six thousand poor people destroy'd upon the credit of enthusiasts.

WHEN the temple was now in flames, the soldiers seized all that came to hand, and kill'd all they met, to the degree of a most prodigious slaughter and pillage, without any respect either to age or sex; but young and old, sacred and profane, priests and laicks, they all went together, and men of all sorts and qualities were equally involv'd in the common calamities of the war; and

An outragi-
ous cruelty,
that spares
neither age,
sex nor qua-
lity.

A dreadful
massacre, and
confusion.

* i. e. August.

whether they resisted, or submitted; whether they stood it out, or begg'd quarter, they far'd all alike. As the fire advanced, the crackling of the flames was heard, accompany'd with the dying groans of people at their last gasp; and betwixt the depth of the hill, and the extent of the conflagration, the whole city seem'd to be but one continued blaze. The tumult and uproar was so dreadful, that it is not possible to imagine any thing more terrible: what with the raging outcries of the Roman legions, the howling of the rebels when they found themselves at the mercy of fire and sword, and the dismal lamentations of distressed wretches in the temple, betwixt the enemy and the fire: in fine, those upon the mountain, and those in the city, answering one another by turns; the flames opening the eyes of those that the famine had well-nigh closed, and inspiring fresh spirit and ability to deplore their misfortunes. The neighbouring mountains and places beyond Jordan, echoing the same complaints and grievances over and over again; and the calamity, in weight, and substance, yet more than the noise.

Nothing to be seen but fire and blood.

The flashes were so impetuous and violent, that the very mountain the temple stood upon, looked as if it had been one body of fire from the bottom; and the blood, in proportion, answerable to the flame; for the number of the slain was superior to that of those that did the execution. The ground was covered all over with carcasses, and the soldiers pursued the living over the bodies of the dead: but in the end, a band of ruffians beat back the Romans, and having forced their way into the outward temple, made their escape into the city, and the rest of the multitude got into the outward porch.

Several priests engag'd in the quarrel.

THERE were a great many priests engaged in this quarrel with the Romans, that made use of their temple-spirits instead of darts, and of their feats with lead in them, that did them the office of stones: but when they saw that this would do no good, and that the fire found them out still wherever they were, they covered themselves for a while under a thick wall of eight cubits over. Two of the principal men of this number, (Melrus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Daleus) that might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, chose rather to stand or fall with their companions; and so plunging themselves into the flames, ran the same fate with the temple.

The temple, and all that was precious in it, laid in ashes.

WHEN the Romans found the temple itself laid in ashes, they did not think it worth their while to spare any of the rest of the buildings, and so put fire to all at once; as the gates, and galleries, &c. save only one on the east-side, and another on the south: and these likewise, not long after, follow'd the fortune of the rest. They burnt also the treasury, and the wardrobe, with jewels, money, rich habits, and other goods to an incredible value. In one word, this place was the repository of all the Jews had that was precious.

THERE were now gotten together into one gallery, without the temple, that was yet standing, in women, children, and a mixed

multitude that fled from the rabble, to the number of near six thousand persons. But before Cesar could give any order or direction in the case, the soldiers, in an extravagant brutal fury, set the place on fire, and plied it so close that betwixt those that were burnt to death, and others that cast themselves headlong down the ruin to save themselves, there was not one soul came off alive.

Six thousand poor people destroy'd by the advice of enthusiasts.

THE occasion of this mischief was a certain impostor, who took upon him to deliver a message from Almighty God, that day, to the people, and to this effect. He commanded them in the name of God to go immediately up to the temple, with an assurance, that they should there receive an infallible proof of his divine favour and protection. This was a common practice of the faction to pretend revelations to keep the credulous multitude firm against all dangers, and to secure them from deserting. But men in adversity are apt to hope the best, especially where they are promised relief, though it be but upon the credit of a false prophet.

CHAP. XII.

More credit given to false oracles than to the truth itself. A comet in the figure of a sword. A strange light about the altar. A cow brings forth a lamb. A brazen gate opens of itself. Chariots and armed men seen in the air. Foreboding exclamations from a poor country creature. He is first punished for it, and then discharged as a madman. In the conclusion, he foretells his own destruction. A prophecy of an emperor to come out of Judea expounded of Vespasian.

HOW easily were these superstitious wretches seduced into a belief of false oracles, counterfeits, and impostors! But when they were at any time premonish'd from the lips of truth itself, by prodigies, and other monitory prognosticks, of their approaching ruin, they had neither eyes, ears, nor understanding, to make a right use or application of them; but pass'd them over without either heeding, or so much as thinking of them. As for example now:

We give more heed to false oracles, than to truth itself.

WHAT shall we say to the comet that hung over Jerusalem for one whole year together, in the figure of a sword?

A prodigious comet in the figure of a sword. A wonderful light about the altar.

WHAT shall we think again of that wonderful light that was seen about the altar, a little before the revolt, on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebration of the paschal feast, and continued for the space of half an hour as bright as day. This prodigy was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen; but it was expounded by those that knew better things, as the forerunner of a war, and the mystery unfolded before it came to pass.

At the same festival, there was another prodigy of a cow deliver'd of a lamb in the middle of the temple, as they were leading her up to the altar for a sacrifice.

A cow that brought forth a lamb.

* Eight cubits were something upwards of fourteen English feet and an half, that is five yards lacking half a foot.

† I. e. April.

‡ That is our three o'clock in the morning.

A brazen
gate opening
of itself.

THE eastern gate of the inner temple, was made of solid brass; and so very heavy, that it was as much as twenty men could do every night to shut it; besides that it was fasten'd with iron bolts and bars, mortis'd into a huge threshold of one intire stone. This gate, about the sixth * hour of the night, open'd of itself; and upon early notice given of it to the proper officer, he came immediately up to look after it, and had much ado to make it fast again. Some ignorant people there were that took this for another good omen, descanting upon it, that it was a gate of blessings set open to them by providence; but the wiser sort made a contrary judgment of it; and that the opening of the gate was in favour of the enemy, and foretold desolation to the city.

Chariots, and
armed men
seen in the
air.

SOME short time after the festival was over (on the twenty first of the month † Artemisius) there appeared a prodigy of a vision so extraordinary, that I should hardly venture to report it, if I could not produce several eye-witnesses that are yet living to confirm the truth of it; and if the calamities that were foretold, had not come to pass. There were seen up and down in the air, before sun-set, chariots and armed men, all over the country, passing along with the clouds round about the city.

A voice cry-
ing in the air,
let us be gone.

UPON the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going to officiate in the inner temple according to custom, they heard at first a kind of a confused murmur; and after that, a voice calling out earnestly in articulate words, "Let us be gone, let us be gone."

A strange ex-
clamation of
one Jesus a
poor country
fellow.

BUT I come now to a story that passes all the rest. About four years before the war, when the city was in a profound peace, and flowing in plenty, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plain country fellow, who coming to the feast of tabernacles, (an annual feast to the honour of God) broke out on a sudden into this exclamation over and over. "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four quarters of the world, a voice to Jerusalem, and a voice to the temple; a voice to new marry'd men and women, and a voice to this whole nation."

The man
punish'd, but
still continues
his out-cry.

THIS was his cry day and night, from place to place, thorough every street of the city. Some great men in the government took such offence at so ill boding a liberty, that they order'd the man to be taken up and severely whipt. He took the punishment without returning so much as one word, either by the by, or in his own defence, or to complain of hard measure; but still he continued to repeat the same things over and over again, calling and denouncing as before. The magistrates began now to suspect (as they had reason for it) somewhat of a divine impulse in what he said; and that he spoke by an extraordinary spirit. He was carry'd upon this, to Albinus the governor of Judea; who caused him to be lash'd to the very bones, which he took without either tears or supplication; only in a mournful voice, as well as he could, he follow'd every stroke, with a Woe, woe to Jerusalem! Albinus, as his judge, began to ask him who he was, whence he came, where he

was born, and what he meant by that way of proceeding? But he gave him no answer. This was his way all along, till Albinus was fain to discharge him at last as a mad-man. From that time to the beginning of the war, he was never known to visit or speak to any of the citizens; or to make use of any other than that doleful form of words Woe, woe to Jerusalem! He never gave an ill word to those that daily scourged him, or a good one even to those that fed him: but his answer was to all people alike, an ominous presage. He was observed to be still more clamorous upon festivals, than upon other days; and at this rate he went on for seven years and five months; without either his voice or his strength failing him, till the siege of Jerusalem verify'd his predictions. After this, he took the tour of the wall once again, crying out (with a stronger voice than ordinary) Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people! concluding at last with a Woe, woe be to me myself! And in this instant he was taken off with a stone from an engine, in the middle of all his forebodings.

He is dis-
charged at
last as a mad-
man.

Fore-boding
also in the
end his own
destruction.

HERE is enough said to convince and satisfy mankind, that our destruction is from ourselves, and that providence is wanting in nothing to us, that may conduce to the common good and benefit of reasonable nature: as well by the means of foresight and revelation, as by the aid and faculty of reason. But when we are precautioned of future events, and will take no warning, our ruin lies at our own door. How came the Jews, after the taking of Antonia, to make the temple square, when they were conscious to themselves of a prediction in holy writ, that temple and city should be both taken, whenever it should be reduced to that figure? But the chief motive to this unfortunate war, was the ambiguity of another text, importing that in those days there should one come out of Judea that should have the command of the whole world. Now they apply'd this to their own nation, and many great men fell into the same error: but this prophecy, in truth, was intended of Vespasian; who was created emperor in Judea. But interpretations go by fancy; some one way, some another; and so it far'd with Jews, till they came in the end to pay for their mistakes, with the irreparable destruction of themselves, and of their country.

The prophe-
cy of an em-
peror to come
out of Judea
expounded
of Vespasian,
by Joseph.

CHAP. XIII.

Titus proclaim'd emperor. The force of hunger and drought in extremity. Certain priests order'd to be put to death. The faction desires a treaty, and Titus agrees to it. A pertinent discourse upon the subject. Titus offers them terms; which they refuse, under pretence of an oath to the contrary. Titus orders upon this that no Jew shall have either protection or quarter. The Romans fall on with fire and sword; but Titus continues tender and good natured to the last.

THE rebels being now fled into the city, the temple and all the places adjoining

* That is our twelve o'clock at night.

† i. e. May.

Titus proclaimed emperor by the army. Gold sunk to half the value.

The force of drought and famine.

to it being in flames, the Romans lodg'd their ensigns against the eastern gate; where they offered sacrifice, and with great shouts and acclamations, proclaimed Titus emperor. They got so prodigious a booty, that gold in Syria was brought down upon it to half the prize.

THERE was a child among the priests upon the wall, that begged of the Roman guards only a draught of water to quench his thirst: which they freely gave him, out of a tenderness both to his age and to his necessity, upon promises of good faith on both sides. The child went down and drank, and then filled a flagon that he carried along with him, and made such haste back with it to his friends, that the guards could not overtake him. The Romans charged the boy with breach of articles; but he pleaded for himself, that he covenanted only for liberty to fetch the water, not to continue with them when he had it, and consequently had broken no conditions. They found the fraud so innocent, that they were well enough content to be so cozen'd.

WHEN the priests had stay'd five days longer upon the wall, they were forced to come down, and deliver up themselves by the extreme necessity of an outrageous hunger. The guards took them to Titus, where they cast themselves at his feet for mercy. But his answer was, they should have thought of that sooner: for now the temple was gone, it was but reasonable the priests should go too, and that they and their temple should be inseparable. Upon this, Titus ordered the priests to be put to death.

Titus orders certain priests to be put to death.

The faction desperate, and desire a treaty.

Titus entertains the motion.

THE heads of the faction, finding themselves pressed on all hands, and so surrounded that it was impossible to come off, propos'd a conference with Cesar; who, out of his natural generosity and goodness, inclin'd to entertain it; partly out of a desire to save the town, and partly at the instance of his friends, in hope that the rebels might be brought to better terms for the future. Titus made a stand at the west side of the inner temple, near the gates that lead into the gallery; and there was a bridge of communication betwixt the temple and the upper town, which at this time parted the Romans and the Jews. The soldiers gathered together on both sides about their generals: the Jews on the one hand, to learn what hope of pardon; and the Romans on the other, out of curiosity to see how Titus would receive them: who in the first place commanded peace and silence, and that his men should forbear all hostilities, and shouting; after which he deliver'd his mind to them by an interpreter; giving thereby to understand that he had a right to speak first.

And treats the Jewish soldiers with a pertinent discourse upon the subject.

"AND is not your country miserable enough yet, do you think, good people?" says he. Will you never be brought to a sense either of your own weakness, or of the Roman power; but like so many beasts and madmen, ruin your people, city, and temple all in one; and yourselves too most deservedly in the conclusion? When were you ever out of broils and tumults, since Pompey laid your city in rubbish? and nothing will serve you now but open war against the Romans. Is it your numbers you depend upon? why you have seen, says he, that a small part of our army have been able to deal with you. Or do you va-

lue yourselves upon the faith of your auxiliaries and allies? Where is that people under the sun that is not more or less in our allegiance? or that would not rather court the friendship of the Romans than the Jews? If you reckon upon the strength of your bodies, take notice that the Germans are our subjects. And so for the firmness of your walls; are they stronger than the Britains wall, the ocean? and yet those people, with that sense, have not been able to withstand us. Or if you rely upon the address and resolution of your leaders, we have been too hard, you know, for the Carthaginians themselves. But it is the humanity of the Romans, that hath rais'd up enemies to themselves: first, in giving you lands in possession; and then in erecting kings out of your own tribes to govern them. We have also granted you the freedom and exercise of your country's laws, and permitted you to live both at home and abroad according to your own liking: and, which is more than all the rest, we have allow'd you the privileges of collecting, receiving, and employing, contributions and tributes for the maintenance of your religion and God's holy worship, with all freedom to yourselves and friends. And what's the use you have made of all these graces and benefits, but to enrich yourselves into a capacity of doing us the more mischief, in the employing of our own money against ourselves? You do, in truth, behave yourselves like the worst of serpents, that practice upon the lives of those that take them into their bosoms.

"It is agreed that the contempt you had for the spiritless heaviness and supine indolence of Nero, made you forget the quiet that at the same time you enjoy'd, and put you upon ambitious and extravagant designs.

"My father, you must know, did not come into Judea to call you to an account for your defection from Cestius; but rather to reform you by admonition and good advice. If the depopulating of this nation had been his business, he would have struck at the root; and begun with Jerusalem, rather than Galilee, and the adjacent parts; which he did on purpose to give you room and leisure to repent. But this good nature of his pass'd for weakness, and our lenity hath given you a boldness that you take for courage.

"AFTER the death of Nero, according to the custom of other wicked men, you made advantage of our divisions; and my father and myself were no sooner gone to Egypt, but you took the opportunity of our being out of the way, to lay the foundation of a war against us: and notwithstanding all the proofs we have given you of our tenderness and humanity in the government of those provinces, you had yet the face to enter into practices against us, even when my father was already declar'd emperor, and myself Cesar. Nay, and it went farther yet; for after the very establishment of us by common consent, in the quiet and peaceable possession of the empire, and the gratulatory compliments that were pay'd us by foreign ministers, upon our accession to the government, who but the Jews remain'd still our enemies? as appeared by their dispatches of embassies

"embassies and deputations as far as beyond Euphrates, for assistance in their revolt. To say nothing of your new fortifications, factions and competitions, till it came in the end to a civil war: an ingratitude that none but the wickedest of men could have been guilty of.

"WHEN my father sent me (though with great difficulty and reluctance) to call this stubborn rebellious city to account, how did I please myself to hear that the people were well disposed towards a peace! how did I beg of you to prevent a war before any blood was drawn! Can you say that I did not make it as easy to you afterwards as I could? did I ever refuse any man of you that offer'd himself? did I ever break faith with any man that came over to me? How tender was I of your prisoners! or did I ever use severity to any man that did not inflame the quarrel? With what unwillingness did I come to the battering of your walls! and so I kept off all bloody executions from you, as much as possible. When did I ever get the better of you, and not sue for peace, as if you yourselves had been the conquerors? Whenever I came near your temple, I took no advantage of the right I had by the law of arms to the destroying of it; but only made it my request to you to spare yourselves, and all that was holy that belong'd to you. Did I not offer you free leave to depart, and upon terms of security too? or if nothing but fighting would serve your turn, I gave you the choice of your time and place: and what's the fruit now of all this tenderness, but the burning of the temple with your own hands, that I would so fain have preserv'd? and have you the impudence now at last to invite me to a parly, as if you had any thing left you to atone for what you have destroy'd? How can you expect a pardon for yourselves, that would not so much as pardon your own temple? and here you present yourselves in arms too, without so much as pretending to be supplicants. But to come now to the ground of this miserable confidence. Your people have neither heart nor soul left them; your temple's gone, the city mine, and yourselves all at my mercy; and yet you would be thought to insist upon terms of honour now at last. But not to stand expostulating any longer with your pertinacious follies, lay down your arms, and render yourselves, and I am yet content to give you your lives: and as in a private family a gentle master inflicts punishment upon stubborn offenders adequate to the nature of their crimes; so when I've once done necessary justice upon the main, you shall find me merciful as to the rest." The faction return'd him this answer: "That they could not deliver themselves up, upon any promise or assurance he could give them, because they were under an oath to the contrary; but that they were ready to be gone, if he pleas'd, with their wives and children into the desert, and leave the town to the Romans." Titus took it so heinously to see prisoners giving law, and imposing conditions upon the conquerors, that he presently caused proclamation to be made, "That no Jew should presume for the future to make any further application to Titus, or

Titus offers them terms, which they refuse, under pretence of an oath to the contrary.

Order'd upon this, that no Jew shall be allow'd either protection, or quarter.

"expect either protection, or quarter; but that they might now defend themselves by arms as well as they could; for Cesar was resolv'd to govern himself by the rules of war." So the soldiers had leave given them to fall on with fire and sword, and make their best of the spoil of the city. There was nothing done that day; but the next morning they set fire to the register-office, the castle, the council-chamber, and a place call'd Ophlas: and so the fire spread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, destroying all before it, together with the dead bodies, with which the houses and streets were crowded full.

The Romans fall on with fire and sword, and take the spoil to themselves.

ON the same day, the sons and brethren of king Izates, with several other persons of honour, join'd in a petition to Cesar for their lives; who, according to his usual practice, granted the petition, though very much incens'd against the party. But they were all order'd to prison, and the sons and near relations of Izates carry'd afterwards bound to Rome for hostages.

Titus tender and good natur'd to the last.

C H A P. XIV.

The faction moves to the palace royal, where they cut off eight thousand four hundred persons, and seize all the treasure. A nice point of Roman honour. Joseph gives good advice, but it is lost upon them. Sinks and vaults are searched for deserters, and they kill all they take. No death so ghastly as that of a famine. The last hope of the faction is in their hiding-places.

THE rebels steer'd their course next to the royal palace, a strong and a safe place, with a great treasure laid up in it. The Jews beat the Romans out of the house, kill'd all their countrymen that they found there, to the number of near eight thousand four hundred persons, and carry'd off all the money. Upon this encounter, there were two Roman soldiers taken alive, a horse-man and a foot-man; the latter was kill'd, and dragg'd along the streets quite through the town, as if it had been to revenge the whole nation upon that single body. The horse-man, upon a pretence that he had somewhat of moment to communicate, was carry'd to Simon; and having nothing to say when he came there, order was given to Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, to have him put to death. So he was presently taken out with his hands bound behind him, and a swathing-band over his eyes, to have his head cut off within sight of the Romans; but as the executioner was drawing his sword to do his office, the prisoner started away, and made his escape over to the Romans. Titus would not suffer him to be put to death, for making his escape from the enemy; but look'd upon it as such an indignity to have a Roman soldier taken alive, that he was disarm'd and cashier'd upon it; which to a man of honour is worse than death.

The faction moves to the palace royal, a place of great strength. They cut off eight thousand four hundred persons there, and seize all their treasure.

IT being the Romans fortune next day to rout the Jews out of the lower city, they put all in a blaze as far as Siloah; and had the pleasure of seeing what havoc the conflagration made; but the booty was gone; for the ruffians had dispos'd of that already into the upper town. Now they were not a people to repent

The Jews obstinate in their wickedness.

repent of any mischief they had ever done, and they kept up their arrogance in the worst of fortunes. The burning of the city was to them a spectacle of joy; and they declar'd that, as matters stood at that time, they were ready to welcome death itself with comfort; for now the people were wasted, and almost totally cut off, the temple burnt to ashes, and the town all in a flame, there was nothing left for the Romans that were to come after them to joy in.

The conflagration serves them but for a spectacle.

Joseph gives good advice to little purpose.

BUT while things were at this pass, Joseph did all that was to be done to save the miserable remains of a ruin'd and a desolated city; dividing himself in his applications, betwixt invectives against the impious inhumanities of the one side, and seasonable encouragements and good counsels on the other: but it was all to no purpose; for he Jews were both ty'd up by their oath, and as good as besieg'd by the overpowering number of the Romans; beside, that their swords were wonted to blood and slaughter.

Sinks and vaults are searched for deserters; and they kill all they take. No death so ghastly as that of famine.

IN this distraction, they scatter'd themselves all over the city; hunting, and watching up and down in the ruins, vaults, and elsewhere, for deserters. They took a great many of them, and they kill'd all they took (for they were too weak to run for it) and their dead they cast to the dogs; but of all deaths, famine was the most frightful and ghastly. There were several that went over to the Romans, without either the hope, or desire, of any other mercy from them, than what they promis'd themselves in the exchange of one death for another: and this was the case with the seditious also upon the same account. The streets were cover'd with dead bodies from one end of the city to the other, which were either murder'd or starv'd.

The last hope of the faction is in their hiding holes.

THE last hope of the tyrannical faction, was in the recesses of sinks and privies, upon a vain fancy that they might lie conceal'd there till all should be over, and the Romans gone; and that they might make their escape; not considering that holes and hiding-places are no proof against the all-seeing eye of justice. The Jews that were possess'd of these subterranean retreats, did more mischief than the Romans by the fire; killing and robbing all they could meet, that came for sanctuary to those caverns: and let their food be never so coarse or foul, such was their necessity, that it became a cause of quarrel; insomuch that I verily believe, if the siege had continu'd, the living would have been inhuman enough to eat the flesh of the dead.

C H A P. XV.

The upper town not to be taken without new mounts. Titus sets the project a foot. The Idumeans offer him their service by their deputies; and beg his pardon. Titus grants them their request: but Simon immediately puts the deputies to death. Whole families sold like herds of beasts in a market. Titus sets forty thousand men at liberty that came over to him. Jesus,

a priest, articles with Cesar for his life. Phineas the treasurer makes a farther discovery.

THE upper town was seated upon such crags and precipices, that Titus found it utterly impossible to gain it without new mounts; so that upon the twentieth of the month * Lous, he went in hand with the project. Carriage was extremely difficult and troublesome, (as I have said elsewhere;) for the materials were all cut down for the former works, within an hundred † furlongs of the town. The four legions threw up a mount on the west side of the town, over against the palace royal: the auxiliaries and the rest cast up another toward the galleries, and the bridge, and a fort that Simon built in his war with John, known by the name of Simon's tower. At the same time the Idumean officers consulted together among themselves how to desert, and get over to the Romans, and sent five deputies with a tender of their service to Titus, and a submissive petition for mercy in the name of the rest. Though this came late, yet Titus however, upon an opinion that Simon and John would be obliged to surrender themselves, after such a desertion, sent the deputies back with a promise of their lives; for he looked upon the Idumeans as the most considerable part of their army. This plot, it seems, had taken air, and Simon caused the five deputies immediately to be put to death, and their leaders imprisoned, reckoning James the son of Sofas for the chief. And though much could not be expected from the common soldiers, now the officers were gone, the rest of the Idumeans were kept yet under a stricter guard; and all not sufficient to hinder them from deserting. There were many cut off, 'tis true; but more that escaped; and they were all received; for Titus had too much generosity and good nature to press his former prohibition to the uttermost rigour; and the very soldiers themselves, betwixt the hope of booty, and a glut of blood, began to exercise more humanity and moderation. As for the common people, (which were all that were now left) they were sold with their wives and children, like beasts in a market; and at very easy rates too, there being but few purchasers. Titus reflecting upon this, and upon his own proclamation, whereby he had forbid any more Jews to come over to him single, out of a desire to save as many of them as he could, he was now pleased to dispense with his own order, and to receive as many of them, one by one, as presented themselves: but with supervisors over them, to distinguish the good from the bad, and to deal with them according to their merits. There were vast numbers of them sold, and upward of forty thousand set at liberty by Titus, to go whither they would.

The upper town not to be taken without new mounts. Titus sets the project a foot.

The Idumeans offer their service to Titus by their deputies, and beg his pardon. Titus grants their request.

But Simon immediately puts the deputies to death.

Whole families sold like herds of beasts in a market.

Titus sets upward of forty thousand men at liberty that came over to him.

THERE was at the same time one Jesus, a priest, and the son of Thebuth, who compounded with Cesar for his life, upon condition to deliver up to him some of the vessels, donatives, and other ornaments, belonging to the holy temple. So he went out, and gave him over the wall two candlesticks, like those

Jesus, a priest, the son of Thebuth, articles with Cesar for his life, upon discovery of holy plate and vessels belonging to the temple.

* i. e. August.

† An hundred furlongs (as hath been before observed) amounted to twelve English miles and an half, and an hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

temple; some tables, cups, and goblets; all of substantial and pure gold: he gave him also several veils, sacerdotal habits, precious stones, and a great number of sacrificing vessels.

Phineas, the treasurer makes also a farther discovery.

THERE was also taken, one Phineas, the keeper of the holy treasure; who produced a great many priests habits and girdles, purple and scarlet stuffs, that were orderly folded up for use. There was also a proportion of cinnamon, cassia, gums, and perfumes, for daily incense: besides several sorts of holy ornaments and private goods. But for the sake of this service, though the man was a fair prisoner of war, and taken by force, he was treated yet as if he had voluntarily deserted to them, and that all he did had been out of pure good will.

C H A P. XVI.

The mounts are finish'd: and the Romans advance with their machines. Some shift for themselves: and others stand their ground. Simon and John in horror and desperation with frightful stories and false alarms. They give up three forts, that could never have been taken but by starving, which did the whole work. The Romans carry all before them; and the Jews like vipers eat out the belly of their mother. A pious ejaculation of Titus's. He erects a monument to his good fortune. Titus gives orders about his prisoners.

The mounts are now finished: and the Romans advance with their machines.

The timorous part of the faction withdraws; some to Acra.

Others into the city vaults: but the resolute stand their ground.

The enemy the stronger party of the two.

Simon and John in a fit of desperation and horror; and abandoned by all their friends.

THE works being now finish'd, on the seventh of the month *Gorpheus, (having been eighteen days a doing) the Romans advanced their machines; and that part of the faction, that despaired of holding out, quitted the walls, and withdrew to the castle; others into privy houses and vaults: but the more resolute stopp'd, and made head against those that were to manage the battery: the enemy all this while being superior to them, both in strength and number; over and above the advantage of men in heart, and puffed up with success, against a sad, a despairing, and an unfortunate people. So soon as ever they took notice of any flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets gave way to the engines, the defendants shifted immediately away as fast as they could: insomuch, that Simon and John themselves were seized with a panick terror, and ready to fly, even before the Romans were come within distance of doing them any hurt. It would have grieved a body's heart, though for the vilest of miscreants, to see those men trembling and knocking their knees, as if they were sinking into the ground, that had been but just before puff'd up to the highest degree of arrogance and presumption, both in words and actions. Never so wonderful a change! They made an attempt indeed upon the wall of circumvallation that the Romans raised about the town. In short, they attacked it, and made a breach in it; with a resolution to fall upon the guards and make an escape: but perceiving, when they look'd to be seconded, that their friends had all forsaken them, they hurried away in confusion, as their fears and their necessities

mov'd them. In this phantastical variety of frightful apprehensions, every man framed a story according to his imagination. One brings news that the whole wall to the westward, was overthrown; others, that the Romans were just at the foot of it: some, that they were entered, and such and such of them seen in possession of the towers. Whatever they feared, they saw; falling prostrate upon their faces, and bemoaning their follies in a passion, as if they had been thunder-struck, not knowing which way to turn themselves.

THE power of God on the one hand, and his goodness on the other, was very remarkable upon this occasion; for the tyrants ruined themselves, by quitting those holds of their own accord, that could never have been taken but by famine; and this, after the Jews had spent so much time to no purpose upon other pieces of less value. By this means, the Romans became masters of three impregnable forts, by fortune, that could never have been taken any other way: for the three famous towers formerly mentioned, were proof against all battery.

UPON Simon and John's quitting these towers; or rather, upon their being driven out of them by the impulse of a judicial infatuation, they hastened away to the vale of Siloa, where they took breath a while; and after some recollection and refreshment, they gave an assault to the new wall there: but so faint and weak, that the guards beat them off; for betwixt fatigue, despondency, dread, and misery, their strength failed them, and they were then scattered several ways into sinks and common sewers.

THE Romans being now possessed of the walls, planted their ensigns upon the towers with outcries and shouts of joy, to find the end of the war so much easier than the beginning: if at least the war was now at an end, which they could not well doubt of, without distrusting their own eyes.

THE soldiers having gained the last wall without bloodshed, could hardly believe it was the last, and were not a little surprized to meet with no opposition; whereupon dividing themselves, they rang'd through every street in the town, with their swords drawn; killing all that fell in their way without distinction, and burning entire houses, and whatever was in them, in one common flame. In several places, where they entered to search for pillage, they found whole families dead, and the houses cramm'd with hunger-starved carcasses: so that upon the horror of so hideous a spectacle, they came out again empty-handed; but the compassion they had for the dead, made them not one jot tenderer to the living; for they stabbed every man they met, till the narrow passages and alleys were choaked up with carcasses: so that the channels of the city ran blood, as if it had been to quench the fire. In the evening, they gave over killing, and at night fell afresh to burning.

THE eighth of the month Gorpheus put an end to the conflagration of Jerusalem; and if all the blessings it ever enjoyed from the foundation of it, had but been comparable in proportion to the calamities it suffer'd in this siege, that city had been undoubtedly the envy of

And infatuated into giving up of three forts, that could never have been taken but by starving. The quitting of these three towers did the whole work.

The Romans carry all before them, to the extremities of fire and blood.

The Jews, like vipers, eat out the belly of their mother.

* i. e. September.

the world. But the greatest plague of all came out of its own bowels, in that infernal race of vipers that it brought forth, to eat out the belly of the mother.

A pious ejaculation of Titus's to the honour of providence.

WHILE Titus was now taking a view of the ruins of this glorious city, the works, the fortifications, and especially the turrets, which the tyrants had so sottishly abandoned; while Cesar, I say, was entertaining himself in the contemplation of the height, dimensions, and situation of these towers, the design, workmanship, and curiosity of the fabrick, with the wonderful contrivance of the whole, he let fall this expression: "Well! (says he) if God had not fought both for us, and with us, we could never have been masters of these forts. It was God, in fine, that assisted us, and fought for us, by drawing the Jews from these strong holds: otherwise what power of men and machines could ever have been able to have prevailed against these fortifications?" When Titus had said this, and great deal more upon the same subject, in the hearing of his friends, it was his next care to set all the prisoners at liberty that the tyrants had left in the towers: and afterwards, upon the razing and demolishing of the city, to preserve those turrets as a monument to the honour of his good fortune; without whose assistance he could never have done what he did.

A monument erected to his good fortune.

Titus gives order about the prisoners.

THE soldiers being very much fatigued with doing execution, and there being a great number of Jews still surviving, Titus ordered his men to hold their hands, and to dispatch none but such as they found arm'd, or in a posture of resistance, and to give quarter to all rest. But the soldiers went beyond their commission, and put the aged and the sickly to the sword promiscuously, with their companions; and for those that were strong and serviceable, they shut them up in the temple, in the women's quarter; Cesar appointing Fronto, one of his friends and freemen, to inform himself of the people, and to do by them as they deserved. As for the ruffians, and the seditious, that impeach'd one another, he had them all put to death: but for men of comely and graceful persons, and in the prime of their youth, he reserved them for the triumph: sending away all the remainder of them, who were above seventeen years old, into Egypt, to be employ'd in servile offices and drudgery: beside those that were distributed up and down the provinces, for the use of the theatres, in the quality of swordmen or gladiators; and all under seventeen, were exposed to sale.

In the mean time, while the prisoners were under Fronto's charge, there were eleven thousand of them starved to death; partly through the churlishness of their keepers, that refused to give them meat; and partly through the squeamishness of their own stomachs that could not dispense with it: but in truth, the mouths were too many for the provision.

C H A P. XVII.

The number of the dead, and of the prisoners, in this war. John and Simon taken: the one kept for the triumph, the other a prisoner for

life. The city a heap of ashes, and the walls thrown down.

THE number of prisoners in this war was ninety seven thousand: the number of the dead was eleven hundred thousand; the greater part of them Jews by nation, though not natives of Judea: for it was only a general meeting of them at Jerusalem, gathered together from all quarters to celebrate the feast of the Passover, who were there surprized into a war. There was so prodigious a multitude, and they so streighten'd for lodgings, that the crowd first brought the plague into the town, and then quickly made way for a famine. Not but that the city was abundantly capable yet of entertaining that vast body of people, if the calculation of Cestius at least may pass for any thing; as follows.

The number of the dead and of the prisoners in this war.

NERO had so great a contempt for the Jews, that Cestius made it his suit to the high-priest to bethink themselves some way of numbering their people: and this he did out of a desire to give Nero to understand, that the Jewish nation was not so despicable as he imagined; so that they took their time to enter upon the computation, at the celebration of their paschal feast; when offering up sacrifices according to custom, from the ninth* hour of the day to the eleventh, and those sacrifices to be eaten afterwards in their families, by ten at least, and sometimes twenty to a lamb: they reckoned upon two hundred fifty five thousand and six hundred oblations; which, at the rate of ten to a lamb, amounted to two millions five hundred and fifty six thousand persons, all clean and sound; for neither lepers, scorbuticks, men troubled with gonorrhœa's, women in their monthly sickness, or people labouring under any malignant distempers, were admitted to any part in this solemnity; no more were any strangers, but what came thither for religion. So that this mighty concourse of people from abroad before the siege, was afterwards by the righteous providence of God, cooped up in the city as in a prison: and the number of the slain in that siege was the heaviest judgment of the kind that ever was heard of. Some were killed openly; others kept in custody by the Romans, who scarced the very sepulchres and vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the sword. There were upward of two thousand, that had either laid violent hands on themselves, or killed one another by consent; beside those that perish'd by famine. The putrid corruption of the dead bodies sent out a vapour to poison as many as came within reach of it. Some were not able to endure it, and went out of the way; others had their hearts so set upon booty, that they rifled the very carcases, and trampled upon the dead bodies as they lay soaking in their corruption. But avarice sticks at nothing. They brought out several prisoners also that the two tyrants had laid in chains there; for they kept up their cruelty to the last: but God's justice overtook them both in the end; for John and his brethren in the vaults, were now driven by the distress of an insupportable hunger, to beg that mercy of the Romans, that they had so often despised, and Simon, after a long struggle with

* That is from our three in the afternoon till five.

John and Simon taken prisoners; the one kept for the triumph, the other a prisoner for life. The remainder of the city laid in ashes, and the walls thrown down.

an insuperable necessity (as we shall shew hereafter) deliver'd up himself: the latter being reserved for the triumph, and John made a prisoner for life. The Romans, after this, burnt the remainder of the city, and threw down the walls.

C H A P. XVIII.

Jerusalem taken and destroyed. Melchizedeck the first founder of it; who gave it the name of Jerusalem, in exchange for Solyma. The city laid all in rubbish.

Jerusalem taken, and destroy'd.

THUS was Jerusalem taken, and utterly destroy'd, in the second year of Vespasian, and on the eighth day of the month *Gorpheus; having been five times taken before, i. e. by Azochus, king of Egypt; Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; Pompey, and Herod, with Sosius; who did all preserve the city after it was taken. But Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, laid it waste, thirteen hundred sixty years, eight months and six days after the building of it.

Melchizedeck the first founder of it.

Melchizedeck changed Solyma into Jerusalem.

THE first founder of it was a Chanaanitish prince, called Melchizedeck, which in the Hebrew language signifies a just king; for such he was in an eminent manner. † He first dedicated this city to God; erected a temple in it, and officiated in the quality of a priest; giving it the name of Jerusalem, which before was called Solyma.

WHEN David the king of the Jews came afterwards to drive out the Chanaanites, he planted his own people there: and in four hundred ‡ seventy seven years and three months, after this, it was laid waste by the Babylonians.

FROM the reign of David there, to the destruction of the city by Titus, it was eleven hundred and seventy nine years; and two thousand one hundred seventy seven years from the foundation of it. But neither antiquity, wealth, fame, nor the honour of the religion itself, was any security against the appointments of fate.

THIS was, in fine, the issue of the siege: and when the soldiers had neither rapine nor bloodshed for their spleens to work upon, (as they would not have been idle, if they had had matter) Titus ordered them to lay the city and temple level with the ground; and to leave nothing standing, but the three famous towers, Phasaël, Hippicos, and Mariamne, that over-top'd all the rest; and a piece of a wall to the westward of the town, where he designed a garison: the towers to remain as so many monuments to posterity of the Romans power and conduct in the taking of them. This order was punctually executed; and all the rest laid so flat, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the end of the Jerusalem faction; a mad and a seditious people: and this was also the end of the most glorious city of the universe.

The city laid level with the ground.

C H A P. XIX.

Titus provides for the honour and reward of those that behaved themselves bravely in the war. A generous speech of his to his soldiers, accompanied with bounties and presents. Titus offers a thanksgiving sacrifice for his victory.

CESAR having now determined to leave the tenth legion in garison in Jerusalem, with some squadrons and battalions of horse and foot, and having discharged all the parts of a vigilant and a careful general, he came now to bethink himself of encouraging and rewarding those that had signaliz'd themselves in his service. Now to this end, he mounted a tribunal, with the choice of his great officers about him, at the head of his camp, and upon an eminence where he might best be heard; and from thence deliver'd himself to his army in terms to this effect.

"It is impossible, says he, my brave fellows, to express how kindly I take the generous faith and respect you have been pleas'd to pay me all along this war. And so he enter'd upon the topicks of their orderly discipline and obedience; their invincible firmness and resolution upon all occasions, and in the most pressing of dangers; the reputation they acquir'd in advancing the honour, and enlarging the territory of their country: and finally, in giving all men to understand, that neither odds of numbers, advantages of forts, strength of places, power of populous cities, the precipitate madness, or the outrageous fury of brutal adversaries, can ever discompose the Roman conduct and courage. Not but that now and then by fits, the Jews have had some favourable turns of fortune too: but it is a great thing, however, says he, to put an happy end to a war that has been so long a foot; which is as much as they could wish for themselves when they first engaged in it. And it is a greater yet, says he, to see your choice of the Roman emperors and generals, not only admitted, but universally and thankfully approv'd. He could not, he said, but love and admire them all for what they had worthily done: but for those that made themselves exemplary in their adventures and hazards, and in doing honour to their character and profession, it should be his care, he said, to do them all manner of right in return: and whoever shew'd an emulation to outdo his fellows, should be sure of an acknowledgment in proportion; for he took much more delight in preferring and advancing the virtuous, than in punishing offenders."

TITUS, immediately upon this, call'd for an account from some of the officers that had the commission in charge, to know which of the soldiers had done any thing extraordinary in the war. They were produced one and one by name, highly commended, and Titus as much concern'd for their goods as for his own. From fair and obliging words, he pro-

Titus provides, now the war is over, for the honour and reward of those that served him in it. Titus to his soldiers.

* i. e. September.

† In the following lines you have almost as many errors as words, says the learned Bochart in his Geogr. Sacr. l. 2.

c. 4. part 2. Be pleas'd to consult him, and Masius upon Joshua, cap. x. and Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. l. 3.

‡ Lat. sixty four, &c.

§ Lat. seventy, &c.

Titus treats his officers with bounties and presents, according to their deserts.

And offers a thanksgiving sacrifice for his victory.

ceeded to matter of liberality and bounty. He crown'd them with coronets of gold, dress'd them up with gold-chains, gave them lances pointed with gold, silver medals, and advanced every man in his quality and station. He gave them minted money in gold and silver out of the booty, with robes and other things of value. So soon as this distribution was over, to every man according to his merit, Cesar, accompany'd with the vows, prayers, and acclamations of the whole army, descended from his tribunal to offer sacrifices, and give thanks for his victory. There was a vast multitude of oxen there at hand about the altars, which were sacrificed and distributed to the army; Cesar himself feasting his officers for three days. The troops, after this, were sent away to their respective quarters; and Jerusalem committed to the guard of the tenth legion, without sending it back to Euphrates, whence it came.

TITUS had not as yet forgotten the affront the Jews put upon the Romans under Cestius; and so he sent away the twelfth legion, that had been formerly at Raphanea, to Melitene, that lies along the Euphrates upon the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia; keeping the fifth and fifteenth legions to himself, as a competent guard to convoy him into Egypt. From hence he took his passage to Cesarea upon the coast; but being winter, he durst not venture into Italy: so that he laid up his booty and treasure there for the present, and took care for the securing of his prisoners.

CHAP. XX.

While Titus lay before Jerusalem, Vespasian visits several sea-ports. Simon the son of Gioras taken prisoner. The manner of taking him. He propounds to himself to make his escape thro' a vault, but the project would not do. Terentius Rufus seizes him, and puts him in chains. Simon gives light to farther discoveries. The birth-days of Domitian and Vespasian celebrated with great pomp.

While Titus lay before Jerusalem, Vespasian visits several of the sea-coasts.

DURING the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, Vespasian embark'd in a merchant-man for Rhodes, where he took a galley, and so pass'd out of Ionia into Greece; visiting all the towns in his way, where he was most magnificently receiv'd: from thence to Corcyra, and so to Japygia; and thence he continu'd his journey by land. Titus was now come back from Cesarea upon the sea-coast, to that called Cesarea Philippi; where he made a considerable stay, entertaining himself and the people with all manner of publick shews: as combats betwixt men and beasts, man and man, troop and troop; which cost him the lives of a great many of his captives.

Simon the son of Gioras taken prisoner; and the manner of it. He contrives his escape thro' a vault.

IN this juncture Simon the son of Gioras happen'd to be taken, and the manner of it was this, Simon, upon the siege of Jerusalem, was forced into the upper town; and the Romans breaking into the city, put him to his wits end how to shift for himself. In this distress he call'd a council of his most trusty friends, consisting of miners, stone-cutters, smiths, and men well skill'd in iron-works; and having got a sufficient quantity of tools and materials for their purpose, together with provisions for a considerable time, they let themselves down

into a dark and secret vault. When they had made their way as far as they could, and found the passage too narrow to receive them, they fell to digging and mining, in hope to work a way through, and so make an escape. But before they could advance any thing to speak of, their victuals fell short, and the plot fail'd; though they manag'd their stores the best they could. Simon had no way now left him, but to try if he could fright the Romans out of their senses; and so dress'd himself up in a white garment buckled about him, and a purple cloak thrown over it. In this figure he presented himself out of the ground, from under the ruins of the late temple, to the amazement of the soldiers and others who first saw the apparition; but upon their approaching nearer and nearer, they took the heart to ask him his name, and who he was; and Simon refusing to tell them, call'd to speak with the captain of the guard. So Terentius Rufus, who had the command, was immediately fetch'd; who pumping the truth out of him, clapt him presently in chains, and gave Cesar afterwards an account of the whole story. Thus was this bloody tyrant, who had taken away so many of his countrymen's lives by subornation and false evidence, upon pretence of their going over to the Romans, brought to justice himself, and deliver'd into the hands of his enemies, without any force upon him, by his own act. But there is no avoiding the stroke of divine vengeance; no contending with the power of innocence and justice: and the punishment is yet the more grievous many times for being defer'd, and when people reckon themselves secure, and the danger over. This was Simon's case in the hands of the Romans; and his fantastical rising out of the ground prov'd an occasion of discovering divers of his companions in their hiding-places.

But his project fails him.

Terentius Rufus seizes him, and lays him in chains.

UPON Cesar's returning back from Cesarea by the sea side, and the presenting of Simon to him in chains, he order'd Simon to be kept for his triumph at Rome. When he had been there a while, he set a day apart for the celebration of his brother Domitian's birth-day with a very splendid pomp, and a great number of his condemn'd prisoners dedicated to the honour of the solemnity; reckoning upon those that were destroy'd by beasts, fire, and in combat one with another, to be at least two thousand and five hundred in number: and all too little in the opinion of the Romans, who hated them mortally. Titus went afterward to Berytus, a city of Phenicia, and a Roman colony, where he also continu'd for some time, and kept his father's birth-day with more splendour and magnificence than the former, both for spectacles and other expensive entertainments.

Simon gives occasion to farther discoveries.

And is himself reserv'd for a triumph at Rome.

The birth-days of Domitian and Vespasian celebrated with great pomp.

CHAP. XXI.

The Jews dispersed every where, especially in Syria and Antioch. The latter are numerous and wealthy. Antiochus, the son of a Jew, the ruin of the place. A raging uproar. Antiochus sets up the pagan worship, and suppresses the observance of the sabbath. The city takes fire; and Antiochus charges it falsely upon the Jews.

THE Jews in Antioch were terribly distressed, the city being spitefully bent

The Jews dispers'd over the face of the earth, in Syria especially, and more particularly in Antioch.

against them, as well upon the account of new matter, as for misdemeanours of former date. But it will be requisite to speak a word or two of this now by the way, in order to the better understanding of what is to come.

THE Jews are a people dispers'd over the face of the whole earth: particularly among the Syrians, as they are near neighbours; and more especially in Antioch, where there are great numbers of them, not only upon the account of its being a large and a populous city, but also by reason of the privileges and immunities they have enjoy'd there by the favour of the government ever since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (as they call'd him) who laid waste the city of Jerusalem, and rifled the temple. The successors of this Antiochus caused restitution to be made to the Jews, of all the brazen vessels that had been taken away, and to be dedicated to the service of their synagogue at Antioch, allowing them the same freedom of the city with the Greeks; and they were likewise treated by the following kings after the same manner; their numbers encreasing, and their temple rich and flourishing: in so much that several pagan profelytes came over to them, and incorporated with the nation.

Antiochus the son of a Jew, the ruin of Antioch.

An execrable uproar.

Antiochus sets up the pagan worship.

He suppresses the observation of the sabbath.

The city takes fire, and Antiochus laid it falsely upon the Jews.

Now upon the breaking up of the war, and Vespasian's passing by sea into Syria, the Jews made themselves extremely odious. As for instance: there was one Antiochus, the son of one of the most eminent Jews they had in Antioch, both for quality and power. This Antiochus, coming into the theatre upon a publick meeting, openly charg'd his father, and certain other foreign Jews, by name, in the face of the assembly, with a design to fire the city in the night. This transported the multitude into so outrageous an uproar, that they call'd immediately for fire, and burnt the pretended conspirators in the middle of the theatre. The rabble were presently for doing the same execution upon all the rest, and securing their country before it was too late. Antiochus did all he could to inflame the people's hatred more and more against them; and as an argument of the affection he had for the pagan worship, and his aversion to that of the Jews, he did not only sacrifice after the pagan manner himself, but forc'd others to do so too, upon pain of death to the refusers. Upon this difficulty, the Antiochians comply'd; but the Jews most of them stood out, and were put to death. Antiochus being by this time in a better condition to wreak his spite upon the Jews, having a command of soldiers given him by the Roman governor, he began upon the subject of the sabbath, with pressing people upon that point, and forcing them to work indifferently upon that day, as well as upon others; and carrying things on to that extremity, that the festival was not only laid aside in Antioch, but in danger to be quite abrogated likewise every where else.

THIS persecution of the Jews at Antioch, was immediately follow'd with another; which was this: The square market, with several offices for publick registries and records, and other stately buildings, happening all to take fire, the flame was so fierce, that there was great danger the whole city had been burnt to the ground. Antiochus laid it upon the Jews, and the Antiochians were apt enough

to believe it, for the very sake of the late story; even if they had not been prepossess'd against them before-hand. For the impression upon them was so strong, that they could almost have sworn they had seen the Jews with their own eyes, in the very act of firing it. Now taking it for granted upon this presumption, they fell upon the persons accus'd, with so outrageous a fury, that Collega, the vice-governor to Cefennius Petus, was scarce able with all he could do to keep the people quiet, only till Cesar might be duly informed of the whole affair. Cefennius had his commission of governor already, but was not as yet come to his command. Now Collega, upon a strict examination of the matter, made it out as clear as the sun, that the persons accus'd by Antiochus were every man of them innocent. And this villany, in fine, was found to be the work of a few profligate spendthrifts, and men of desperate fortunes, that had no better way to secure themselves from their creditors, than by destroying the evidences. But the Jews were not yet without aking hearts for fear of what might be the issue even of a false accusation.

CHAP. XXII.

Titus overjoy'd at his father's arrival in Italy. Vespasian treated with infinite veneration and respect.

TITUS was at this time overjoy'd with the welcome news he receiv'd from his father, of his happy arrival in Italy, and with what joy and gladness the Italian cities had entertain'd him all the way as he pass'd: but the thing that transported him beyond all the rest, was the tenderness and the magnificence of his reception at Rome; which deliver'd the son from any farther anxiety for the prosperous successes of his father. The people pay'd Vespasian at all distances, the same veneration as if he had been upon the place; and the passionate desire they had to see him, did in some measure supply for his absence in that interval. The senate, that had it fresh in their memories what miserable revolutions they had seen, upon the transferring of governments from one prince to another, reckon'd themselves happy in the blessing of an emperor that brought reputation, conduct, and experience, along with him into the administration: and the common people were no less pleas'd with the change; especially being at that time embroil'd in civil wars, and likewise in a further trust and confidence of being restor'd, by his means, to their antient freedom and plenty. And so for the military part, the soldiers hearts were set upon him above all others, for the proofs he had given them, upon several occasions, of his martial skill and courage; beside the sense of the shame and scandal they had suffer'd, under the indolence, unskillfulness, and laziness, of other commanders; concluding that no man was so fit or likely to set them right and recover their honour as Vespasian.

THIS prince was so universally belov'd, that the great men had not the patience to wait any longer for his coming at a distance, and so went out and met him a good way off from the city; and such numbers of people of all ranks follow'd them that more came out than stay'd be-

Titus overjoy'd at his father's safe arrival in Italy.

Vespasian treated every where with infinite veneration and respect.

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behind. When Vespasian was advanc'd near the town, and word brought how all people were charm'd with the good graces of his affability and address, the ways were all throng'd up with their wives and children, out of a longing curiosity to see him; breaking out into raptures of admiration all the way they went, at the sweetness and gentleness of his mien and person; calling him also a thousand benefactors, deliverers and protectors, and extolling him as the only prince under the sun, that deserv'd an imperial crown. The whole city, in fine, was so dress'd up and set out with garlands and perfumes, that it look'd like a temple; and the streets so crouded, that there was hardly any passing to the palace: Vespasian, in the mean time, offering up to his household-gods gratulatory sacrifices of thanksgiving for his safe return; while the multitude gave themselves up to feasting with their tribes, families, and neighbours, wishing a long and a happy reign to Vespasian, and a continuance of the imperial sovereignty to his son, and those of the line, that should come after him. This was the manner of Vespasian's entrance into Rome; and it was follow'd with all sorts of felicity and good fortune.

CHAP. XXIII.

Germany revolts. The occasion of it. Cassius and Civilis the ringleaders of a faction. Petilius Cerealis breaks the neck of the sedition. Domitian puts an end to it without blood. The German rebellion follow'd with an incursion of Scythians. Rubrius Gallus puts them all to the rout.

A LITTLE before Vespasian's coming to Alexandria, Titus being at that time before Jerusalem, there happen'd a great revolt among the Germans; which was animated and encourag'd by their neighbours the Gauls, in hopes to shake off the Roman yoke. Now the Germans being naturally of a fiery temper, forward and inconsiderate, were apt enough of themselves to engage in rash undertakings: over and above that they were push'd on by a mortal hatred they had for the Romans, as the only power they fear'd: to which may be added a favourable conjecture of the times, in regard of the present factions and divisions of the empire, upon so many turns and changes of government.

CASSIUS and Civilis, two persons of eminent credit among the Germans, took advantage of these distractions, to advance a sedition; which was in effect but what they had in their hearts long before. Upon sounding the people how they stood affected, they found the greater part of them ready for mischief; and in all probability the rest would have follow'd their example, if it had not been for a divine providence that prevented it. Now the fact was this: Petilius Cerealis, formerly governor of Germany, received letters from Vespasian declaring him consul; and with orders likewise to march forthwith into Italy, and take upon that command. While Cerealis was upon the way, he got notice of this insurrection, march'd against the rebels as they were in a body, charg'd, and put them to the rout with a very great slaughter, and so reco-

ver'd the rest to their wits again and their duty.

BUT if this had not been done when it was, by Cerealis, the same thing would have been done very suddenly by another hand: for no sooner was the noise of this rebellion come to Rome, but Domitian, the son of Vespasian, a pregnant young prince, that inherited the heroic spirit of his valiant father, put himself at the head of an army against these Barbarians; who were struck with such a terror upon the very rumour of his march, that they rendered themselves immediately, without striking a blow; reaping this advantage by it, that they reconcil'd themselves to their old masters without blood. When Gaul was settled, and out of danger of a relapse, Domitian returned to Rome, laden with vows and acclamations for the wonderful services he had done (even greater than could be expected for his years) to the honour both of himself and his country.

THIS rebellion of the Germans was follow'd with a furious incursion of the Scythians (or Samaritans) who venturing over the Danube by stealth, with a vast body of men, broke into Mysia, surprized several Roman garisons, and with a merciless cruelty put them all to the sword. They killed also the lieutenant general Fonteius Agrippa, a man of consular authority, at the head of his troops; and so ran up and down, burning, wasting, and ravaging the whole province. So soon as this came to Vespasian's ear, and what havock had been made in Mysia, he dispatch'd away Rubrius Gallus to call them to an account, who did very great execution upon them; and for those that escap'd, they made a hard shift to get home: so that this war was quickly over, and the general took care to secure the passages thereabouts from any such incursions and attempts for the time to come.

CHAP. XXIV.

Titus marches in triumph. The sabbatical river: the course of it; and why so call'd. Antioch transported with joy at the coming of Titus. The people press to have the Jews banish'd out of that city, but Titus did not much heed it: the senate presses it over again, when Titus gives them a final refusal, and goes his way for Egypt. Titus griev'd at heart to see the sad condition of Jerusalem. A vast treasure bury'd in the ruins of it. Simon and John, and seven hundred graceful persons more, set apart for the honour of the triumph. The order, the curiosity, and the magnificence of it. The solemnity ended in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The death of Simon Gioras. Vespasian dedicates a temple to peace.

TITUS in his return from Berytus, after some short stay there, (as we have said before) treated all the towns, as he pass'd through Syria, with most magnificent shews; carrying his Jewish captives along with him, for the honour of his arms, and the ornament of his triumph.

THIS prince took notice of a certain river in his journey, betwixt Arce and Raphane, two cities in the kingdom of Agrippa, that had somewhat in it very remarkable. While this

And Domitian puts a final end to it without blood.

The German rebellion is follow'd with an incursion of Scythians.

Rubrius Gallus puts them all to the rout

Germany revolts, and what mov'd them to it.

Cassius and Civilis the heads of a faction.

Petilius Cerealis by providence breaks the neck of the sedition.

Titus marches in triumph with his prisoners and his shews.

this * river flows, it has a full stream and a strong current: but on a sudden the springs fail, and for six days it leaves the channel dry to the very bottom. On the seventh day, as if there had been no change, it fills again, and observes the same course as before. Hence it hath taken the name of the sabbatical river, alluding to the seventh-day's festival of the Jews.

Antioch overjoy'd at the coming of Titus.

WHEN the people of Antioch understood that Titus was coming that way, they were so transported with the tidings, that men, women, and children, came thronging upwards of thirty furlongs out of the town to meet him, out of an impatience to wish him joy, and bid him welcome upon the way. As he drew near, they made a lane for him to pass, and so with all possible demonstration of affection and respect they conducted him to the city; still intermingling, with their shouts and acclamations, earnest prayers and importunities, to banish all the Jews out of the city. Titus gave them the hearing, in such a manner as if he did not much mind what they said: however, the Jews were in great pain and trouble to think what might be the issue of it. Titus made no stay in Antioch, but went immediately to Zeugma, toward Euphrates; where he was attended with an embassy from Volagesus the king of Parthia, and the compliment of a golden crown, to joy him of his victory over the Jews. Titus accepted the present, treated the ambassadors, and so went back again to Antioch. He was no sooner arrived there, but the senate and the magistracy invited him with great earnestness to the theatre; which he very graciously comply'd with, and there found a mighty concourse of the citizens waiting for his coming. The first thing they did was to renew their importunities to him afresh for the expulsion of the Jews; to which Titus, with his ordinary presence of mind, gave them this answer: "That their own country being destroy'd, there was no other to banish them to." When they saw this would not do, they tried him with another request: that is to say, that the pillars of brass, with the inscriptions upon them of the Jews privileges, might be either removed or defaced. Titus would not interest himself in this neither; but left the Jews at Antioch in the same state as he found them, and so went his way for Egypt.

The people press the banishing of the Jews out of that city. Titus goes his way without minding them.

The senate plies him afresh against them.

Titus gives them a final refusal, and so away he goes for Egypt. The sad state of Jerusalem goes to the heart of Titus.

As he was upon his journey, and saw the miserable desolated condition of Jerusalem, and the country all about it, he could not but compare within himself the difference betwixt a desert and a paradise, a heap of rubbish and

the most glorious pile of buildings under the heavens. Upon these thoughts, he could not but passionately deplore the destruction of so famous a city, and curse the authors of the sedition that were the cause of it: and so far was he from pretending to raise his reputation upon a publick calamity, that he could not forbear execrating the instruments that forced him upon this extremity.

THE city was infinitely rich, and a vast treasure buried in the ruins of it, as gold and silver, and other precious goods to an inestimable value, that the owners had hid in the ground for fear of the enemy: some the Romans found out; but the greatest discovery was made by the prisoners. Titus, being all this while upon his journey into Egypt, made what haste he could over that forlorn wasted country to Alexandria, and so to embark from thence to Italy; sending back the two legions that came along with him to their old quarters: that is to say, the fifth to Mysia, and the fifteenth into Hungary. But for Simon and John, the heads of the prisoners, and about seven hundred more of the properest and handsomest men, these were to be transported into Italy for the grace and glory of his triumph.

A vast treasure buried in the ruins of that city.

Simon and John, and seven hundred choice men more, reserved for the grace of the triumph.

HIS passage to Rome was as fair and prosperous as he could wish, and the people treated him with the same offices of honour and respect as they had done his father: beside that Vespasian himself had the goodness to go out with the rest in person, and receive his son upon the way; which the people looked upon as an earnest of greater blessings, to see the father and his two sons brought together by so auspicious a providence.

SOME few days after this, the senate having resolved upon two several triumphs apart, one for the father, the other for the son, in honour of their illustrious achievements, Vespasian and Titus, this decree notwithstanding, declar'd themselves for contracting both triumphs into one. Upon the day of the solemnity, there was not a person in that populous city that did not go out to be a spectator: insomuch, that when they were all placed, there was hardly passage for the emperors. The soldiers, with their officers at the head of them, march'd in very good order, before day, up to the gates, to wait the coming of the princes; not the upper palace gates, but those near the temple of Isis, where these heroes took up their lodging that night. At break of day, Vespasian and Titus stood forth, and advanced, with laurel crowns upon their

Two triumphs contracted into one.

The order, the curiosity, and the magnificence of the triumph.

* Pliny in his natural history, b. xxxi. c. 2. assures us, that this river is dried up every sabbath-day, and the Jewish Rabbines are of the same opinion. So that Casaubon fancying the text of Josephus to be corrupted, corrects it by transposing some words, and omitting others; according to his conjecture the translation should run thus: Nam quum fit magnus quando fluit, feraturque impetu non leni per spatium sex dierum, postea totus ab ipsis fontibus deficit, & die septima cessat, præbetque alvei locum oculis spectandum, qui est siccus: deinde quasi nulla facta esset mutatio, post diem septimum erumpit, atque hunc ordinem exacte semper ab eo servari observatum est. i. e. This river has a very full and rapid stream, during the time it runs, which is for six days without intermission; after which, its springs being quite exhausted, it totally ceases on the seventh day, so as to leave the very bottom of the channel dry; but when the seventh day is over, as if there had been no change at all, it breaks out again; and then it exactly observes the same course as before. Gisb. Cuperus, without omitting any words, reads the text otherwise by a transposition. According to his emendation, the translation is as follows; Feraturque impetu non leni per spatium sex dierum; inde totus ab ipsis fontibus deficit, siccum prebet spectandum alveum; & hinc, quasi nulla facta esset Mutatio, similis post septimum diem erumpit. i. e. For six days it runs with a very strong current; after which, its springs failing, it becomes dry to the very bottom, and continues so till the seventh day is over; and then as if there had been no change at all, it renews its usual course as before. See Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. l. 2. c. 24. Casaubon's Exercitat. contra Baron. Colomelius's Opusc. & Gisb. Cuperus in Lanctantium.

† Thirty furlongs amounted to three English miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as hath more than once been before observed.

heads, and purple robes, after the manner of their country, to the Octavian walks, where the senate, the nobility, and the Roman knights, waited for them. There was a tribunal erected before the portal, with ivory seats upon it, which they mounted; and sitting down, were there saluted with the harangues and acclamations of the whole field. They were unarm'd, and, as I said, crown'd with laurels, and cloth'd with purple. As they were going on, and amplifying upon the emperor's praises, Vespasian made them a sign of silence; and then when all things were still and quiet, Cesar stood up, and covering part of his head with his garment, pass'd certain ejaculatory vows and prayers according to custom; and Titus did the like. Vespasian, after this, gave the whole auditory a short speech, and so dismiss'd the soldiers to dinner, who were in course to be entertain'd at the emperor's charge. He went next to the triumphal gate, (together with Titus) so call'd from the triumphal pomp passing that way; and then taking their repasts, and putting on their triumphal habits, they sacrific'd to their gods in the gate, and so led on the triumph through the middle of the spectacles, for the better view of the people, and the greater glory of the solemnity.

THE magnificence and the variety of these shews is not so much as to be imagined, and much less express'd, whether for the nicety of workmanship, value, or novelty; for the whole stock of precious and agreeable rarities, that the happiest of nations had been so many ages a gathering, met all together in this one day's triumph, to the honour of the transcendent dignity of the Roman empire. As for the choicest works that ever were seen or heard of, in gold, silver, or ivory, for price, or excellency, they were here so common and frequent, that they look'd liker a natural confusion of things, than any part of a regulated pomp. And then for the admirable variety of purples, and Babylonian embroideries, jewels, and precious stones, some enchas'd into golden crowns, and some set out with other fancies, they were here so familiar and common, that they seem'd to be no longer a curiosity. They had the images of their gods also that were every way wonderful, both for size, art, and matter; and likewise the figures of several sorts of living creatures, dress'd up suitably to their kind. They had also a vast number of people to carry all this, in cloth of gold and purple; and all those that were set apart for the service of the pomp, had their distinguishing ornaments of splendor and state. Nay, the common sort of the very prisoners themselves, were not without somewhat that was graceful in their habit, to disguise the misery of their condition, and the marks of slavery that they wore in their faces. But nothing was more to be admir'd than the ordering of their machines, and how the bearers were able to support them, being many of them three or four stories high: and the cost was answerable to the artifice, for the hangings and and furniture were all wrought with gold, ivory, and the like. There were also such representations of war, and the circumstances that attend it, that nothing was ever more to the life. Here was in one place the figure of a

fruitful country laid waste; in another, whole armies cut to pieces; some flying, others pursuing, or taken prisoners; strong walls batter'd to the ground, forts demolish'd, breaches made in fortify'd cities, towns taken by assault, the streets running blood, and the conquer'd begging quarter; temples burning, houses beaten down upon the heads of their masters, rivers lamenting their misfortunes, that instead of watering and refreshing fields and meadows, and supplying drink to man and beast, they find themselves forced to take their course through publick conflagrations. What was all this now, but a lively image of the sufferings of the Jews; and so put together by art and fancy, that it may pass for an instructive history of the ruin of that famous city, to those that never knew more of it?

UPON every one of the pageants was represented the governor of the place that was taken, and the manner of taking it. The shipping came next; and then the spoils that were dispersed up and down in several places. But the most considerable pieces, were the golden table, and the golden candlestick, that were taken out of the temple of Jerusalem; the former weighing several talents, and the other not applied to the use it was intended for. There was a kind of a pillar that came out of the foot of it; and out of that pillar, as from the stem of a tree, seven branches, and every branch having at the top the resemblance of a lamp; the number of seven intimating the veneration the Jews have for their seventh day. After this, came the Jews law, which was the last trophy of their conquests that the Romans expos'd. This was followed by certain images of victory wrought out of ivory and gold. And last of all, to bring up the rear, came Vespasian himself, with Titus in the next place, and Domitian along with them on horseback, well mounted, and well becoming the dignity of his station. So they march'd together into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there finish'd the triumph.

BEING now come to Jupiter's temple, they made some little stay there; it being according to antient practice so to do upon the like occasion, till news should be brought them that their enemies general was dead. This general was Simon Gioras (one of the prisoners that was led in triumph) who was drawn through the market-place with a rope about his neck, and put to death by those that drew him, according to the Roman law and practice in the case of such malefactors. Word being brought that Gioras was now dead, the whole field rang with shouts and acclamations, and so they betook themselves to their vows and sacrifices; and when the solemn part was over, the princes return'd to the palace, where they made a mighty treat; and there was nothing else all over the town but feasting, rejoicing, and giving thanks for the final victory they had obtain'd over their enemies, to the glory of their generals, the end of civil broils, and the moral assurance of a publick repose.

WHEN these triumphs were over, and the empire settled, Vespasian erected a temple which he dedicated to peace. It was as rich as art and expence could make it, and the dispatch of it, in so short a time, was little less than

The triumph concluded in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The death of Simon Gioras.

Vespasian erects a temple to peace.

than a miracle. He spar'd for no cost, over and above a collection of the choicest curiosities in painting and sculpture to adorn it, in so much, that people flock'd from all quarters of the world to see the glory and the order of this admirable structure. In this temple he deposited the golden table and the candlestick, as the rarities he valued most. And for the Jews law, and the purples belonging to the sanctuary, they were lodg'd with great care and reverence in the palace.

CHAP. XXV.

The situation of Macherus. Herod the great runs up a wall and turrets about it. Of the plants Rue and Baaxas. A strange variety of springs and fountains. Bassus besieges Macherus. The Jews divide. The natives defend the castle; and the strangers the lower town. Daily skirmishes. A bold and memorable adventure of Eleazar's. Eleazar stripp'd and unmercifully whipp'd. Bassus discharges the castle, and sets Eleazar at liberty.

WHEN Lucilius Bassus had his commission from Cesar for lieutenant-general of Judea, he took upon him the command of the army from Cerealis Petilianus, and made himself master of the castle of Herodion by composition. After this, he drew his troops together that lay scatter'd up and down, propounding, with the help of the tenth legion, to reduce Macherus, as a thing absolutely necessary to be done; for the strength of that place would be a dangerous encouragement to a rebellion; and as the situation of it gave confidence to the town, so it struck an awe, on the other hand, upon him that should attempt it.

The situation of Macherus.

THE mountain that Macherus stands upon, is prodigiously high and rocky, to the degree of being almost impregnable. But nature hath made it well nigh inaccessible too, by enclosing it with vallies that are neither to be pass'd, nor to be fill'd up; and so deep likewise, that it is enough to make a person giddy-headed to look down at them. It reaches to the westward sixty * furlongs in length, and borders upon the lake Asphaltitis; and the castle hath an unbounded prospect over all that quarter. On the south and north, it is encompassed with vallies of the same dimensions, and as secure from any attempt as the other. The depth upon the east is at least an hundred † cubits, and reaches to the mountain that is over against Macherus.

Herod the Great run up a strong wall, and turrets about it.

ALEXANDER, the king of the Jews, was the first that fortify'd this place, and rais'd a castle upon it, which Gabinius afterwards demolish'd in his war with Aristobulus; and then Herod the Great found it so well worth his care too, especially against his neighbours the Arabians, who lay so conveniently to do him mischief, that he ran a substantial wall about it with strong turrets, erecting also a fair

city there, which he caused to be peopled, and from thence carried a passage up to the castle itself. This castle he encompass'd at the top with another wall, and turrets at the corners, of sixty ‡ cubits in height; and in the middle of all, he rais'd a large beautiful palace, which was abundantly supply'd with water from several cisterns, wherever there was occasion for it, as if nature and art had been at strife, which of the two should outdo the other; the one by situation, the other by improvement. He likewise furnish'd this castle with so plentiful a magazine of arms, arrows, machines, and all sorts of provisions, for carrying on a war, that the garison should never need to fear either force or famine.

THERE was in this palace a plant they call Rue; of so wonderful a growth, that it was as tall and as well-spread as any fig-tree. It had been there, they say, ever since the days of Herod, and might have continued longer, if the Jews had not rooted it up upon taking the place.

Of the plants Rue and Baaras.

IN the valley, on the north-side of Macherus called Baaras, there grows also a plant of the same name §. It is in appearance of a flame-colour; and toward the evening it casts a light like the beams of the sun. The root is not easily pluck'd up; but it draws back if any body offers at it; and the only way to fix it, is to sprinkle it with the urine of a woman, or a little menstruous blood. And when all this is done, it is yet certain death to touch it, without a piece of the root in your hand: though they talk in another way also of doing it without danger; and it is this. They dig round about the root till it is laid almost bare, and then tie a dog to the remaining part of it. The dog's master that tied him there, goes his way, and the dog following him, draweth the root after, and dies immediately, as if it were to redeem his master. After this it may be handled as securely as any plant. But it has one other quality, that does more than countervail this difficulty. For the spirits that we call devils, are only the souls of wicked men, that have gotten possession of living bodies, and would undoubtedly destroy them if they were not prevented: now this plant is a sure remedy against these obsessions, and the very touching of the patient with it, cures him.

IN the same place there is a wonderful diversity of springs and fountains of very differing qualities and tastes, as hot, bitter, sweet, &c. And there are also cold springs intermingled one with another in the lower ground: but that which is most wonderful, is a shallow cave there at hand with a rocky stone over it, and the figure of two breasts, like two fountains, coming out of it; the one discharging hot waters, and the other cold; and they make both together a most agreeable bath, which cures many diseases, and especially those of the nerves. There are mines also of sulphur and allum.

A strange variety of springs and fountains.

BASSUS, upon a full view of Macherus, came to a resolution of laying siege to the

Bassus besieges Macherus.

* Sixty furlongs amounted to seven English miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces.

† An hundred cubits amounted to something upwards of one hundred and eighty two English feet, that is to sixty yards and two feet.

‡ Sixty cubits amounted to something more than one hundred and nine English feet, that is to thirty six yards and a foot.

§ This does a little resemble the Moly of Homer, and the Circea of Dioscorides.

place,

The Jews of the place defend the castle, and the strangers the lower town.

Daily skirmishes.

A bold and memorable action of Eleazar's.

Eleazar stripp'd, and cruelly whipp'd.

A notable thought.

place, proposing to himself the filling up of the valley to the east of the town, and the advancing of his approaches that way. The first thing he did, was to run up a mount against the castle, with all possible speed, as the most likely way to facilitate the attempt; the Jews who were natives of the place separated themselves from the foreign Jews, and turn'd them off as a pitiful sort of people, into the lower city, to stand the first shock; while they themselves took charge of the castle, not only as the stronger and more defensible of the two, but as a place where they might make better terms with the Romans in case of the worst. They had a mind to try however what might be done to divert the siege; and there pass'd not a day without resolute sallies and skirmishes, and a considerable loss of men on both sides; sometimes one getting the better of it, and sometimes the other: the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans by surprize; and the Romans, when they were aware of the Jews coming, and provided for them. But the siege was not to go off so, for there happen'd a surprizing accident, that put the Jews upon an absolute necessity of giving up the castle.

THERE was in the place a bold, enterprising, and daring young man, whose name was Eleazar. This Eleazar made several vigorous sallies, and did all that was possible, both by his council and example, to obstruct the progress of the Romans, and to put a check to their undertakings; insomuch, that he made himself a terror to his enemies, as well as a comfort and support to his friends: being the first man still upon all encounters to attack, and the last, in case of a retreat, that came off. There pass'd a skirmish one day, and when the action was over, and both parties withdrawn, Eleazar, in a vain-glorious contempt of danger, or of any man that should dare to attack him, made a stop without the gate, and fell into a careless discourse with some of the defendants upon the walls, without heeding any thing else. This being within view of the Roman camp, and one Rufus, an Egyptian, and a soldier, spying the opportunity, ran in upon him at unawares, seiz'd him, and carry'd him off, arms and all, into the enemy's quarter. Bassus presently order'd him to be stripp'd, and publickly whipp'd at his length upon the ground in sight of the city. The Jews were so confounded at the calamity of this young man, that the whole multitude broke into tears and exclamations in pity of his distress. When Bassus found the generality of the people so passionately concerned for the misfortune of one man, he computed with himself, that if he could but enflame their compassion, he might gain his point, and work them to a composition of giving up the place to save Eleazar's life. This fancy succeeded to his wish; for upon the setting up of a cross, as if Eleazar were to be forthwith crucify'd, the timber was no sooner planted, but the garison broke out into an outcry with one voice, That their affliction was altogether intolerable. Eleazar begg'd of them, upon this, to consider both his case, who was now to die a wretched death, and their own; and not to contend any longer with the courage and fortune of the Romans, since the whole world had already submitted itself to their empire.

THIS submission and supplication of Eleazar's, together with the powerful intercessions of his friends and relations in the castle (for his family and interest was very considerable) soften'd the defendants into such a tenderness, upon second thoughts, that they sent deputies immediately to the Romans, with proposals to deliver up the castle, upon condition of discharging Eleazar, and leaving the garison at liberty to go whither they would. Bassus made no difficulty of the terms: but the people of the lower town taking it ill, that an agreement should be made without their privacy, resolv'd among themselves to slip away that night by stealth. Upon the opening of the gates, Bassus had notice of it from the castle, partly out of envy to their companions, and partly out of fear for themselves, lest they should be thought of the party. But the bravest however of those that went first, got off; and the rest, to the number of seventeen hundred men, were put to the sword; the women and the children made slaves. Not but that Bassus yet made good his articles, in dismissing of the garison, and setting Eleazar free.

Bassus discharges the garison, and sets Eleazar at liberty.

CHAP. XXVI.

Bassus surprizes the Jews in the forest of Jarden, Three thousand of them cut off. A poll-tax upon the Jews.

SO soon as this was over, Bassus made all the haste he could with his army to the forest of Jarden, upon intelligence, that great numbers of Jews, who had made their escape from the siege of Jerusalem and Macherus, were gather'd together there; and when he came upon the place, he found it to be true: so that the first thing he did was to beset the whole wood with his horse; where he kept his guard so strict, that not a Jew could break thorough. He employ'd his foot at the same time to cut down the trees and bushes of the thickets where the Jews had taken sanctuary; insomuch, that they had now no possibility left them to save themselves, unless they could cut out their way through the enemy's troops, and so get off. This being the last experiment they had to trust to, they drew all into a body, and with an impetuous clamour, made one desperate push upon those that surrounded them, and were as bravely receiv'd. The engagement, in fine, betwixt the fearless temerity of the one side, and the firm courage of the other, was hot and obstinate: but in the conclusion the Romans carried the day, with the loss only of twelve kill'd, and not many wounded; whereas, of three thousand Jews, (for there were so many in this action) not so much as one man came off. There was Judas also among the rest, their leader, and the son of Jair, of whom we have spoken heretofore. He had formerly a command at the siege of Jerusalem, and made his escape at last out of a vault.

Bassus besets the Jews in the forest of Jarden.

Three thousand Jews cut off.

THE emperor at the same time wrote to his officer Liberius Maximus, to make sale of all the Jews lands; for he would not trouble himself with rebuilding any other cities, but take them all to his own use; leaving only eight hundred soldiers in Emmaus, some sixty furlongs

A poll tax
upon the
Jews.

furlongs from Jerusalem, and imposing a tax upon every Jew by the poll, of two * drachmas a year, to be pay'd in to the capitol, as formerly to the temple. This was the miserable state of things at that time with the Jews.

C H A P. XXVII.

Antiochus an unfortunate prince. Cefennius charges him as an enemy to Cesar. He makes an incursion into Comagene. Antiochus returns no act of hostility. His two sons Epiphanes and Callinicus give the Romans battle. Antiochus retires into Cilicia; and the brothers shift for themselves. Vologeses treats them like princes. Cefennius orders Antiochus to be sent prisoner to Rome. Vespasian sets him at liberty with all manner of respect. The father and two sons are conducted to Rome, and highly entertain'd. The Scythians break into Media, and carry off a vast booty. The narrow escape of Tiridates.

Antiochus
an unfortu-
nate prince.
Cefennius re-
presents him
as an enemy
to Cesar.

IT so fell out in the fourth year of Vespasian, that Antiochus the king of Comagene, with his whole family, fell into a most deplorable distress: and this was the occasion of it. Cefennius Petus, being governor of Syria, wrote Cesar word, that Antiochus and his son Epiphanes were resolved to revolt from the Romans; and that they had already treated about it with the king of Parthia: insisting also upon the necessity of preventing the mischief by striking the first blow. For it might be enough else to set the whole empire in a flame. Now whether this was truth, or malice, may be another question: but whatever it was, Cesar could not in prudence neglect the advice; either in respect of the neighbourhood of those two kings, which made the case still more dangerous, or in regard that Samosata being the capital city of Comagene, and bordering upon the Euphrates, the Parthians might pass and repass at pleasure, and secure themselves of a safe retreat at hand.

Cefennius
makes an in-
cursion into
Comagene.

VESPASIAN was so possess'd with the credit of the story, that he left Cefennius to his own discretion, and with a commission to do in it what he thought fit. Cefennius lost no time, in making the best of his deputation; for he fell immediately into Comagene, with the sixth legion, and some battalions of foot, and squadrons of horse, with Aristobulus the king of Chalcis, and Sohemus the king of Emesa, to second him; Antiochus and his subjects never so much as dreaming of the matter. His entrance was without any opposition at all; for the natives were not in a condition to encounter him: and then for Antiochus, the news of this incursion was a most unaccountable surprize to him, who never had so much as the least thought of a misunderstanding with the Romans. The resolution he took in this difficulty, was to leave the kingdom just as it stood at that instant, and to take his wife and children along with him as an instance of his good faith to the empire, and likewise as a pregnant proof of his innocence. Hereupon he withdrew about an hundred and † thirty

furlongs from the city, and encamped upon a plain. Cefennius, in the mean time, sends soldiers to take possession of Samosata, and to keep garison there; while he himself, with other troops, marches away after Antiochus. But all this violence and injustice was not sufficient yet to provoke the king to any unfriendly act against the Romans; or to do any thing more than to lament his hard fortune, and to bear all things with patience.

Antiochus
resolves to
withdraw
without any
act of hosti-
lity.

BUT for his sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, who were youthful, martial, and brave, they could not in honour but betake themselves to their arms: so that drawing out what strength they were able to make, they gave the Romans battle; fought it out all day, and in the end shew'd a conduct answerable to their valour; for they came off with very little loss.

His two sons,
Epiphanes
and Callini-
cus gave the
Romans bat-
tle.

THE fortune of this day was favourable to Antiochus, but all too little to put a stop to the retreat he had resolv'd upon; for he took his wife and daughters away with him into Cilicia: and this scrupulous integrity of his went so far, that it quite dispirited his soldiers. For what could they hope for, they said, when the king himself despair'd; deserting their prince in that distraction, and going over to the Romans. All that Epiphanes and his brother had now to do, was to save themselves before it was too late. And so with eight horsemen more, (ten in all) they pass'd the Euphrates, (where they were now secure) in order to escape to Vologeses the king of Parthia. This generous prince, upon their arrival, did not treat them like fugitives, but with that royal state and respect that became their birth and quality.

Antiochus
retires into
Cilicia.

And the bro-
thers shift for
themselves.

Vologeses re-
ceives them
according to
their birth
and quality.

ANTIOCHUS being now come to Tarsus in Cilicia, Cefennius sent an officer to take him into custody, and carry him bound to Rome. But Vespasian was too generous to treat a crown'd head at that rate, and chose rather to shew a respect to the memory of an ancient friendship, than to revenge himself for a supposed injury: wherefore he order'd his chains to be taken off upon the way, his journey to Rome respited, and himself to make some stay at Lacedemon; where Vespasian furnish'd him with provisions of money, suitable to the dignity of a royal expence.

Cefennius or-
ders Antio-
chus to be
sent prisoner
to Rome.
Vespasian
causes his
chains to be
taken off, and
treats him
with all man-
ner of respect.

THIS honourable and generous way of proceeding toward Antiochus, did not only deliver the brothers from the dread and anxiety they lay under for fear of their father, but put them in hopes even of a reconciliation to Cesar himself; especially upon the intercession of Vologeses, that they might be permitted to go to Rome by Cesar's consent: for though they liv'd in a condition suitable to their dignity, they had no patience yet to live out of the pale of the empire. This request Cesar graciously granted: upon which they came to Rome, whither their father was brought soon after, where they were all three entertain'd with high demonstrations of affection and esteem.

The father
and the two
sons conduct-
ed to Rome,
and highly
entertain'd.

THE people now known by the name of Alanes, formerly call'd Scythians, having their habitations, as we have said elsewhere, near the river Tanais, and the lake of Meotis,

The Scythi-
ans and their
confederates
break into
Media.

* Two drachma's weigh'd four pennyweights, two grains and an half, and their value in silver amounted to something better than thirteen pence halfpenny.

† An hundred and thirty furlongs amounted to sixteen English miles and a quarter, and an hundred and ninety five geometrical paces.

join'd in a confederacy with the king of Hyrcania, to break into Media, and lay the land waste: this king being the master of the only passage into that country; which, they say, Alexander so order'd, as to have it shut up with iron gates. This pass being now laid open, they possess'd themselves of the place, without either suspicion or resistance, and carry'd off a booty, in goods and cattle, to a mighty value. This inroad put Pacorus (then king of the place) into such a fright, that he left his estate at mercy, and flying for his own safety into crags and strong holds, he made a shift at last to redeem his wife and concubines for an hundred * talents. At this rate they press'd forward, spoiling and making havoc all the way they went, without the least resistance, up to the borders of Armenia; Tiridates being at that time king there. This Tiridates made head against them, and fought them, and was within a very little of being taken alive in the battle, by the noose of a halter that was thrown over his head in the action; but in the very moment while they were drawing him off, he cut the rope with his sword, and got away. The success of this combat made these Barbarians more bloody and insolent than before, insomuch that they depopulated all, wherever they came, and carry'd off vast numbers of men and cattle along with them to their own homes.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Eleazar the governor of Massada. The lowest age since the creation. The Sicarii led the way; but John of Gischala out-did them all. The brutal barbarities of Simon. The Idumeans inhuman and bloody. The Zelotes the wickedest and most wretched of mortals. A garrison of the Sicarii in Massada. Silva besieges it. The situation, description, and strength of it both by art and nature. Silva advances his batteries, and gains the rock Leuce; but his batteries failing, he sets all in a flame. A discourse upon the contempt of death, and the immortality of the soul. Reflections upon the Indian philosophers and the Brachmans. Several instances of the sufferings of the Jews. The question of life and death debated. The Jews so possessed with it, that they resolve not to outlive their laws and liberties: they agree upon a method for the executing of that resolution. The Romans advance the next morning to the assault, and find only a pile of dead bodies to receive them.

BASSUS was now dead in Judea, and Flavius Silva constituted his successor in the government; who, finding the whole country to be reduc'd, saving only one rebellious castle, drew out all the force he was able to make, with a resolution to attack it. The castle's name was Massada, and one Eleazar commanded it, the ring-leader of the Sicarii, or cut-throats, who had got in possession of it. This Eleazar was descended from one Judas, who, as we have said already, was the man that most violently oppos'd the Jews entering their names upon the roll, when Cyrenius executed

the office of Cenfor in Judea. This faction of the Sicarii were profess'd enemies to all that shew'd any manner of respect to the Romans: and they treated them also like enemies, even to the degree of pillaging their goods, driving away their cattle, and burning their houses. "For what are these men better than strangers, said they, that betray the liberty of their country for want of fighting for it, and had rather live slaves than freemen; notwithstanding that freedom is a blessing can never be bought too dear? Were it not better for such men as these, they cry'd, to join barefac'd with the Romans?" but these were only words of course, for a pretext to their inhumanity and avarice, as most evidently appear'd in the conclusion. For when those very men whom they branded with perfidy and cowardize came to join in the revolt, and in the common cause against the Romans, they were worse us'd than before: especially those that laid open the hypocrisy of their pretensions, and the iniquity of their practice.

THERE was never such an age certainly since the creation, for all manner of impiety, as this juncture among the Jews. They left no new wickedness to be either done or thought of, or for invention itself to work upon. Never such an agreement publick and private, in all sorts of corruptions: never such emulation in all things that were ill, who should outdo the other: men in power oppress'd the common people, and the common people were as severe again upon men in power; the one for domination, the other for pillage.

THE Sicarii were the first that led the way to this licentious course of blood and violence, without slipping any opportunity, either by word or deed, of doing mischief where they were set upon it. But all this was not to compare with the extravagant cruelties of John: who did not only put particular men to death, as common enemies (citizens especially) for presuming to advise things necessary and profitable for the publick; but multiply'd all manner of outrages also upon his country. And who could expect better from a man that made no conscience of affronting God himself? as in the use of forbidden meats, renouncing the purity of his profession, and departing from the laws and customs of our forefathers. What wonder now, to see a man inhuman to his neighbour, that has no more reverence for his maker!

AND so for Simon the son of Gioras, what villany was not that man guilty of? what barbarities did he not inflict upon the very men that rais'd him? those, that of freemen born, made themselves his slaves! The natural ties of blood and friendship had no other effect upon this sort of people, than to inflame them to the execution of more horrid butcheries. They look'd upon it as a mean, and a kind of scandalous insolence to tyrannize over strangers, compar'd with the more generous and heroical bravery of trampling upon their own flesh and blood.

AND the Idumeans came not much behind them neither; those bloody miscreants, who

The lowest age since the creation.

The Sicarii led the way.

But John of Gischala out-did them all.

The barbarous cruelties of Simon.

The castle of Massada, and Eleazar the governor of it.

* It is difficult to determine what talent is here meant: but admitting it to be the greater Attick talent, an hundred weighed seven thousand six hundred four pounds and two ounces; and their value in silver amounted to twenty two thousand eight hundred twelve pounds and ten shillings, and in gold to three hundred sixty five thousand pounds, English money.

The Idumeans inhuman and bloody.

The Zelotes the wickedest,

And the most miserable of mortals.

A garison of the Sicarii in Massada, under Eleazar.

Silva besieges it.

The situation of Massada.

after the assassinating of the high-priests, to cut off, as much as in them lay, the whole frame and order of religion at a blow, confounded likewise the polity of the city, without leaving so much as the face of justice or civil government, and set up tyranny and oppression in the stead of it. This was the province of those they call Zelotes, and they had given themselves a title to the name by their works; as the most passionate patrons and promoters of vice and lewdness upon the earth, though under the colour of piety and virtue; but seducing those they would impose upon by fallacies and false lights, and at the same time turning evil into good, and good into evil.

THEY had at last, however, the end they deserv'd, in the manifestation of God's just vengeance upon them: for they suffer'd all the calamities and torments that it is possible for flesh and blood to undergo, and this throughout the whole course of their lives.

It will be said perhaps that the punishment fell short of the offence. And it may be answer'd, that no punishment could come up to it. But this is not a time or place to enter upon the history of those unhappy wretches that fell into the hands of these monsters: so that I shall rather return to my relation, and go on where I left.

SILVA the Roman general was now upon his march to besiege Massada, where there was a garison of the Sicarii under the command of Eleazar; who was the head of that party. He made sure of the country about it, without much difficulty; settled his garisons as he saw convenient, and ran up a wall about the castle to prevent excursions or escapes, and to secure his guards. He made choice of a quarter for his camp, that he found most commodious for his purpose: that is to say, upon the joining of the castle-rock to the next mountain: only provisions were extremely scarce; for they were brought a great way, and with much trouble to the Jews, whose business it was to supply them; beside the bringing of water another way too, for there was no fountain near the place.

MATTERS being thus order'd, Silva dispos'd himself to the siege, which was like to be a work of time and labour, as will appear by the situation of the castle. It stands upon a large high rock, with deep and craggy precipices round about it: and there is no discerning the bottom from above by reason of other rocks that interpose and cover it. The access is so difficult, that even the beasts themselves cannot climb it, saving only by two passages: one to the eastward from the lake Asphaltitis, which is very nice and dangerous; the other from the west, which is the more practicable of the two. They call one of them by the name of the Snake, from the several

windings and turnings in the ascent: for the rocks in many places double upon themselves, and run in and out so, that people are fain to go backward and forward to pass them. And the passages are so narrow likewise, that there's no walking upon them but by standing upon one foot while you advance the other: beside that one slip, or a false step, is certain death; for it drops you into a precipice that gives a man a horror but to think of it. They reckon thirty* furlongs of this way from the bottom to the top of the mountain, which brings you into a plain, where Jonathan the high-priest erected a castle, and called it Massada; he himself being the first founder of it. Herod the Great spared afterwards for no cost or care to adorn and fortify it. He carried a wall about it, of seven† furlongs in compass; all of curious white stone, twelve‡ cubits high and eight over. He built likewise twenty seven turrets, each of fifty§ cubits in height: and these towers entertain'd a communication with all the buildings on the inside of the wall. The plain above was so well condition'd, and so fruitful a soil, that Herod order'd it to be set apart for tillage; to the end that whoever should take sanctuary in that castle, he might be sure not to want necessaries. He caus'd also a royal and a stately palace to be built for himself within the compass of the castle: the entrance fronting westward, and bending a little to the north. The walls of it were very high and strong, with four towers in the four corners, each of sixty** cubits high. The apartments, galleries and baths, were for variety, ornament and contrivance, very rich and glorious: and all supported with pillars, each of one entire stone; and so masterly put together, that nothing could be more substantial. The walls and the pavement were all checker'd with party-colour'd stone. To every quarter about this palace, the plain above, and before the turrets, there were a great many large cisterns hew'd out of the rock for the preserving of water; so that these vessels abundantly supply'd the want of fountains. There was a way also cut under ground, from the palace up to the castle, which was not to be discover'd from without; and the other was effectually impassable, as we have said already. But for the western pass, there was a tower set up in the narrowest part of it, a matter of a thousand†† cubits from the castle, that quite block'd it up. Not but that the attempt would have been difficult enough, even without any opposition: but this is to shew the state and condition of the place, both by art and nature.

Now this castle was not only provided against force and stratagem, but against the very dint of famine too: for there was corn in it, wine, oil, all sorts of pulse, dates, &c. for many years; which was all found in it, when

The description of it.

The fortification.

The state and condition of Massada, both by art and nature.

Stored with all manner of provisions.

* Thirty furlongs amounted to three English miles and three quarters; and forty five geometrical paces, as hath been several times before observed.

† Seven furlongs were seven eighths of a mile, that is one furlong and nine geometrical paces above three quarters of an English mile.

‡ Twelve cubits amounted to something upwards of one and twenty English feet, that is seven yards; and eight cubits to something more than fourteen English feet, that is four yards and two feet.

§ Fifty cubits amounted to something more than ninety one English feet, that is thirty yards and one foot.

** Sixty cubits amounted to something more than one hundred and nine feet, that is to thirty six yards and one foot.

†† A thousand cubits amounted to something upwards of eighteen hundred and twenty five feet, that is to six hundred and eight yards and one foot.

Eleazar with his Sicarii surpriz'd it: and it was all as fresh and found too, (though an hundred years deposited) as if it had been but newly laid up. And perhaps the purity of the air at that height, abstracted from gross and feculent vapours, might be the reason of it.

THERE was also a magazine of all sorts of arms for ten thousand men, stor'd there by the king's order; a great quantity of unwrought iron, brass, lead, and the like; which we may presume was prepared for some great design.

Herod intended it for a retreat in case of need.

THERE goes a tradition, that Herod finding himself distress'd under two difficulties, provided this castle for his retreat in case of need: the one was for fear the people should depose him, and set the Asmonean family upon the throne again; the other was a matter of a more dangerous consequence. Cleopatra the queen of Egypt had a design, it seems, upon the life of Herod: and she made no secret of it neither; but own'd the thing, and had several discourses with Antony about it; pressing him that Herod might be dispatch'd out of the way, and she herself made queen of the Jews in his stead. It was a wonder that the passion Antony had for Cleopatra could deny her any thing; but Herod however, upon this apprehension, put Massada into such a condition, that there was hardly any thought of taking it; and the Romans could never be absolute masters of the Jews without it.

Silva advances with his battery.

THE Jews being now so close wall'd up in Massada, that there was no possibility, as I said before, of their escaping, Silva advanced with his machines; there being but one place that he could fill up to raise a mount upon. For beyond that tower that blocks up the way upon the west, to the palace and castle, there was a large long rock call Leuce; larger than that the castle stood upon, but not so high by three * hundred cubits as Massada. The general had no sooner gain'd this rock, but he set his soldiers at work to advance a mount upon it; and they wrought so hard, that they carried it up to the height of two † hundred cubits: which not being as yet strong enough to support the engines, they rais'd a kind of platform upon it, wrought with great stones, fifty † cubits high, and as much over. But beside these ordinary machines, they had others also of the invention of Vespasian, but improved afterwards by Titus. They erected farther upon this platform, a tower of sixty cubits, and fortify'd with iron.

He gains the rock Leuce.

THE Romans from this turret, gall'd the defendants with their stones and arrows to such a degree, that they durst not shew their heads upon the walls. Silva, in the mean time, kept battering the wall with a most prodigious ram; which by little and little made some small impression upon it. But the Sicarii quickly supply'd that defect by clapping up another wall behind it that feared no machines: for the matter of it being soft and yielding, it deced the stroke: and the manner of the structure was this. They took two rows of large timbers, and mortiss'd them one into another. They were both of a size, and together with a space left betwixt them, just an-

swered the thickness of the wall. This space they filled with a kind of clayish earth, and nail'd up boards a-crofs the frame to keep the earth from falling down: so that it stood as firm as the wall of a house, and the more it was battered the stronger it was, as if it been ramm'd and consolidated into a better state of defence.

WHEN Silva found his engines defeated, he resolv'd to attempt that by fire, which he could not compass by battery; and so ordered his soldiers to try what might be done by brands-ends and fire-works, towards the destroying of their defences. Their new wall being most of it timber-work and hollow, took fire immediately, and burst out into a mighty flame; which began with the wind on the north, and beat so terribly upon the Romans, that they almost despair'd of saving their machines. But the wind luckily chopping about all on a sudden into the south, drove so furiously upon the wall, that it set all in a flame from top to bottom. The Romans were so sensible of God's appearing in their favour upon this occasion, that they return'd chearfully to their camp, with a full resolution to make an attack upon the enemy the next morning by break of day; and to keep strong watches in the mean while that they might not get off in the night.

Silva's batteries being defeated, he tries fire, and sets all in a flame.

BUT Eleazar had no thought of starting himself, or of suffering any of his people so to do. The wall however being consum'd to the ground, and no hope or possibility left of safety or relief, the only brave thing they had before them was to consider how they might deliver their wives and children from the ignominious outrages they might expect from the Romans, whenever they came to be masters of the place. Eleazar concluded, upon the ballancing of this question, that a glorious death was infinitely to be prefer'd to a life of infamy; and that the most generous resolution they could take in the world, would be not to out-live their liberties. This being his own opinion, he call'd together the most couragious of his friends and companions, and did what he could, by reason and exhortation, to discourse them into the same mind.

"It is no new thing, says he, my generous friends, for our people to disclaim any other lord and master, than the true and sovereign lord and master of the universe, God himself; and this without exception to the Romans, or to any other nation whatsoever. The time is now at hand to make good our words by our deeds: wherefore let us act like ourselves now. We have hitherto run all hazards to preserve our freedoms; but we are at present threaten'd with chains, and the worst of torments together, if we fall alive into our enemies hands; as the first that fell off from them, and the last that stood out against them. The matter duly consider'd, we are to look upon it as a singular grace and favour from above, to be left still at liberty to chuse our death: a blessing deny'd to many that are gone before us. We are certain to be all slaves to-mor-

Eleazar's discourse upon the contempt of death.

* Three hundred cubits amounted to something upwards of five hundred forty six feet, that is one hundred eighty two yards.

† Two hundred cubits amounted to something more than three hundred and sixty four feet, that is one hundred and twenty one yards, and one foot.

“row, if we do not prevent it by setting our-
 “selves free this very night; and it is not in
 “the power of our enemies to hinder it. Nei-
 “ther is there any thing they desire more,
 “than to take us alive; and it is now too
 “late to think of prevailing against them by
 “force of arms. Something might have been
 “done at first perhaps, if the assertors of our
 “liberties had but duly consider’d things.
 “For they would have found that if God had
 “not cast us off, though formerly his chosen
 “people, he would never have expos’d us to
 “what we have suffer’d, both by our own
 “divisions, and from our enemies, the de-
 “struction of so many of our principal men,
 “and the holy city itself laid waste with fire
 “and sword. But how comes it last that we
 “alone are the men of the whole nation to
 “stand up for our liberties, as if we ourselves
 “were innocent of those iniquities that we
 “have taught to others? You see by this time
 “the vanity of your extravagant hopes, and the
 “misery of your disappointments. And what
 “are we the better here for an impregnable
 “castle, with an ample provision of arms,
 “and all necessaries for our support, when
 “God hath manifestly doom’d us to destru-
 “ction? What do you think of that judicial
 “wind and fire, that left the Romans to con-
 “sume us and our new wall? Did it do this
 “of its own accord, do ye think? or was it
 “not rather an infliction upon us for the cry-
 “ing sins we had been guilty of one towards
 “another? Now since our punishment is just,
 “and that there is no avoiding of it, will it
 “not be much more reasonable for us to do
 “justice upon ourselves, than to leave it to
 “the victorious Romans, as the executors of
 “divine vengeance? By this means, we secure
 “the honour of our wives, and the freedom
 “of our children? And next to them, let us
 “honourably take our own turns, and die
 “free; leaving that memorial behind us as
 “the best of monuments. But in the first
 “place, let the castle be set on fire, and our
 “own gold and silver melted down; for the
 “Romans will be sick of their purchase, with-
 “out the possession, either of our treasure, or
 “of our persons. Let the provisions for the
 “mouth and belly be left behind, as a testi-
 “mony that we were not starved into this
 “condition; but kept to our first resolution
 “of chusing death rather than bondage.”

This was Eleazar’s speech; but it did not re-
 lish with all alike: some were very much pleased
 with the proposal, and as forward to put it in
 execution; reckoning upon death as a desirable
 state upon those terms. Those that were good-
 natured, or tender-hearted, had a horror upon
 them to think of taking away the lives of their
 friends, and no less at the thought of laying
 violent hands upon themselves: and then look-
 ing mournfully one upon another with tears
 in their eyes, they betray’d the softnesses of
 their hearts. Eleazar was not a little troubled
 at these effeminate weaknesses, for fear of
 staggering others that seem’d well enough re-
 solved, and calling in question the dignity of
 his proposition. He follow’d his point how-
 ever, and went on with his exhortation; but
 with another sort of air and spirit, advancing
 his discourse upon the subject of the immor-
 tality of the soul: and fixing his eye upon
 those that he saw in tears, he address’d him-

self that way, in a vehement earnestness
 of exclamation, and in these or the like
 words.

“I am, says he, wonderfully mistaken, I
 “perceive, in my opinion, that brave men in
 “a contest for liberty, had rather lose their
 “lives than their cause. But it is otherwise
 “with you, I find, that are afraid to die,
 “though to deliver yourselves from calami-
 “ties worse than death itself: and in a case
 “too, that neither needs counsel, nor will
 “bear delay. We have it from antiquity,
 “the holy scriptures, the laws and customs
 “of our country, the doctrine and practice of
 “our fore-fathers: and it is generally allow’d
 “that it is not life, but death, that makes a
 “man happy. For what is it but death that
 “sets the soul at liberty, and transmits it into
 “those pure and blessed regions where it shall
 “never know corruption? But so long as it
 “communicates with the mortal body, it par-
 “takes also with the evils of that body; and
 “it is in a manner dead; for what affinity is
 “there betwixt divine and mortal? Soul and
 “body in conjunction, ’tis true, may do
 “much; for the body is but the soul’s instru-
 “ment, and their secret offices and operations
 “are unaccountable. But when the soul comes
 “once to be discharged of its clog and weight
 “that keeps it down, and to recover its pro-
 “per station, it enjoys a vigorous and a per-
 “fect liberty; not visible to human eyes, but
 “invisible, as God himself is; and it is in-
 “visible also in our bodies. It comes into us
 “unseen, and so it goes out again; incor-
 “ruptible in itself, but causing variety of
 “changes in the body: for whatever the soul
 “influences, it puts life and vigour into it:
 “and when ever it withdraws itself, the sepa-
 “ration is certain death. But this does not
 “hinder the soul yet from being immortal.
 “As in sleep, for instance, how quietly does
 “the soul repose itself in that respite from
 “the distractions of the body! Which shews
 “the happiness of the soul is wrapt up with-
 “in itself, and likewise that it holds some
 “sort of communication with the Almighty,
 “in foretelling things to come. But how can
 “any man pretend to fear death that loves
 “rest! Or who but a mad-man, for the sake
 “of a short life, will debar himself of a life
 “eternal? Beside, that we are trained up
 “by the laws and institution of our professi-
 “on, not only to the contempt of death our-
 “selves, but also to preach and practise it
 “for an example to others.

“Or if there needed any recourse to stran-
 “gers, for argument or authority upon this
 “subject, what shall we say to the Indian phi-
 “losophers and Brachmans? a wise and a vir-
 “tuous sort of people. They look upon life
 “only as a necessary function of nature, an
 “office which they discharge easily enough,
 “and not without some impatience to be quit of
 “the trouble. And they are not weary of
 “life neither, upon the account of pain or in-
 “convenience; but for the love of immortali-
 “ty, and a blessed conversation that shall ne-
 “ver have an end. Nay, they take solemn
 “leave of their friends too, as if it were but
 “for a journey, and tell them when they are a
 “going: neither does any body offer to hin-
 “der them; but, on the contrary, wish them
 “happy, and send formal messages by them
 to

Of the im-
 mortality of
 the soul.

Of the Indian
 philosophers
 and Brach-
 mans.

A judicial
 wind and
 fire.

“ to their acquaintance, in a full and certain
 “ confidence that they understand one ano-
 “ ther. And so when they have received all
 “ their orders and instructions, they commit
 “ their bodies to the fire, as a preparatory
 “ purification, and go off with acclamations,
 “ and to the satisfaction of all the spectators.
 “ For among them, friends follow one ano-
 “ ther more cheerfully to death, than they
 “ would do to a long journey; joying those
 “ that are now entering into a state of immor-
 “ tality, and only lamenting the rest that stay
 “ behind. What a shame will it be for us
 “ now to fall short of the Indians, in a mat-
 “ ter of this importance, and to bring a scan-
 “ dal upon the excellent laws and religion of
 “ our fore-fathers by an inglorious abjection
 “ of mind! Or put the case now, that we had
 “ been otherwise instructed, and brought up in
 “ the contrary principles from our very cra-
 “ dle; as if life were the sovereign good of
 “ mankind, and death the most dismal of ca-
 “ lamities: the very occasion should make us
 “ resolute methinks, in our case, since neces-
 “ sity and the will of God will have it so;
 “ and we are now to be punish’d with the loss
 “ of life, for our former abuses of it, by the
 “ ordering of a divine providence. Neither
 “ are we to ascribe it to our own arms, or to
 “ the generosity of the Romans, that we were
 “ not every man of us cut off in this war.
 “ And it was not simply a conquest neither,
 “ but the mediation of a more powerful cause,
 “ that made it look like one however. What
 “ had the Romans to do in that bloody mas-
 “ cre of the Jews at Cesarea by the people of
 “ the place, where man, woman and child,
 “ were cut off upon the seventh day’s festival,
 “ without one word of a conspiracy, or the
 “ least resistance? whereas the Romans never
 “ look’d upon the Jews as their enemies, but
 “ only when they revolted. Now it will be
 “ said perhaps, that there was an old grudge
 “ betwixt the Jews of Cesarea and the citi-
 “ zens, and that the latter took this opportu-
 “ nity for a revenge. What shall we say then
 “ of the Scythopolitans that join’d with the
 “ Greeks against us, and not with our friends
 “ against the Romans? and what did they get
 “ at last for their good will, but the utter de-
 “ struction of themselves and their families?
 “ This was the thanks, in fine, that we had
 “ for our assistance; they brought us into the
 “ same extremity, out of which we rescu’d
 “ them.

“ It would be too tedious to run over par-
 “ ticular instances; for you know very well
 “ that there is not so much as one city in Sy-
 “ ria that has treated us better, and that is not
 “ incomparably worse to us than the Romans.
 “ What do you think of Damascus now, that
 “ without any colour, or pretence of a disgust,
 “ butcher’d ten thousand Jews, with their
 “ wives and children, in that single city?
 “ and then they reckon upon at least sixty
 “ thousand kill’d in Egypt. Now that’s no
 “ wonder, you’ll say, in a strange land, where
 “ they had no seconds to stand by them. But
 “ to come now to our own case at home, that
 “ had the courage to assert our liberties against
 “ the Romans in our own country, and want-
 “ ed neither men nor arms, fearless spirits,
 “ impregnable cities, strong holds, or any o-
 “ ther manner of provisions that might encou-

“ rage or strengthen a revolt, and entitle us
 “ to a reasonable hope of a victorious issue.
 “ But how long did this last, and to what end
 “ did this pompous preparation serve us, save
 “ only to our greater confusion? for all is lost,
 “ you see, and only to the honour of the ene-
 “ my, without any advantage to ourselves,
 “ for, and by whom, these stores were provided.

“ How happy are they now that fell with
 “ their swords in their hands, contending for
 “ their liberty, and in the same act preserving
 “ it, compar’d with the surviving remainder
 “ of us that are reserv’d in chains; some for
 “ torture, some for the fire, others for spec-
 “ tacles; some for combat, and others to be
 “ torn to pieces with whips; some half eaten
 “ by beasts, and set aside for a second
 “ meal! Who would not suffer a thousand
 “ deaths rather than lead such a life? but the
 “ most deplorable of all the rest are those that
 “ are yet living, and calling upon death, and
 “ yet have not the heart to give it themselves.

“ PRAY summon up your thoughts, and con-
 “ sider what is become of your glorious me-
 “ tropolis; your mighty walls and fortifica-
 “ tions; your impregnable towers and castles;
 “ your vast treasuries and magazines, though
 “ too little for your stores; your prodigious
 “ multitudes of men: and what’s become of
 “ your holy place too, known by the name of
 “ God’s house? Is it not all torn up, by the
 “ roots, and nothing to be seen of it but the
 “ ruins, that serve only for a camp to the con-
 “ queror; a few unfortunate old men mourn-
 “ ing over the ashes of the temple, and a pro-
 “ vision of unhappy women reserv’d for the
 “ criminal use and service of the soldiers?

“ CAN any thing that hath but the soul of a
 “ man ever submit to look another sun in the
 “ face again after this? nay, though he might
 “ live without either fear or danger, can any
 “ man, I say, be so unnatural to his country,
 “ so mean and narrow-hearted, as not to be
 “ griev’d that ever he liv’d to see this day?
 “ and it would have been well, if we had
 “ been all in our graves before ever we beheld
 “ these sacrilegious ruins, and this glorious pile
 “ of Jerusalem laid in rubbish. But so long as
 “ we had hopes and courage, we flatter’d our-
 “ selves with the possibility of a redemption.
 “ These hopes however being intirely frustra-
 “ ted, and nothing now left us to trust to, but
 “ the consideration of an insuperable necessity,
 “ we have nothing more to do than to take
 “ pity of ourselves, our wives, and our chil-
 “ dren; and to make all the haste we can to
 “ do it, while we have the means in our own
 “ hands. We are all born to die, the brave
 “ and the coward alike, and all subjected to the
 “ same fate. Now for matter of indignity
 “ and slavery, the seeing of our wives disho-
 “ nour’d, and our children led in triumph;
 “ these are not evils arising from the necessity
 “ of our nature, but the results of cowardize,
 “ when a man might have dy’d and would not.
 “ But for us who had the hearts to abandon
 “ the Romans, and fly in the face of our mas-
 “ ters; and afterwards to refuse quarter and
 “ pardon, when it was offer’d us, and not so
 “ much as to accept of an indemnity, though
 “ they themselves begg’d it of us: can any
 “ body think, I say, that if ever they take us
 “ alive, they will not treat us with the great-
 “ est indignities?

The question
of life and
death deba-
ted in favour
of the latter
as the more
desirable of
the two.

The whole
of the above
speech is
omitted in
the original
text, and is
not to be
considered
as a part of
the original
text.

The whole
of the above
speech is
omitted in
the original
text, and is
not to be
considered
as a part of
the original
text.

"No one that has any bowels of compassion can, without the greatest horror, think of the miserable condition both of young and old; betwixt the strength of body on the one hand, to lie languishing under a lingering torment; and the weakness of age on the other, that is not able to support it. The husband must expect to see his wife dishonour'd before his face; and the father, to hear his children begging in chains for relief. But while we are free, and masters of our swords, let us make a glorious use of them, and preserve our liberties. Let us die freemen, with the comfort and company of our wives and children about us. It is but what they themselves desire, what our laws require at our hands, and what providence itself hath made necessary for us. Only the Romans are against it, for fear we should die before we fall into their hands. Let us dispatch then, for it will be to our immortal honour to take the prize they long for out of their hands, in leaving them only the poor satisfaction of dead bodies for their triumph."

The whole body is of the same opinion with Eleazar, and join in a resolution not to outlive their laws and liberties.

ELEAZAR would have gone on, if the whole company had not broken in upon him in this very instant; violently pressing him to go thro' with his work, and every man contending with a phantastical emulation who should be foremost, as a mark of the bravest and the wisest man. Such was the passion these people had for the destruction of themselves and their families. And, which was yet more wonderful, they did not one man of them shrink when they came to the execution; but kept up their dear and natural affection to the last, upon an opinion that they could not do their friends a better office. They took their leave of their wives and children in their arms, with a kiss, and a stab; weeping over them at the same time, and no more concerned than if the work had been done by other people's hands. The necessity of the action, (as they understood it) was their comfort, and their excuse; for considering what they should have suffer'd otherwise by the Romans, they thought they could not do less toward their deliverance. In short, there was not one man's heart fail'd him; but they kill'd their beloved friends and relations without distinction. This was a miserable necessity, but they were driven upon it by a miserable choice: for the destroying of their wives and children (as it appear'd to them) was the least evil they had before them.

The execution and the method of it.

WHEN they had proceeded thus far, they found the grief for what they had done already intolerable, and being conscious to themselves, that they could not survive those they had kill'd, (though never so little) without a manifest injury to the dead, they immediately pil'd up all their goods together on a heap and burnt them; and then chusing ten men, by lot, out of their number, to do execution upon all the rest, they ranged themselves as near as they could to the dead bodies of their friends; gave them a parting embrace, and chearfully presented their throats to those that were to do the inhuman office. So soon as the ten had with a mighty resolution discharg'd their part, they cast lots among themselves which of the

remaining ten should dispatch the other nine, with a condition that the surviving tenth man should kill himself upon the bodies of the rest: such a confidence had these people one in another. The nine dy'd with the same constancy as the rest. The last man overlooking the bodies, and finding that they were all stark dead, set fire to the palace, and with a prodigious violence threw himself upon the point of his sword, and so perish'd amongst the rest of his friends.

THE tragedy being now over, and upon a presumption, that there was not so much as one Jew fallen into the hands of the Romans, it appear'd afterwards that there was one ancient woman; and another, a kinswoman of Eleazar's (a person of admirable qualities) with five young boys, that had conceal'd themselves all this while in an aqueduct, and escap'd the massacre. The number of the slain was nine hundred and sixty, reckoning women and children into the account. This action fell out upon the fifteenth of the month * Xanthicus.

THE Romans by break of day next morning, with their ladders and bridges, made ready for an assault; but no enemy appearing, nor any noise to be heard, but the crackling of flames, the Romans could not tell what to make of these circumstances, and of so dead a silence: so that they presently gave a yell, like a shout upon the playing of a battery, to try if they could be answer'd. The clamour alarm'd the women in their hiding-places; so that they came out upon it, and told the Romans the truth of the whole story; which was so incredible however, that they could not believe it: but betaking themselves to the quenching of the fire, and so following their way up to the palace, they found such a carnage of dead bodies, that without insulting and rejoicing as enemies, they broke into admiration at the generous greatness of the Jews minds; the stedfastness of their counsels, and the obstinate agreement of such a number of men in the contempt of death.

The Romans advance next morning to the assault, and find only a pile of dead bodies to receive them.

CHAP. XXIX.

The turbulent and seditious humour of the Sicarii. The Jews impute all their misfortunes to that sort of people. They will rather suffer death than own Cesar for their master.

AFTER the taking of Massada, Silva the Roman general settled a garison there, and so march'd away with his army to Cesarea, leaving the country in perfect peace and quiet behind him. Now the Jews of Judea were so absolutely broken and subdu'd by the burden and continuance of the war, that there was not an enemy to be heard of in all that quarter; but there were those also that felt of it as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where several of them were put to death. But a word or two upon this occasion will not be amiss.

THERE were divers of the faction of the Sicarii that fled to Alexandria for sanctuary; and it was not enough for these people to live easy and quiet there, but they must be tampering the citizens into a hankering after innovations, and starting invidious questions about

The turbulent and seditious humour of the Sicarii.

* i. e. April.

Violent and impatient of contradiction

The Jews arraign them in a public assembly, as the authors of all their misfortunes.

Not a man of them would own Cesar for his master, to save his life.

liberty. "They look'd upon the Romans, they said, to be no better than themselves, and no other lord would they own, than the lord of heaven and earth." And still as they met with any contradiction, though from the best of their own profession, it was as much as their lives were worth. Some they murder'd, others they debauch'd from their allegiance, or at least endeavour'd to do it; and in fine, these practices of theirs became so bold and dangerous, that the leading men amongst them did not think it safe to call them to any publick account. But the course they took, was to summon a general meeting of the Jews, and there to arraign the folly and temerity of the Sicarii, and to expose them to the people as the root and cause of all their misfortunes. "Now what would be the end on't, said they, if we should force them to fly for their security? They'd be never the better for it, and we the worse. For so soon as ever the Romans shall be well inform'd of the design, their way will be to fall upon all promiscuously, and so destroy the innocent with the guilty." Wherefore they cautioned the Jews not to involve themselves with the Sicarii, but rather to provide for their own safety, by delivering up those cut-throats to the Romans.

This gave them such a prospect of the hazard they were in, that they fell violently upon the Sicarii, and took six hundred of them immediately. The rest fled to Egypt, Thebes, and thereabouts; where they were retaken soon after, and brought back again, behaving themselves to admiration, for the insuperable hardness of their resolution. What a variety of exquisite torments did they endure, rather than acknowledge Cesar for their master; and not one soul that would so much as deliberate upon the doing of it. But they stood all as firm, as if their souls had not been concerned in what their bodies endured. And the transcendent miracle of all is yet behind; which is, that the boys and the children stood the same shock with the rest; and when they had suffer'd all that malice or invention could inflict upon them, not so much as one soul of them would own Cesar to save his life; so much was their contempt of torments above the sense of them.

CHAP. XXX.

Onias moves Ptolemy to give the Jews leave to build a temple, and to enjoy the exercise of their worship. Ptolemy gives leave accordingly, and assigns them a spot of ground for it. This temple was erected, and afterwards shut up.

LUPUS being at that time governour of Alexandria, gave Cesar early advice of this commotion, who was so well acquainted with the turbulent humour of the Jews, that he thought he could not be too cautious of their meetings and cabals, for fear of making factions and parties; and therefore ordered Lupus to demolish the Jews temple in the city Onion in Egypt; of which temple I shall say

something, both as to the name, and the founder.

ONIAS the son of Simon, one of the high-priests, being driven out of Jerusalem in the time of the war betwixt Antiochus the king of Syria, and the Jews, withdrew to Alexandria, where he was very kindly receiv'd by Ptolemy the king of Egypt; partly, as an enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a condition agreed upon betwixt them; which was this. Onias undertook to bring the Jews over into Ptolemy's interest, if he would but grant him one request. The king promis'd him that he would, if it lay in his power; and so the other begg'd his leave only for the Jews to erect a temple some where or other in Egypt, where they might meet and worship God according to the laws and religion of their country. By this means, says he, Antiochus will become still more and more odious to the Jews, and the Jews better affected to your service; beside the vast multitudes that will put themselves under your protection for the free exercise of their worship.

PTOLEMY was well enough pleas'd with the proposal, and so assign'd the Jews a spot of ground for their purpose, a matter of ninescore * furlongs from Memphis, in the tract of Heliopolis: Onias built a castle there, and after that a temple, though not comparable, 'tis true, to that at Jerusalem; but it had just such another tower, made of vast stones, and sixty † cubits in height. There was an altar also, after the model of Jerusalem, and set out with donatives and presents, much like the other, saving only that there was no candlestick, but a golden lamp as bright as the sun, instead of it, which hung upon a gold chain before the altar. This temple was encompass'd with a brick wall, the gates of stone, and it was likewise endow'd with a considerable revenue, both in land and money, that there might be nothing wanting to the solemnity and celebration of the service. Now Onias did not do all this, as we say, for God's sake, and out of the pure simplicity of his heart, but out of a spleen he bore to the Jerusalem Jews that forced him away: and he propounded to himself by the erecting of this temple, to draw the Jews back to him again, that had forsaken him; especially reflecting upon an old prophecy of nine hundred and seventy years standing, which seems to look that way; beside another prediction of the prophet Isaiah, of a temple in time to come to be erected in Egypt, by a Jew.

THIS temple was built accordingly, and Lupus, in pursuance of the emperor's orders, went directly thither, carried off with him several presents and oblations that he found there, and so shut it up. But Paulinus, who succeeded to the government after the death of Lupus, not only intirely stript the temple of all the donatives and presents he found there, but threaten'd the priests severely too in case of any concealment: nor would he receive any man whatsoever into the temple upon the account of religion, but shut the doors against them, without leaving so much as the least appearance of divine worship there.

Onias moves Ptolemy to give the Jews leave to build a temple, and enjoy the exercise of their worship.

Ptolemy grants the request, and assigns a spot of ground for it.

The temple was erected, and after that rifled and shut up.

* Ninescore furlongs amounted to twenty two English miles and three quarters, and fifty six geometrical paces.
† Sixty cubits amounted to something more than one hundred and nine English feet, that is thirty six yards and one foot.

It was now three hundred thirty and three years from the building of this temple to the shutting of it up.

CHAP. XXXI.

Jonathan, an enthusiast weaver, draws a party after him. They are taken and brought prisoners to Catullus, only Jonathan shifts out of the way: but being afterwards taken he comes to a better understanding with Catullus. His master-piece was subornation and corruption. Three thousand Jews put to death at a time. Jonathan sets up for a false witness. Joseph the author of this history is made a prisoner. Vespasian pronounces Joseph innocent, and sentences Jonathan to be whipt and burnt alive. Catullus ends his days in torments of body and mind not to be expressed.

The influence of the Sicarii. Jonathan a weaver and enthusiast, puts himself in the head of a faction.

The whole party is routed, and sent prisoners to Catullus: only Jonathan makes his escape, but being taken at last and carried to Catullus, he found a way to divert the storm from himself.

His master-piece was subornation and corruption.

THE audacious insolence of the Sicarii spread like a contagion every where about Cyrene. As for example: there was one Jonathan, a weaver, that made his escape thither. He was a kind of an enthusiast, and a wicked man, that drew vast numbers of simple people after him into woods and deserts, under a pretext of shewing them prodigies and visions: and the imposture pass'd for current with the common sort. But the story coming to the ears of some eminent Jews at Cyrene, they presently traced it out, and gave timely notice of it to Catullus the governor of the Pentapolitan Libya, how the business stood, and which way they march'd. The governor way-laid them with horse and foot, and easily master'd them, for they were but so many unarm'd men: a great party of them were kill'd, and the rest taken alive, and carried prisoners to Catullus.

JONATHAN the ring-leader of this wretched multitude made his escape; but after a long and a strict search, he was at last found out and taken, and so carry'd to Catullus; where he found out a way to divert the storm from himself, and to furnish the governor with an acceptable occasion of turning it another way: which was, by bringing the wealthiest Jews of the place into the plot, as the heads and promoters of the conspiracy. These accusations, how false soever, were welcome to Catullus; who fell presently to descant and amplify upon things with such aggravations, that a war against the Jews was as good as declar'd already. And to make the villany yet more execrable, he had not only the faculty of believing against truth and reason; but instructed the very Sicarii themselves in the art of calumny: insomuch, that he expressly directed the false witnesses to accuse one Alexander a Jew, by name, to whom he had a long time

declar'd himself a profess'd enemy; and his wife Berenice was also ensnar'd upon the same evidence. These were the first that suffer'd, and after them, a train of three thousand more were put to death at once; whose only crime was, they they were men of wealth and credit. And this, he thought, he might do with the more safety, since their estates thereby became confiscate to the empire.

AND then for fear of being detected by Jews of credit elsewhere, he carry'd the imposture further yet, and dealt with Jonathan and some other prisoners, to lay a snare for some of the most eminent men they had, for honour and integrity, in Rome and Alexandria, and to exhibit new matter against them. Joseph himself, the author of this history, was one of the number. Now Catullus coming to Rome, and bringing Jonathan and the rest of the prisoners in chains along with him, he made no doubt but the scrutiny was all over, and the fact given for granted, as he had represented and concerted it. But the event of this contrivance did not answer his expectation; for Vespasian being a little suspicious upon the main, resolv'd upon a thorough examination of the matter; and finding upon strict scrutiny the iniquity of the proceeding, he pronounced, at the instance of Titus, Joseph and his companions innocent, and thereupon they were discharg'd: but at the same time, he sentenced Jonathan to be whipt, and burnt alive; which was accordingly executed.

AS for Catullus, such was the lenity of the two princes, that they proceeded no further against him at present: but, in a short time after this, he was seiz'd with an incurable complication of diseases; horrid gripes, and pains all over his body; and the anguish of his mind yet more insupportable; torments of conscience; ghastly apparitions and outcries, upon his being haunted with the ghosts of those he had murder'd; starting out of his bed, and roaring out, as if he were upon the torture, or in the flames. His affliction, in fine, encreas'd upon him, till his guts putrify'd, rotted, and came out: this was his end, being effectually no other than a divine vengeance upon a wicked man.

WE are now come to the end of our history; wherein we have proceeded with all faith and candour, according to our promise, for the satisfaction of those that desire to be truly inform'd in the particulars of the war betwixt the Romans and the Jews. How I have acquitted myself in the manner of writing this relation, let the reader judge: but as to the sincerity of it upon the whole, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept myself strictly to the truth of things from one end of the book to the other.

Three thousand Jews put to death at a time, not purely upon the score of their wealth and credit.

Jonathan sets up for a false witness.

Joseph the author of this history is a prisoner.

Vespasian suspects foul-dealing, and upon examination pronounces Joseph innocent; and sentences Jonathan to be whipt, and burnt alive.

Catullus ended his days in tortures of body and mind, not to be express'd.





A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

MACCABEES,

Concerning the
GOVERNING POWER of REASON.

By *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS*.

CHAP. I.



Y design in this discourse being to shew, that reason is the perfection of wisdom) as will appear, if it can be made out, that this, duly improv'd by study and religion, is master of the passions) it is very fit I exhort my readers, to apply themselves to the attaining of wisdom with all possible attention. For reason is a necessary preliminary to knowledge, and in giving the commendation of excelling in this, we evidently imply the character of excelling in the noblest and most comprehensive of all virtues, which is that of prudence. The case will be the same with regard to the rest, if reason may be shewn effectually to restrain and master those vile affections of gluttony and excess, lasciviousness and sensual appetite, which obstruct and are opposite to temperance: and so again, to correct that malignity of nature, and all those corrupt inclinations, which hinder the practice and love of justice: and after the same manner, lastly, to subdue the passions of anger, fear, and grief, and whatever else emasculates the mind, or is contrary to that generous and steady temper of soul, which makes the fourth cardinal virtue, and is known by the name of Fortitude.

To all this it may perhaps be objected, that they who ascribe to reason the dominion I am contending for, are easily confuted from common experience. For, were it thus superior to the passions, it would have the same controuling sovereignty over ignorance and for-

getfulness; which yet it manifestly hath not. But this, I must needs say, is a ridiculous objection; and mistakes the state of the question. For when we affirm reason to be master of the passions, we mean, such defects of nature only as are opposite to justice, temperance, and fortitude; all which are of a distinct kind, and belong to the sensitive soul; but not such as are defects peculiar to itself, and stick to the rational soul. Again, the nature of this sovereignty is quite mistaken by the objector; for by it we do not mean, that reason takes those affections it governs clean away (as it must do, if ignorance and forgetfulness were the objects of its power) but only that it does not tamely yield to, nor suffer itself to be vanquish'd by them.

Now that it is in the power of reason to command and subdue the passions, I could by great variety of arguments demonstrate; but shall at present chuse to confine myself to that most popular and undeniable one, matter of fact: the examples, I would say, of persons who have signaliz'd themselves by courageously asserting, and dying in defence of truth and virtue; among which, none I think are more conspicuous, none more deservedly admir'd, than those of our own country, Eleazar, and the seven brethren martyr'd with their mother. For all these despising the most exquisite pains and tortures, and persevering even unto death, have put it past a doubt, how absolute a command reason hath over the passions. So that my present business shall be,

to give these brave men, and that incomparable woman, the praises due to their immoveable constancy, and to congratulate the honours, which all succeeding ages must acknowledge to belong to their steadfast adherence to virtue and their duty. These men, indeed, excited the admiration not only of all others that were indifferent and unbiass'd spectators, hearers, or readers of their sufferings, but even of those very enemies and most prejudic'd tormentors, who stood astonish'd at that courage and patience, which their own implacable malice exercis'd after so inhuman and barbarous a manner. They thus became the occasions of releasing their nation from oppression, conquering the rage of a tyrant by their sufferings, and becoming a sacrifice of expiation for their country.

THE method, then, which I intend to take, shall be, first, to say something in general concerning the point in debate, and then speak to this instance in particular; giving as is fit due glory to that all-wise God, who hath been pleased to leave us so pregnant and uncontrollable an evidence of this truth, in the persons whose virtues I am now about to celebrate.

THE question to be resolved is plainly this: Whether reason can controul and govern the passions? and in order to this resolution, 'tis fit we explain what we mean by reason, what by passion, how many distinct species of passions there be, and whether this dominion of reason, which we assert, extend to all, or but some sorts of passions. By reason then, I mean the intellectual faculty, improved and rightly guided by consideration, and making a life of wisdom its choice and chief concern. By wisdom again I understand the knowledge of divine and human affairs, and the true causes and grounds of each; such as we attain to by the discipline and instruction of the law: which teacheth us to embrace those truths which relate to God with reverence, and those regarding man, as things directed to, and useful for, the benefit of the world. Wisdom again is commonly branched into, and allowed to consist of, four principal virtues; to wit, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. The noblest and most comprehensive of these is prudence; and to this it is chiefly, that reason is beholden for the dominion it attains to over the passions.

THOSE passions again may be reduced to two so general heads, as shall include them all. Pleasure, I mean, and pain: each of which acts upon the soul as its proper object. And each again hath several other affections coupled as it were in pairs to attend it, and diversified by time and other circumstances from its master-passion. Thus in the case of pleasure, that which goes before it, is desire; that which follows after it, is joy: and so for pain too, fear goes before, and sorrow comes behind it. But anger, I think, will not fall under any such distinction, being rather a mixt passion, administering somewhat of pleasure and pain both, to them who are sensible when it comes upon them, and nicely observe how they are affected with it. Under the head of pleasure, again, there appears to be included a most vile and fruitful malignity, the most various and complicated of any passion whatsoever; so scandalous is its product, so manifold its forms: The mind is chiefly vitiated by it,

when it appears in arrogance and avarice, envy and contention: and the body more immediately concerned, when it breaks out in gluttony and fordidness; for pleasure and pain grow out of the soul and body, like branches out of a common stock; and each of these branches have abundance of other subordinate affections, which sprout out of them like little shoots and suckers. Now all these is the proper province of reason, like a skilful vinedresser, to prune and purge, to correct and manage, and by all possible ways to transplant and ennoble, by sweetning all the wild and fouler kinds, and so cultivating and improving that subject matter of passions and habits, that even that which is by nature refuse and vicious, may by art and management be made generous and good. For reason leads us on to, and advances virtue, by restraining and overpowering the vehemence of those passions which carry us away into vice. And that this is not affirmed without ground, convince yourself what a mighty effect it hath in matters where the virtue of temperance is obstructed. Now temperance is nothing else, but the mastery obtained over a man's desires: and this is attained by reason. Of these desires some are more peculiarly concern'd with the soul, and others with the body; and of both these sorts reason seems to have the command; for I cannot but conclude, that when our appetites stand very strongly to such fish, and fowl, and other delicious food, as are forbidden by our law, and we, notwithstanding such inclinations, do abstain from them upon that very account, that we ought not to indulge the use of them, this is a very plain instance how high a hand reason carries over these passions, which thus does in the temperate man, not only suspend, but wholly tame and turn into another course, the most eager desires of the lower of these divisions, and perfectly tie up all the motions of the body, that it shall not make any strong effort or struggle, in opposition to the word of command given by this governor above.

CHAP. II.

BUT this perhaps will not deserve to be thought any great matter, in comparison of those most furious desires of the soul which lust and beauty kindle; and yet Joseph hath got himself immortal renown for absolutely quelling these, even when invited to gratify them, and urged by all the fire of youth to comply with such invitation. Nor is even this allaying the fury of vehement pursuits after pleasure, and abstaining from the impure act, the uttermost which reason may or ought to do; for it is plain our very inclinations are under its jurisdiction. Otherwise the law would have been most absurd in laying upon us a command so impracticable as that, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, or any thing that is thy neighbour's."

Now it is plain, that when the law forbids us so much as to desire at all, it much more strongly implies, that reason is able to curb and conquer our desires. And thus it is, not only in those things which are opposite to the virtue of temperance, but that of justice also. For otherwise, what remedy could there be for

Gen. xxxix. 12.

Exod. xx. 17.

See Exod.
xxii. 25.
Lev. xxv.

for reforming the gluttonous and greedy, the niggardly and fordid man? but now, as soon as any man orders his conversation, according to the precepts of our law, though he be of never so covetous a disposition, yet does he find himself obliged to lend to the poor without taking usury for his money, and to remit the debt at the year of Jubilee; and though he be never so frugal, yet is he constrained by this law, neither to gather in the fruits of his field or vineyard in the sabbatick year.

Deut. xx. 19.
Exod. xxiii.
4, 5.
Lev. xix. 17.

SEVERAL other instances I could likewise produce, whereby it will appear, that reason governs our passions. For the law does in some cases exercise dominion over the natural affection to our parents, forbidding us for their sakes to betray the cause of truth and virtue; so does it over the tenderness to our wives, commanding us to punish them for the transgression of their duty; so again over the love to our children, by ordering us to make them examples when they do amiss; so lastly over the kindness to our friends, by directing us to reprove their vices. And to confirm this truth yet more, and shew it practicable, reason, when acting by the law, does overcome our hatred to our enemies too; for it prohibits the cutting down their fruit-trees; it orders us to restore to our enemies the things which they have lost, and to help their cattle when fallen and in distress.

Gen. xxxiv.
30.
xlix 7.

FURTHER yet, reason, it is evident, bears sway over even the most violent passions, such as ambition, vain-glory, and envy: for all these evil dispositions the sober and considerate mind subdues and drives away, as it does anger also, which, though the most ungovernable of all passions, is yet subject to reason. Were it not so, how could our wise ancestor Jacob so severely condemn that fact of his sons, Simeon and Levi, when they, contrary to reason, did utterly destroy the whole race of the Schemites? saying in abhorrence of their intemperate rage, "Curst be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel;" which words are plainly the voice of reason getting the better of resentment.

IN a word, when God created man, and endued him with a power of consideration, and free choice, he did at the same time implant in his nature variety of passions and dispositions, and set his intellectual mind in the throne, to exercise government over all the sensual appetites within. Which being done, he gave this law, as a rule whereby the man might exercise that government, and lead a life of temperance, justice, and goodness. What ground then can there be for that objection, which makes a doubt whether reason can master the passions, because it does not appear, that it attains to an absolute mastery over forgetfulness and ignorance?

CHAP. III.

THIS, as I said, is a very ridiculous exception; for reason does not appear to have an absolute power over such defects as belong to the intellectual soul; but such as are sensitive and bodily. Nor is its power over these pretended to be such, as should extirpate and quite take away our desires; but only such as preserves men from being enslaved to their

desires. No man can utterly divest himself of the passion of anger; but he may by reason find remedies against it, and prevent his being borne down by the violence of it.

WE are not to expect that reason should set us clear from all evil dispositions; but it will succour us in our conflicts with, and enable us to stand our ground against, such dispositions: for the proper office of reason is not to change, but to assist nature; not to be a destroyer but an auxiliary.

THIS matter may receive some illustration from the example of David. We read, that he, after having engaged a whole day with an army of Philistines, and made a great slaughter of them, did in the evening retire into the royal tent, fatigued and spent, where all his officers and chieftains were encamped round about him. The rest of the company refreshed themselves contentedly; but the king, being exceeding thirsty, could not satisfy his appetite with any water drawn out of those springs of which they had plenty at hand, but an inconsiderate desire seized him to drink of the water fetched from the enemies' garison. Hereupon some of the king's mighty men, being deeply concerned to satisfy the king's longing, armed themselves, took a pitcher, broke thro' the enemies' trenches, pass'd their guards, fought out the well of Bethlehem, and brought from thence to the king the water which he so vehemently long'd for. But he, though parched with thirst and eager desire, recollected how dangerous and sinful a thing it would be, to gratify his appetite at the hazard of his servants' lives; and thought the drinking that water would be in effect to drink their blood: and therefore, opposing his reason to his inclination, he poured it out solemnly to the Lord. Thus a mind strictly temperate and wise, is able to overcome the strongest passions, to quench the burnings of the most furious desires, to contend with the most exquisite bodily pains, and vanquish all the force of passion, by a steady principle of virtue and goodness. And now I think it seasonable to confirm this argument by demonstrative proofs of this power of reason exemplified by practice; of which our fathers have given undeniable instances; for, after that by their strict observance of the law, and singular good lives, they had won upon the hearts of foreign princes, and prevailed upon Seleucus Nicanor the king of Asia, so far, that he set apart a portion of his publick revenues to defray the expence of the sacrifices, and did highly approve their constitution, it happened, that, after this profound tranquility, some of them were brought under various and severe trials, by the ill offices of wicked men, who disturbed the publick peace in such manner as the following chapter shall relate.

2. Sam. xxii.
15—18.

2 Mac. iii.
1, 2, 3.

CHAP. IV.

ONE Simon, who had a pique at Onias, who was then invested with the office of high priest, and so constituted for life, after having tried in vain, and to the great prejudice of our nation, to blacken this excellently good man with all manner of calumnies, finding himself not able to lessen him in the affections and esteem of his own people, fled to

a foreign court, with wicked intent to betray his country. This wicked wretch applying himself to Appollonius, who was then governor of Syria and Phenicia, told him, that out of his great zeal for the king his master, he was come to make a discovery to him, which might be of considerable advantage to his majesty's affairs. It was, that in the treasury at Jerusalem there lay concealed immense sums of money, not appropriated to the temple, or employed to any publick use, but wealth hoarded up by private men, and so of right belonging to Seleucus. Apollonius, having received this account, commended Simon's zeal for the king's service, waited upon Seleucus, and imparted to him the secret. Upon this information he soon obtained a commission from the king, and straight marched into our country, bringing along with him the cursed traitor Simon, and a very powerful army.

THE cause of this expedition he declared to be, that he might execute * the king's command, who had ordered him to seize upon all the money reserved in the publick treasury for the use of private men. The nation taking an alarm, and complaining of it, as a horrible injustice, to take away the treasure which the owners had for greater security deposited in the temple, did all they could to divert him from his purpose. But Apollonius with menaces and force made up to the temple. There might you see a multitude of priests, women, and children, all prostrating themselves before the holy place, earnestly begging God that he would defend his own temple from profanation and contempt.

BUT Apollonius still persisting, and entering the place with a body of armed men, as he was about to seize upon the treasury, behold angels from heaven suddenly appeared, mounted on horses, clad in shining armour, and struck the men immediately with fear and trembling. As for Apollonius himself, he fell down to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, half dead, stretching out his hands to heaven, and supplicating the Hebrews with many tears, that they would pray for him, that he might not be destroyed by that host from heaven. The high-priest Onias, moved with compassion, and fearing besides lest Seleucus the king should impute the death of Apollonius to the treachery and contrivance of men, granted his request, and prayed to God for him. So this man, being miraculously saved, returned back to the king, and made a faithful relation of all that had befallen him.

BUT after the death of Seleucus the king, his son † Antiochus, a man of a proud spirit and savage disposition, succeeded in the throne. This man, having deprived Onias of the priesthood, put into that office his brother Jason, upon consideration of a yearly tribute of three ‡ thousand six hundred and sixty talents, which he had covenanted to pay him; therefore the king constituted him superintendant, not in ecclesiasticals only as high-priest, but in civil affairs also. He then began to put our nation

under severe trials, and, by introducing of new customs contrary to the law, seduced them to foreign usages and all manner of wickedness. He did not only institute Grecian games in the metropolis of our nation, but drew off the priests from the service of the temple. With which impiety the justice of God being provoked, stirred up Antiochus to make war upon them. For, while he was engaged in an expedition against Ptolemy king of Egypt, being informed, that some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem had expressed great joy at a report of his being dead, he presently turned his forces that way, and made miserable havock of them; publishing withal a decree, that all they should be put to death, who persevered in the customs of their own country, and lived according to the law of Moses; and finding, that this decree had not its intended effect, but that all his severest threatenings and punishments were so far despised, as that even the women, who continued to circumcise their children, were cast down headlong from the walls of the city, and still persisted in so doing, notwithstanding they knew what would follow; perceiving, I say, how little regard the people paid to his impious decrees, he came in person, and by torments compelled those that were brought before him, to eat of meats forbidden and unclean by the law, and so solemnly to abjure the Jewish religion in his presence.

CHAP. V.

IT happened about this time, that Antiochus the tyrant, seating himself upon an eminent place, and surrounded with his counsellors and rulers, and a strong body of armed men, commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and there to be compelled to eat of swine's flesh, and meats offered to idols: which if any refused to pollute themselves with, they were immediately put to the torture and slain before him. When many had been thus barbarously treated, at length one Eleazar, a principal man of the city, of the priests family, a lawyer by profession, far advanced in years, known and well esteemed by many of Antiochus's servants by reason of his age and character, was brought before him. Antiochus, beholding the man, spoke to him in the following manner: "Before I proceed to use any severity, let me advise thee, reverend old man, to preserve thy life by submitting to eat of swine's flesh; for I pay great respect to thy age and gray hairs, and am surprized, that the experience of so many years should not have made thee wiser, than still to persevere in the Jewish superstition. It seems to me a most unreasonable thing for men to abridge themselves of any innocent pleasures, and great injustice to themselves and ingratitude to nature, to refuse any of those enjoyments

* This expedition and all that followed upon it is expressly attributed to Heliodorus. 2 Mac. iii.

† Seleucus Nicanor was succeeded by Antiochus Soter, but Seleucus Philopator by Antiochus Epiphanes.

‡ Three thousand six hundred and sixty talents weighed four hundred twenty seven thousand three hundred and fifty eight pounds, and nine ounces; and their value in silver amounted to one million three hundred fifty two thousand four hundred and six pounds, and five shillings; and in gold to twenty millions, nine hundred and thirty eight thousand, and five hundred pounds, English money.

which

"which her bounty hath provided for us. Why should'st thou then express such abhorrence of that most delicious of all meats, which she seems, in the flesh of swine, to have designed as our best entertainment, and a singular favour? This may in others seem somewhat more excusable, but in you, who are a person of better judgment, it would be a most unaccountable folly, to be prejudiced by a false and empty notion of religion, and for an idle fancy to condemn my authority, and draw a needless punishment upon your own head. Wilt not thou then suffer thy eyes to be opened, and be awakened out of this dream of thy peculiar persuasion, and set thyself free from the bondage of so morose and singular a notion? Will this friendly expostulation prevail for no deference to be paid my kindness? and the compassion I have for thy age, move thee to no compassion upon thyself? Methinks it should; for though what I have said does not convince thee of the vanity of thy opinion in this point, yet you must needs allow, that if there be a power above, which does, as you suppose, require the observance of this religion, that power hath so much goodness, as to pardon the transgression of his laws, when this is not the offender's own act and choice, but the effect of force and pure constraint."

ELEAZAR having heard these words, begged of the king liberty to speak for himself: which being granted, he did in the presence of all the assembly, deliver himself to this effect. "Be pleased to understand, royal sir, that we, who are fully convinced, that it is our duty, in all things to behave ourselves according to the law given us by God, are perfectly persuaded, that no necessity can more oblige us, no force be stronger upon us, than that by which we stand bound to obey his law; and for this reason we think our acting contrary to it, cannot be dispensed with on any terms whatsoever. Nay, though our law were not, as you are pleased to suggest, really divine, yet, sir, I must crave leave to say, that so long as we continue to believe it divine, that very persuasion ought to be an effectual restraint upon us, from violating, or thinking meanly of, any religious ordinances established by it. Do not therefore imagine, sir, if we should submit to defile ourselves by unclean meats, that this would be reckoned a small and pardonable fault. For the presumption of the offender is the same, and the authority of the law equally insulted, be the instance in which a man transgresses greater or less. The fact itself makes no difference in point of guilt. Next you were pleased, sir, to speak contemptuously of our religion, as an institution unbecoming men of reason, and philosophy. But I must be bold to say, it is the best and most consummate philosophy; for it teaches us temperance, the conquest of our passions and desires, and sets us above all our pleasures. It trains us up in the exercise of fortitude, and commands us to undergo all manner of pain willingly and cheerfully. It teaches us the most exact justice, and orders us to confine our worship and absolute reverence, to the one true God, where alone they are of right due.

"Upon this account we dare not eat things prohibited and unclean; for we are fully persuaded, that God who created our nature, had due regard to it; that the very institution of this law was so far from a hardship, as in itself to be an act of goodness and mercy; and that the things forbidden are hurtful to our souls; whereas those allowed for food, are useful and convenient for us. It is therefore the very extremity of tyranny, to force us, not only to sin against our law, but to eat that which is therefore not allowed us, because of a quality not fit to be eaten. But this, sir, is a sort of triumph which I shall never give you over me. Nor must I falsify the solemn oaths, and holy engagements, whereby our ancestors have bound themselves and their posterity to the faithful observance of this law; not though you should command my eyes to be bored out, and my bowels to be burnt. No, sir, old age hath not so impaired my mind, or enfeebled my body, but that when religion and duty call me to it, my reason can yet approve itself youthful and vigorous. If this reply provoke you, prepare your instruments of torture, and heat your furnace hotter still; all that shall not move me to spare my old age, so as for the saving my person, to violate the law of my country, and my God. No, holy law to which I owe my instruction, I will never desert so excellent a master; no, thou dearest of all virtues, temperance, by which we preserve our native sovereignty over our appetites, I will never abjure thee; no, thou best of all philosophy, I will never disgrace thee; no, holy order of priesthood, and study of the law, I will neither forego, nor be a blemish to you. My ancestors shall find me come to you pure and constant, a soul as free from such a stain, as undaunted under all manner of torments even unto death."

C H A P. VI.

WHEN he had made this noble reply to the tyrant's treacherous exhortations, the soldiers that stood by, handled him very roughly, and dragged him in rage to the place of execution. There first of all they stripp'd off his clothes; then having pinioned him, they scourged him with whips, on both sides, till they had perfectly flay'd him; and an officer on each side crying at every stroke, obey the king's commandment. But the brave Eleazar was no more moved by their scourgings, than if all he endured had been but a dream. The good old man stood with his eyes lift up to heaven, his flesh torn off from his sides, to the very bone, the blood streaming down from his body to the ground, till at last, being no longer able to bear up against such wounds and pains, and loss of blood, he fell down upon the pavement: but this was an infirmity confined to his body, for still his mind was as erect, as far from being bent as ever. Hereupon one of the merciless soldiers stamped upon his belly, and spurned his sides and stomach to raise him up again. Still he sustained their barbarous insolence, despised the force they put upon him, and bore his pains with so much magnanimity, that even

he who lay under the torment, vanquish'd the hard-hearted wretches that inflicted it, and moved their admiration by so resolute and noble a soul, in a body so aged and infirm.

SOME of these therefore, partly in mere pity to his years, and partly upon the account of former acquaintance with him, though they were servants to the king drew near and said, "Why do you thus, for no manner of reason, expose yourself to all these sufferings?" "Permit us, Eleazar, to set before you, some lawful and clean meats, and do you make as though you did eat swines flesh according to the king's command; so shall you save your life, and yet commit no wickedness." But Eleazar answered, "Far be it from us, who are children of Abraham, to be guilty of such cowardice and wicked subtilty, by so much as seeming to do an act that does not become us. How absurd would it be for me who have led a life of sincerity and truth hitherto, and preserved my reputation free from blemish, by a strict observation of the law, to change my course now in extreme old age, and set an ill example to others? to purchase a little remainder of life at the expence of foul dissimulation, and live that little while a scorn and laughing-stock to all the world, for my fear and base compliance?" When they perceived him thus resolute and inflexible, and that their pity could have no manner of influence upon him, they changed their disposition, and brought him to the fire. There they applied new instruments of torture, threw him upon the fuel, and as he burnt, poured scalding and stinking liquors up his nostrils. Whilst in the mean while, his body was burnt to the very bone, and he ready to expire, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, "Thou seest, my God, the miseries I endure, and that I chuse to die by fire and torment, for the sake of thy law, when it was in my power to preserve my life by transgressing it: be thou therefore gracious, O Lord, to thy own people, and let the vengeance executed on me, suffice for what they have deserved; make thou my blood a purification for them, and accept my life instead of their lives." And with these words the holy man gave up the ghost.

THIS example sure will put it past dispute, that reason improved by religion, is master of men's passions; for if the passions were superior to reason, it is to them that the praise of this noble testimony to truth and constant virtue ought to be ascribed. But since this instance makes it plain, that the conflict lay between reason and the passions, and that the former was victorious, we cannot without great wrong deny, that reason is the governing principle in every man. And sure it would argue a very perverse obstinacy to pretend the contrary, after so full a demonstration, not only of bodily pains, but likewise of pleasures too, resisted, and vanquished, as hath been produced; since it is evident the tendency of our passions, is constantly no other, than to indulge pleasure, and to decline pain.

CHAP. VII.

FOR in the case of this reverend father Eleazar, we may imagine duty, and a good conscience to be like a ship tost in a tempestuous sea of passions, while reason, like a wise and

good pilot, sat steering at the helm; the man blown hard and beaten about with a storm of menaces and barbarous usage, driven down and almost sunk by the swelling surges of racks and fires, but still maintaining his post, and not letting the rudder go, till he had brought his vessel into the haven of a blessed immortality. Never did besieged city make such a defence against the stratagems and furious assaults of the enemy that attacked it, as this holy person, when defending his soul against the attacks of stripes, and tortures, and death, and defeating all that laid siege to him by reason, engaged in the cause of religion. The good father fixt his mind like a promontory in the waters, which stood unshaken, and broke the waves of passion when beating most furiously against it.

O Priest most worthy of that holy function, who didst refuse to defile thy consecrated mouth, and wouldst not suffer that belly which was a vessel of God, and always fed with hallowed sacrifices, to receive so impure a mixture, as meats, unclean by law, and offered to false Gods! O preacher of the law, and master of that best philosophy, which God's own word hath taught us! O noble pattern set to all that sacrifice with their own blood, and stand up in vindication of the law, defending it against the insults of passion, with generous sweat and toilsome conflict! Thou, holy father, hast brought glory to our excellent constitution by thy sufferings and patience, and convinced the world, what mighty efficacy the philosophy which came down from heaven hath upon minds well resolved not to reproach, but to reflect honour back upon their holy profession! O wonderful old age stronger than torture! O zeal hotter than fire! O thou most glorious of all conquerors, who thus hast led thy passions in triumph! As heretofore our father Aaron, armed with a censor, ran into the midst of the people, and vanquished the destroying angel who consumed our ancestors by fire from the Lord; so did Eleazar, descended from the same Aaron, hold fast the dictates of his mind, and conquer in the midst of those flames that devoured his body round about. And, which is most astonishing, when age and infirmities had enervated his outward man, his inward exerted a most youthful and invincible vigour. O happy old age! O venerable grey hairs! O life of integrity and sanctity unquestionable, when consummated and attested by the seal of such a death!

WHAT fuller evidence can be desired of the sway reason bears above the passions, than a man in years, deprived of his natural strength, more apt to fear, less able to encounter severe trials, enduring so much with such undaunted courage? But lest the objector should have it to say, that this in age is less to be wonder'd at, because as strength and courage, so the passions and love of life too, may then be supposed to be considerably abated; I shall proceed to shew that even young men, whose reason has been well fixed upon true principles, have undergone, and overcome, tortures yet sharper and more amazing than these.

CHAP. VIII.

AFTER the tyrant had made this experiment to his loss, and found himself and all his barbarous stratagems out-done by one

Num. xvij.
46.

one poor old man, enraged at this defeat, he gave orders to bring some others of the Hebrew captives before him; promising to release them immediately, upon condition they consented to eat of unclean meats; but in case of refusal, threatening them with greater cruelties, than any he had yet inflicted.

In pursuance of this order, there were brought before him seven brethren with their ancient mother. The men were beautiful and well-shaped, so charming in their persons and behaviour, that the tyrant, fierce as he was, could not forbid himself being taken with them. And therefore after viewing them with a sensible delight, he smil'd upon them, and, commanding that they should draw near to his throne, he accosted them as follows:

"Young men, I own myself to be a great admirer of your beauty and comeliness, and have upon that account kind intentions towards you: nor can I but pay a more than ordinary respect to your family, which hath the unusual blessing of so many such brothers as you. To advise therefore, that you would not be guilty of the same mad and most absurd zeal, with that poor old bigot, whom you saw perish in the midst of agonies and tortures, is a kindness far below what I design for you. No, I invite you to comply with me, with an assurance of my particular friendship. For I have it in my power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a manner, as I have (you see) to punish those that stand it out against my commands. Take my word then, you shall not fail of preferments, but have places of honour, and profit, and great trust in my affairs, provided you will renounce your country's customs, and be content to live after the Greek manner, laying aside the foolish distinction of meats, and indulging those appetites and pleasures freely, in which youth, never fond of restraint, must needs find a delight now denied you by the tyranny of your own superstition. Consider too, that if such advantageous offers be rejected, you must expect that your obstinacy will be the more provoking, and I shall be obliged to make every one of you examples, by a death as full of pain and horror, as the anger of an incensed king can inflict. Be persuaded to pity your own selves, when I, a stranger, and an enemy, have set you an example of pity. Throw not lavishly away so much youth and beauty, which I am very loth should perish; but perish it must, unless you will save it; and for that there is but one way. Therefore consider well; methinks you should consider, and not resolve too rashly, when I assure you, that in case of disobedience, you have nothing to expect but racks, and fires, and death."

Having thus spoken, he order'd the instruments of torture to be brought; that by producing these he might work more strongly upon their fear, than by words and menaces, and thereby frighten them into a compliance with eating forbidden meats. When the soldiers had set before them wheels, pulleys, ferrets, racks, winches, wedges, iron gantlets, boots, caldrons, frying-pans, bellows, combustible matter, and other such like engines of horror and execution, the tyrant, taking the

advantage of the impression he supposed these spectacles would make, applied himself to them once more to this effect: "Young men, be wise in time, and dread the weight of an angry king's hand; your compliance is no longer now a wilful offence, and you need not doubt, but the justice of that Being you worship, will consider the hardship of your case, and allow for the constraint you lie under." But neither could his treacherous allurements flatter them, nor the sight of these dismal instruments of vengeance affright them out of their duty. They were so far from yielding through fear, that their resolution grew stronger, and by the power of reason they triumphed over his barbarity; for what can we suppose would have been the measures taken upon this occasion, had there been but any one person timorous, or inordinately fond of life in that number? Would not such a one presently have address'd himself to the rest in a reply like this? What stupid and foolhardy wretches are we, thus to continue deaf to the invitations and kind advice of a king, who calls us to gain and promotion upon our obedience? Why should we support ourselves with vain imaginations, and persist in a fatal obstinacy which can get us nothing but death? Shall we be so insensible as to have no regard to these dreadful engines of cruelty? None to the menaces of an unrelenting tyrant, brutish enough to put in execution all that he hath threatened? Shall we not rather abandon this empty point of honour, and that false pride of constancy that is certain to prove our destruction? Sure it can be no crime, to have some respect to our youth, which may still see many happy years; some pity to our poor aged mother, whose grey hairs must be brought down with unspeakable sorrow to the grave, to see so many sons cut off at once, and herself made childless in an instant by our disobedience! What the king says is very rational, that God is too just and good not to make allowance for the hard circumstances we lie under: why should we then throw ourselves out of life, at a time when we are best fitted to taste the sweets of living? Why hurry ourselves headlong out of a world where every thing conspires to delight and entertain us most agreeably? Let us not strive any longer with our fate; nor buy applause so dear as at the expence of racks and death. The law itself is not so severe as to condemn for involuntary offences; and the more just our fears are, the less there is of will in the compliance. What pretence can we have then for this restiveness? Or why should we be so fond of a mistaken courage, which is indeed no better than despair and obstinacy; when nothing but death is before us, if we stand out; and life and security, plenty and pleasure, are as surely ours, if we submit?

CHAP. IX.

BUT these brave youths, though then in sight of death, and tortures worse than death, let no such words fall, had no such dishonourable thoughts; the reason is, because they had attained to a mastery over their passions, and were above terror and pain. So far above them, that as soon as the tyrant had admonished

admonished them, (as you have heard) to eat of his forbidden meats, they all with one voice, as if all had been animated with one and the same generous soul, made him the following reply.

"To what purpose, O king, is this delay? If with design to know our final resolution, be assured, we are ready to encounter death in its most frightful shape, rather than transgress the laws of our fathers. For, besides the reverence due to the examples of our ancestors upon other accounts, this is what our obedience to the law, and the precepts of Moses, require from us. Do not then attempt any more to persuade us to apostacy; do not put on a counterfeit pity for them who know you hate them; even death itself is more supportable, than such an insulting, dissembling compassion, as would save our lives with the loss of our innocence. You think to terrify us by threatnings of death and torture, notwithstanding the same experiment made upon the old man, hath so lately taught you, how ineffectual all such methods are upon the servants of the true God; and if the old men of our nation endure so courageously such exquisite pains for their religion, is it reasonable to suppose that the young ones will suffer the reproach of coming behind them in constancy and patience? As we have been educated under his instructions, so we shall conquer after his example. Try us therefore, see if it be in your power to destroy our souls, when we suffer in the cause of God and religion. No sir, this is impossible, your cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the effect our pains can have will be to secure us the glorious rewards due to unshaken patience and injured virtue. But upon you the consequence will be very different and dreadful, for by the murder of so many innocent men, you arm the divine vengeance against yourself, and for the temporal which you inflict, will become obnoxious to everlasting torments."

THIS answer so enraged the tyrant, that he resolved to proceed against them, not only as disobedient, but unthankful men: and therefore gave the word, that the executioners should bring the eldest to the torture; which they immediately did, binding his hands, stripping off his clothes, and fastening his arms in a posture for receiving the scourge. But finding that they wearied themselves in vain, and that all their stripes were to no manner of purpose, they clapp'd him upon the wheel. The noble youth lying extended here with his bones broken, and every limb of his body out of joint, reproached his tormentor thus: "O monster of wickedness, enemy of God and justice, and abandon'd to cruelty and rage, thou dost not treat me thus inhumanly for murder or villany, or for any breach of divine or human laws, but purely for my zeal to God, and his holy ordinances." The soldiers hereupon exhorted him to consent, and eat of the king's meat, that he might deliver himself from any farther sufferings. But he returned; "No: you mistake in supposing your wheel to have gotten the better of me; no, with the cruelest instruments of barbarity you cannot strangle my mind, nor dislocate my reason: cut this body piecemeal,

burn my flesh in the fire, and stretch my yielding limbs till they crack and fly asunder; the exquisite malice of your tortures shall convince you, by this trial made upon my person, that it is the peculiar glory of the sons of the Hebrew nation, to be invincibly firm in their sufferings for virtue and a good conscience." Then they put fire under him, and, drawing the pulleys streighter, turned his body thus miserably extended to the flames. Insomuch that all the wheel was besmeared with blood, the coals underneath were put out by his bowels dripping into them, and all the spokes and pins of the engine were cover'd with clotted blood, and pieces of flesh torn off from the body, till nothing was left of human form; but a skeleton of broken bones.

STILL this brave youth and true son of faithful Abraham, was never heard to utter one complaint or groan; but sustained the rack with such magnanimity, as if the fire had only served to refine him into a creature immortal and impassable. At last he cried out, "Be sure, my brethren, that you follow this pattern; do not desert me in this noble conflict, nor disclaim that relation of generous constancy, by which we are allied in soul, more nearly than in blood. When you engage in defence of religion, it is an holy and a glorious warfare; and never doubt but that the tender providence of that father above, just and gracious, whom we worship, will not only reward us, but be propitious to our whole nation, and certainly humble this haughty bloody tyrant, with punishments as uncommon and amazing as his own pride and cruelty." When the pious youth had uttered these words, he gave up the ghost.

WHILE the spectators stood astonish'd at this undaunted courage, the guards advanced with the second brother. Him they bound fast to the pulley, and drew on the iron gantlets with sharp nails: then enquiring whether he would accept the conditions of escape, and eat before they began the torture, and finding by his answer, that he was in the same noble resolution with his brother, the furious wild beasts fix'd their iron gantlets into his neck, and drew off all the flesh from his muscles, quite up to the chin, and flay'd off all the hair and skin of his beard, face and head. But he bearing this terrible pain with great temper, said, "How welcome is death in any shape, when a man suffers for truth and religion? Art thou not sensible, thou brutish tyrant, that thou art now thy own tormentor more than mine? The indignation thou conceivest for having thy wicked designs defeated, and all thy barbarity vanquish'd by my constancy in a good cause, frets and gnaws thy soul more than all these pains do me. For the pleasures of virtue and the comforts of a clear conscience, soften my sufferings and support my spirits. But thou art rack'd indeed, with all the cutting apprehensions of a guilty mind. What I now say thy own breast strongly suggests to thee, that so wicked a wretch as thyself cannot possibly escape the terrible vengeance of a just and angry God."

C H A P. X.

WHEN this man too had undergone a death so much to his honour, the third was brought, and press'd hard with arguments and intreaties from several hands, that he would eat and live. To which he answer'd with great vehemence, "You seem not to know how nearly I am related to those that have died here before me: alas, the same father and mother brought us into the world, and the same masters form'd our minds, and we always acted upon the same principles: and shall I then in this last scene of life renounce the honour of that strict alliance, to them, whom I have never yet given occasion to be ashamed of calling me brother?" This answer, deliver'd with such an air of resolution and firmness, enrag'd the executioners; who, to express their malice and resentments, clapp'd his hands and feet presently into the screws, and with a violent wrench put out all the joints of his fingers and his toes at once; this done, they still continued to draw the engine yet higher, till they had twist'd his arms and legs and shoulder-bones out of their sockets; and finding him survive all these distortions, dragg'd off his skin at the ends of his fingers, and flay'd him from the very crown of the head. Not content to have mangled his body after this merciless manner, they dragg'd him to the wheel, where being yet more distended upon the pins and screws, he saw his several parts burst asunder, his flesh drop off by piece-meal, and his bowels and blood gush out. When he was at the point of death he cry'd, "O thou most wicked and inhuman of all tyrants, we suffer thus for the religion and law of a God who is able to reward us; but thou shalt suffer pains much more insupportable, much more inexpressible, for thy impiety and barbarous cruelty."

AFTER this person had endured as became a brother of that renowned family, the fourth was hauled to execution; but persuaded first, "That he would bethink himself, and be wiser than those that had gone before him." His answer was, "You cannot heat your fires so much hotter for me, as to make me a coward after so noble patterns of martyrdom already before my eyes; nor will I stain the honour of my blood. Try me, thou tyrant, and let all thy tortures prove, whether I be not a branch of the same stock, and animated with the very same soul, with those whose blood thy impious hands have spilt and torn them limb from limb; but all in vain, with all the horror and pain that malice and devilish rage could contrive." The savage and most profligate Antiochus, incens'd at this, commanded immediately to cut out his tongue. Whereupon he proceeded: "Ah, how impertinent a cruelty is this! 'Tis to great purpose that you take away the organ of speech, from one who trusts in a God that seeth the heart, and hears the inward motions of them that are silent. Here, it is ready for your instruments, loose to your hand; but know, when you have cut it out, you cannot do the same execution upon my reason, nor make my mind dumb. O that I could be so happy to lose my life by inches, and glorify God with every member and joint of my body, by having them

"maim'd, and lopp'd off one by one for his cause and glory. But as for thee, guilt and vengeance will quickly overtake thee, who cuttest out these inoffensive tongues, that are employ'd in making melody and singing praises to the God who form'd their speech."

C H A P. XI.

NO sooner had this brother exhausted with pain, and miserably mangled, finished his course, but the fifth sprung forward of his own accord, crying out: "To shew thee, tyrant, what impressions these tortures make upon me; see here I come, not content to wait thy tedious orders, offering myself to the trial, and desirous to lose no time in so noble an exercise of virtue. The sooner thou dispatchest me, the sooner shall my bliss, and thy iniquities be full; and I shall help to make thee ripe for vengeance, by adding one more to the number of them whose innocent blood thou hast shed. Tell me, thou devourer of mankind, and enemy of all goodness, what could provoke, what possess thee to destroy our race after this merciless insulting manner? Is it become a capital crime for men to devote themselves to the service of the great creator of the world, and make a conscience of governing their actions, by an excellent law of his prescribing? No sure, this conduct ought not to expose men to tortures, but entitle them to rewards and honours." While these words were yet in his mouth, the soldiers dragg'd him down, and bound him to the pullies; to which, when they had screw'd in his knees, they clapt on iron footlocks, and drawing the screws, dislocated his loins, so that he lapp'd round the wheel like a snake; and being disjointed all over, had his bones broken in an instant. Thus being almost strangled, and in unspeakable anguish by the stoppage of his breath and bodily pain, he said, "Full sore against thy will thou comest on us favours, which were never intended: for the more exquisite our torments are, the nobler proof thou givest occasion for of patience invincible, and steadfastness in our religion."

WHEN he was dead, the sixth youth was presently brought forward; and, being ask'd by the tyrant, whether he would accept deliverance? he reply'd, "Though I in years come behind them that suffered before me, yet is my soul of equal maturity with theirs. For in regard our descent and education was the same, 'tis fit, that since the cause we are call'd to assert is the same, our death should likewise be the same. If then thou art dispos'd to put me upon the same trials, know, that I will take care to die innocent, and keep the support of a good conscience under my torture." Hereupon they fasten'd him to the wheel, and, after having broken and distorted all his bones, put fire under him; then did the soldiers heat spits and spears red-hot, and thrust them into his back and sides, till his very bowels and inwards were burnt up. In the midst of which torments, he cry'd out, "O glorious conflict, in which so many brethren have engaged for their religion,

"and all come off with conquest: for a mind
 "rightly inform'd in the truth, and arm'd
 "with steady principles of virtue must ever be
 "impregnable. I will bear my brethren com-
 "pany in so noble a death, and add to the
 "number of the plagues due to thee, O wick-
 "ed inventor of artful cruelty, and implaca-
 "ble foe of all that adhere to the true reli-
 "gion. Six of us now have baffled thy ma-
 "lice and rage; for I must needs account thee
 "baffled, when so much hath been done with-
 "out any success, to force us to forego our
 "duty, and comply with thy wicked proposals.
 "Thy fires, methinks, are cold, thy racks
 "easy, and thy guards are now no longer
 "tormentors and executioners, but defenders
 "and promoters of our law and its honour,
 "since they assist us in giving testimony to it,
 "and contribute to the triumphs of the religion
 "they are not able to suppress."

C H A P. XII.

WHEN this man had made so blessed an
 end, being dispatch'd at last, by cast-
 ing him into a cauldron of boiling liquor, the
 seventh and youngest appear'd; whom, when
 the tyrant saw fetter'd and pinion'd, though
 so implacably outrageous against the rest of his
 brethren, his hard heart began a little to relent.
 Calling him therefore up near to the tribunal
 where he sat, he began to try him by soft
 words and fair means. "You see (said he)
 "young man, the miserable end which the
 "rest of your family have by their own ob-
 "stinate folly brought themselves to: for all
 "these tortures and tragical spectacles of death,
 "are indeed the consequences of their own
 "wilfulness and disobedience; and the same
 "will be thy fate in a very few minutes, if
 "their examples have not made thee wiser.
 "But I hope better things, and for an en-
 "couragement of thy better behaviour, do make
 "thee here a generous proffer of my love and
 "particular friendship, and promise to promote
 "thee in my kingdom to places of very great
 "eminence and profit." Not content with
 these persuasions to the son, he ordered the
 mother to be brought before him, to whom
 he address'd himself with a seeming compas-
 sion for her loss, intreating her to prevail upon
 her child, in pity to herself at least, to save
 this small remnant of the family, and not to
 give her the affliction of having all her off-
 spring so sadly torn away at once. But he,
 receiving from his mother in the Hebrew lan-
 guage, the advice which I shall mention here-
 after, cry'd out all on the sudden; "Well,
 "then, unbind me, and let me have liberty
 "to apply to the king and his friends that at-
 "tend about the throne." The company was
 overjoy'd at this proposal, and immediately
 let him loose; which he taking the advantage
 of, ran hastily to the side of the cauldrons and
 frying-pans, and said; "Thou most ungodly
 "tyrant, and unparalell'd monster of baseness
 "and villany, that hast received from the
 "hand of God a kingdom, and so many bless-
 "ings of this world, and yet, without the
 "least degree of shame or remorse, murderest
 "the servants, and friends of him who thus
 "advanced thee; is this the requital thou
 "makest to a bountiful God, to cut out the

tongues, and by racks and tortures mutilate
 "the limbs of those that worship him; and
 "for no other reason, but because they wor-
 "ship him as he himself hath directed? Be
 "well assur'd, this shall not be forgotten;
 "but justice will pursue and find thee out;
 "and in the mean while lay up in store for
 "thee torments and fires, not like thine here,
 "that quickly consume the body, and the
 "more fierce they are the sooner they end our
 "pain; but those shall be a treasure of fire
 "inexhaustible, of pains which whole ages
 "will not end, but fresh and fiercer conti-
 "nually, till time shall be no more. Art thou
 "a man, thou wretch, more savage than the
 "wildest of brutes! And hast thou no regard,
 "no manner of relenting for these most ex-
 "quisite and studied pains of them who have
 "the same nature, the same tender sense of
 "sufferings with thyself? Is it possible a
 "creature of like matter and form, should take
 "delight in mangling, burning, slaying,
 "scourging and killing his fellow creatures?
 "Yet such, it seems, art thou, unlike indeed
 "to us in disposition, and as unlike in thy
 "fate and portion. For we, who die to feast
 "thy malice, have done our duty, and shall
 "find favour and happiness with God; but
 "thou, whose cruelty hath put these stout
 "champions of the truth upon vindicating it
 "with so much causeless pain, so undeserved a
 "death, shalt howl for ever in despair; and,
 "when too late, curse and be plagu'd with
 "the bitter reproaches of this guilty day's
 "transactions. So dreadful, and so infamous
 "is thy case; so blessed, and so glorious that
 "of my martyr'd brethren; whose honours
 "and rewards, think not that either flattery
 "or fear shall exclude me from; for know, I
 "aspire to an equality with the best of them,
 "and think it long and lost time, till we meet
 "again in the same sufferings here, and the
 "same bliss above." With that he cast him-
 self into the pans, and expir'd in the hottest of
 the fire.

C H A P. XIII.

AND will it now admit of any dispute,
 whether reason, guided and supported by
 religion, hath the superintendency over the
 passions, when we see seven brothers, in per-
 fect agreement, and upon the same principles,
 vanquishing and despising the most exquisite
 pains and death? is it not manifest, that, had
 these men been govern'd by their passions,
 they had submitted to pollute themselves with
 unlawful meats; refused no conditions to pro-
 cure ease and safety; and been (what all the
 world must have call'd them) subdued? But
 now the face of things is quite otherwise;
 they shine and reign triumphant; their passions
 were absolutely quell'd, reason asserted its
 dominion, and for so doing receiv'd praise of
 God. Nor is it possible to consider this whole
 proceeding without seeing and acknowledging
 the superiority of the mind, and the entire de-
 feat of all the attempts made upon it, by pas-
 sion and pain. How great a wrong would it
 be, to deny these martyrs the trophies of this
 bloody field, and not allow them the character
 of men proceeding magnanimally, by the rules
 of right reason, when they had their passions
 in

in such perfect subjection, that even the extremity of fires and racks could not give these passions strength enough to rebel? For as the moles and forts upon the shore break all the force of the waves and weather, and render the harbour commodious and safe to ride in; so did this seven-fold fortification of reason protect the port of duty and religion, from all the storms and boisterous inundations of passion.

How moving, how noble a fight was such a company, encouraging and assisting each other in the exercise of their piety, like the voices which contribute every one by his distinct part to make up a perfect melody? With such a harmony of hearts, did they call out; "Come, my brethren, let us remember who we are, and in what cause we fight, and let us stand it out for our God and his law, by dying like true brothers. Did not the three brave youths in Assyria defy the furnace of the king of Babylon? and to what purpose have we those examples, if they do not provoke us to a generous imitation?"

WHEN religion and a good conscience are at stake, let us abandon all ignoble fears, and act with resolution becoming so glorious a cause. One cry'd out, "Courage, my dear brother; another, persevere bravely; a third, remember who you are, and from what ancestors you sprung; Abraham was your father, who was content with his own hand to sacrifice his son; and Isaac, who as willingly submitted to be slain by that father's hand." And all in general, looking on each other with countenances serene and highly pleased; all stout and recollected in their own minds, cry'd out, "Come and let us cheerfully consecrate our souls to our God: Let us thus pay him back the lives he lent us for his service; and give up these bodies for the use, and defense of his most holy law. Why should we stand in fear of one, who only seems to kill the body? the only danger worthy of our dread is that of souls abandon'd to torments everlasting, and that can never be the sad fate of such as keep and honour, but of them only who transgress and forsake, the truth. Let us then arm ourselves with a holy fortitude; so shall Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob receive us when we die: so shall all our pious ancestors congratulate and applaud our constancy, when we are arriv'd at the regions of bliss and immortality."

AND as they were dragg'd one by one to execution, they whose turn was not yet come, encourag'd those that went before them thus: "Take heed, my brother, how thou demeanest thyself, and be sure to do nothing that may disgrace either those of our number that have gone before thee, or us who are about to tread in the same steps." These must needs have been very engaging exhortations: for none of my readers can be insensible what charms, what powerful influence so near a relation carries with it; what tender affections the all-wise providence hath infus'd into their hearts, who have deriv'd their substance from the same father, and lay in the womb of the same mother, where every brother found the same receptacle, dwelt the same term of time, and was form'd into man

by the same process of nature; persons nourish'd by the same blood, and brought to due maturity by the same informing soul; afterwards sucking the same milk, sustained at one common table, conversing perpetually under the same roof, educated by the same care, instructed by the same teachers, and initiated in the same religion. And such was the affection, such the endearments, and consequently, of such weight and efficacy the admonitions and mutual encouragements, of these seven brethren to one another: for they were brought up in the same faith, train'd up in the exercise of the same virtues; and, the better men they were, the better still must they needs love each other. For natural affection is never so happily improv'd, as by perfect agreement in goodness and united zeal in the love and service of God: and as each of these would love the rest more tenderly in proportion as himself was more religious, so would he necessarily, in the same proportion, and upon the same account, become more worthy to be belov'd by all the rest. And yet we may observe in this very case a mighty conquest of reason over passion; for though these brethren had all the tender concern that nature and blood, birth and education, acquaintance and personal worth, could inspire them with; yet were these manifold endearments so vanquish'd and borne down, when religion and their souls lay at stake, that in a cause so noble, the very tortures, agonies, and deaths of their dearest relations, gave a sensible satisfaction to those of the number who yet surviv'd, and were the undaunted, nay, even pleas'd spectators of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THUS did they, by these exhortations to endure the torture, not only work themselves up to a contempt of pains, but subdue brotherly affection, and the tenderest and most prevailing part of human nature itself. O minds more absolute than the most sovereign princes, more free and noble than the noblest birth could make them! not one of these generous youths express'd the least fear, not one made the least demur; but without shrinking back at death in its most horrible and dreadful appearances, they made the best of their way to racks and fires, as men that were running the race of immortality, and impatient, with the utmost speed possible, to come up to the goal. And as the hands and feet, and other members of our body do with all alacrity and ease imaginable move as the soul dictates and directs; so ready, so perfectly agreed and uniform in all their motions towards death, were these heroic youths, push'd on by the principle of religion, which like one common soul animated them all. O heavenly constellation of seven consenting brethren! for, as the seven days in which the world was created give us the Idea of God, and shew the perfection of his majesty and goodness; so do these seven renowned martyrs, by running the whole circle of pains and tortures, compose one finish'd piece of constancy and courage, and teach us that perfection of fortitude, which banishes the slavish fear of death. But alas! how far short of this pattern do we stop, we who

who cannot now so much as read or hear without trembling and amazement what they not only heard, not only saw, but felt and bore it all without the least disorder of mind?

WHAT can be more insupportable than fire, that pierces and separates, and consumes in an instant? yet the acutest pains, apply'd to the parts most tender, and of quickest sense, did these stout champions constantly endure.

NAY, to encrease our wonder more, and abate that notion of fortitude which men, too partial to themselves, are apt to boast of as the peculiar glory of their own sex, I shall make good my assertion concerning the sovereignty of reason over the passions, by a most astonishing instance of a woman; one exercis'd by sufferings more sharp, more complicated, than any of those hitherto mention'd. For who can conceive the extremity, the variety of that pious mother's pains, who herself was tortur'd and put to death in every one of her seven sons? do but reflect how the bowels and natural affection of parents does terminate, and draw them, as it were, to their children, as to the proper centre of all their care and concern. This is what we observe even in brute beasts, which seldom or never fail to express a tenderness to their young, equal to that among men. But why do I speak of beasts, when all nature is full of it, and even the ignobler species of creatures want not a visible and strange kindness for their own breed: for even the bees themselves, when intent upon the business of waxing, guard and defend their hives; and as oft as the drones invade them, know how to make their stings do the office of swords and other military weapons, in revenge of the wrong done by those that would attack their little ones.

CHAP. XV.

BUT so true a daughter of Abraham was the mother of these gallant youths, that even compassion for her own children could not shake her principles, or tempt her to break in upon her duty. Such was her noble zeal, that when two things were offer'd to her choice, religion and the present safety and great preferment of seven sons, she wisely gave the preference to religion; took God's word before the king's, and chose to have them live for ever with him in heaven, rather than enjoy a short prosperity with Antiochus upon earth. What words shall I find to describe those tender passions of parents, that strange union between them and their children in nature, which, after a wonderful manner, draws upon their offspring the same lines and features of body, and impresses the same dispositions of soul? how shall I tell the concern they feel for these images and parts of themselves, when in any manner of distress? how, especially, that of mothers, whose weaker minds, and natural excess of fondness, render them still more sensibly touch'd with whatever affects their children, than fathers are wont or expected to be? and even this mother was not less, nay, she was much more under the influence of this affection than common mothers; seven painful births had made as many additions to this love, and every time her travail was repeated, it was a fresh exercise of it, a

fresh and stronger endearment to all she had endured the same pangs for.

BUT notwithstanding all this, the fear and love of God, overlook'd the present ease and advantage of her children. And never did she love them so tenderly, so deservedly, as when their steady virtue, and constancy in the truth, charm'd her affections, and endear'd them to her; for they were just and wise, temperate and magnanimous, affectionate to each other, and dutiful to their mother to that degree, that they even died in the cause of their law, in obedience to her. For she was so far from allowing any one of these manifold engagements to betray her into an undue tenderness, or suffering any of the yet more manifold tortures inflicted upon her children to shake her reason; that, mother tho' she was, she earnestly exhorted each of her children singly, and all of them together, not to decline any sufferings or death for the sake of religion.

O NATURE, common mother of us all! O parents love, unaccountably engaging our souls! O anxious care of tender infants! O sympathy of mothers irresistible! see here a prodigy, seven children one by one, rack'd, burnt, fry'd, a mother standing by, and looking on, and yet so firm her piety, not chang'd by the killing spectacle! she saw the flesh of her own sons broiling in the fire; the joints of their hands and feet torn off, and still trembling and panting on the ground, when rent from the body; the skins of their heads and faces drawn off like vizards, and cast down at her feet; all this the wonderful woman saw unmov'd. O mother, now in agonies and racking pains for thy children, compar'd with which thy bearing throws were easy! O woman, who of all thy sex seemest alone to have brought forth consummate virtue! thy first-born when expiring did not shake thee, nor thy second son, when casting upon thee a piteous languishing look; nor thy third, when groaning out his soul; nor the eyes that started out of every one of their heads with extremity of pain, and setting in death. Thou didst not let one tear fall, when one hand was cut off after another, one head flayed after another, one corpse fell upon another, and heaps of thy own flesh lay before thee. The songs of Syrens, and the dying notes of swans, make not so melodious music, as did in thy ears the last accents of thy own offspring, calling to thee in the midst of their torments unconceivable, and dying agonies. For in thy soul when warm debates arose, and nature and affection pleaded strongly, and the pains and unparallel'd sufferings of thy children added weight to their arguments; yet still thou turned the deaf ear; and when thou wert urged most vehemently to give sentence for thy children's lives, wouldst not accept a short deliverance with guilt, but gavest them up to death in prospect of a more lasting bliss. Then didst thou approve thyself a true daughter of Abraham, an heiress of all his faith and fortitude. O mother of a family, zealous for the law, bulwark of true religion, and laden with the conquests won by thy own bowels! O woman of generosity and patience, more manly than the stoutest of men! glory of thine own sex, and exceller of ours! for, as the ark of Noah, which then contain'd all the surviving world, rode triumphant upon the waters of the general flood; so thou, whole

breast included all true piety, wert tost upon the waves of all manner of contending passions, and beaten upon with the boisterous winds of torments that blew hard from every quarter, and yet didst bravely weather out the storm, supported by thy zeal for God and religion.

C H A P. XVI.

NOW then, (to return to the point I am all this while aiming at) if an old woman, and the mother of seven children, could not only sustain, but see those children dying in such misery, in consideration of the cause they suffered and died for, the consequence is unavoidable, that reason, supported by religion, hath a power superiour to our passions. And that this is the case of human nature in general, I have made it plain, because not only men have conquer'd their passions, but a woman hath perfectly subdued and despised the most exquisite sufferings. The lions, into whose den Daniel was cast, were tame; the furnace of Misael, tho' heated seven times hotter than usual, was cool, in comparison of those fierce passions, that fire, which natural affection and pity had kindled in her breast, when she saw seven sons successively expire in agonies inexpressible; and yet reason and religion quenched all the rage of these so furious, so manifold affections.

FOR is it not rational to suppose, that had this woman had the least allay of pusillanimity in her temper, all the mother would have burst out in lamentations and doleful complaints, like these? "O most unfortunate creature, and exposed to an unparallel'd variety of miseries, who was lately happy in seven sons, but am now no longer a mother! O my seven unprofitable travails! O the lost cares of nursing, which have nourished children only for racks, and fires, and deaths unexampled! In vain, my dears, have I been in pangs for you, in vain endured the many anxious days and restless nights, the cost and labour of a painful education. O those beloved children, whose faces I shall never see more, nor rejoice in their marriage and posterity, nor have the so much valued blessing of being esteem'd happy in my descendants of the second and third generation. And yet I once was happy, happy above my neighbours, both in the number and the goodness of the branches that sprang from this fruitful vine; but now a wretched solitary widow, destitute of so much as one out of my many sons, to comfort and assist me while living, or to bury me when dead."

BUT the piety of this excellent mother disdained such effeminate complaints, and was so far from desiring any of her children to live, that it would have been matter of grief to her, had they not died as they did: her mind firm and impenetrable as a rock, considering that this was to bring forth over again the number of her sons, by a new and better birth, to a life of immortality. And therefore she herself besought them to fulfil her joy, and encouraged them in dying for the cause of religion. O noble matron, who listest thyself in the service of the same cause, and didst as-

sist in engaging the tyrant, and approve thyself mighty in deeds and in words! For when thou wert apprehended with thy sons, and an eye-witness of the tortures and dolorous death of the good Eleazar, then didst thou in the Hebrew tongue excite the courage of thy sons, by saying, "See here, my children, what a glorious conflict is this! And if you also be called to the like, consider what a testimony, what an honour it will be to our nation! but especially consider the law of your fathers you are to suffer for, and be sure to behave yourselves in this encounter valiantly and chearfully! What a reproach ought you to think it upon the vigour of your age, if an old man, weakened and spent by years and infirmities already, did yet endure such variety, such extremity of tortures for his duty, and those who have all the fire of youth to excite and support their zeal, should shrink back at, or sink under the same trials! Consider, my dearer parts of myself, what life is, and whence you had it. God gave it you at first; the goodness of his providence hath continued it to you ever since. It is therefore his due, and what you ought to pay, when he calls for it again. Can you decline any sort of pain for him, in obedience to whom our father Abraham made no delay to sacrifice his son, the promised father of our nation? Nor did that son tremble or once give back, when he saw a father's hand arm'd with the weapon of death, and lifted up to give the fatal stroke. Was not the innocent and pious Daniel, by his own consent, cast as a prey to hungry lions; and the three children into a fiery furnace? These all endured manfully for the sake of God; and you, who are partakers of the same faith, ought not to shrink if you are made partakers of the same sufferings. For indeed it is most absurd for them who have a true sense of religion, to betray a cowardly degeneracy of mind in any difficulties that it shall engage them in." Thus did the mother of seven children animate every one of the number, and represent to them the reasonableness, and the necessity of dying, rather than basely yield to violate any one command of their God; especially when assuredly persuaded that they who die for him, continue still to live with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the godly patriarchs, in mansions of immortal felicity.

Some of the soldiers gave out that she also was to be seized, and put to death, which coming to her ear, in order to prevent all attempts upon person, she voluntarily cast herself into the fire. O glorious mother, thus defeating the tyrant's rage and violence, disappointing all his wicked contrivances, and exerting a most vigorous and noble faith, firm as a strong built house; erected upon her seven pillars, and proof against all shocks that laboured to overturn it! Take comfort, holy matron, whose patience was supported by a firm trust in God, and well assured hope of a future reward. The moon encircled with her retinue of stars, shines not so bright in the firmament of heaven as dost thou, reflecting light upon, and receiving it back again from, thy seven illustrious sons, fix'd in the heavenly mansions, and honourable in the presence of God. Thy race were truly Abraham's, and every one a

genuine son of the father of the faithful. Were it a possible undertaking, to draw this whole action as in a picture, and relate every circumstance in true and lively colours, our passions scarcely could sustain the mere representation: nor would the mother and her children, expiring in such cruel variety of torments, be seen but in such description without horror. And were a monument, as they well deserve, to be erected, for a never dying memorial to the nation they are so great an honour to, this or some like inscription might become it: "Here lies a reverend old priest, "an ancient mother and seven gallant sons, "put to death by the rage of a tyrant, attempting, but in vain, to overthrow the "Jewish law and constitution: for these brave "champions stood in the gap, asserted the "rights and religion of their nation, committed themselves and their cause to God, and "persevered in despite of torments and "death." For indeed the encounter was truly divine; virtue was in this case the judge of the combat, and disposer of the prize, and patience was the proof and exercise. To this the victory was to be adjudged, and immortality and bliss eternal were the rewards of them that conquer'd.

THE first that march'd into this bloody field, was Eleazar: the mother of seven sons offer'd herself likewise to the combat; her sons successively undertook the conflict; the adversary they encounter'd was the tyrant, the ring of spectators was the world, and the conqueror religion; who both vanquish'd in their persons, and crown'd her champions that fought so bravely in her vindication. And who indeed could see, who can hear the noble achievements of these heroick souls, so zealous for the law of God, without (I say not approbation and praise, but) wonder and astonishment? Nay, even the tyrant and his impious assessors, that counsell'd and countenanced the barbarous executioners, could not without amazement observe that invincible patience which sustain'd them; and in despite of all their inhumanity and obstinate prejudice, revered the piety they labour'd in vain to corrupt.

So true is that of Moses, "All his saints are "in thy hand". For these men being sanctified as an offering to God, are celebrated with honour and immortal renown. Nor was the benefit of their noble trials confin'd to their own persons, but the blood of those righteous men shed upon this occasion, was accepted by God as a propitiatory sacrifice, inclin'd him to return to his people in mercy, and by a gracious providence deliver Israel from the heavy load of oppression they then groaned under. For even Antiochus, considering the wonderful virtue and resolution of these men, and their inflexible constancy under hardship and pain, gave testimony to their valour, and by a public officer propounded it as a pattern fit to be imitated by all his own soldiers. Not only so, but taking his measures of the whole nation by these few, he list'd many of them in his service, employ'd them both in sieges and pitch'd battles, and, having obtain'd many signal victories by their assistance, learn'd by his own experience, that religion inspires men with the truest courage, and that none are capable of serving their prince in the wars, com-

parably to those undaunted and generous contempters of life, who dare to encounter death and tortures for God and a good conscience. O race of faithful Abraham, and inheritors of his zeal, ye seed of Israel the beloved, set yourselves to observe and pay due reverence to this divine law, to govern your affections in all points according to it, and live up to the perfection of its dictates and discipline, whose efficacy is so undeniable, and its glory so conspicuous, in such unparallel'd instances of reason thus conducted, attaining to an absolute mastery over the passions.

C H A P. XVIII.

NOR does this mastery extend only to those inward disorders, which raise a tumult in our own breasts, but (as these examples of men delivering themselves willingly to the torture for the sake of their religion make it exceeding plain) to afflictions from without also, and the acutest bodily pains. Thus did these noble heroes fight and conquer, and (for acquitting themselves so gallantly) were not only commended and admir'd of men, but largely rewarded by God. Nor did they vanquish death and torments only, but also the enemies that inflicted both: by restoring peace to their nation, and bringing into request again the regard for that long neglected law, the contempt whereof provok'd God to scourge the people with, this worst of all calamities, the tyrant Antiochus. But while he became an instrument of vengeance to others, he treasur'd up yet more against himself. For finding all his efforts to no purpose, and that neither flattery nor force could draw the Jews to abandon their own, and conform to foreign customs, he drew off from Jerusalem and made war upon the Persians, and long it was not ere the justice of God overtook him, even upon earth, by a most miserable death.

BUT still to do all right to that wonderful woman, I shall add here some other of her pious exhortations to her no less wonderful sons. "Consider, said she, the conversation of your "mother, who lived a long time a chaste unspotted virgin; I never wander'd from my "father's house, nor did any lustful corrupter "of youth assault me in the field, nor that "serpent which seduced Eve tempt me into "any impure embraces. The flower of my "age I past in the strictest conjugal fidelity to "my husband. When you, my children, were "grown up, your father died, happy in the "esteem of all that knew him. He had the "satisfaction of many prosperous children, "and escap'd the misfortune of seeing himself "depriv'd of these blessings. While he continued with you, no pains were spared to "instill pious principles, and furnish you with "instructions proper to prepare you for the "trying difficulties of this important day. He "taught you with great diligence the law and "the prophets; he set before you the renowned examples of patience, and suffering virtue: Abel murdered by his own brother "Cain: and Isaac designed for a burnt offering; and Joseph imprisoned for his obstinate "chastity; and Phineas zealous for the law "of his God. He preached to you the virtues

" tues and the glorious rewards of Ananias,
 " Azarias and Misael, and Daniel cast into the
 " den of lions. He frequently put you in
 " mind of that preserving providence to those
 " that are God's; which Esaias magnifies in
 " these words: When thou passest through
 " the waters, I will be with thee, and thro'
 " the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when
 " thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not
 " be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon
 " thee. He taught your infant tongues that song
 " of David; Great are the troubles of the righte-
 " ous, but the Lord delivereth him out of all;
 " and call'd upon you to observe that maxim of
 " Solomon in his proverbs, That wisdom is a tree
 " of life to all that obey and lay hold on her.
 " He quicken'd up your faith by that passage in
 " Ezekiel, Shall these dry bones live? Nor did
 " he forget to teach you that heavenly song of
 " Moses, who says in the person of God; I kill
 " and make alive: and again pronounces of the
 " law and the diligent observance of it; This
 " is your life, and the prolonging of your days.

O doleful day, and yet not doleful but glo-
 rious rather, when the merciless Grecian ty-
 rant kindled his impious fires, heated his mur-
 dering cauldrons, and with ungodly rage, more
 hot and fierce than both, dragg'd and bound
 to the engines of torture, and exercis'd with
 all manner of agonies and pains, the seven-fold
 offspring of this daughter of Abraham! when
 he bor'd out their eyes, cut out their tongues,
 and put them to death, with all the studied
 cruelties that wickedness and malice could in-
 vent. These impious barbarities the justice of
 God did then, and always will, avenge upon
 the proud inflictors; but these sons of Abra-
 ham, with their victorious mother, are by a
 very different fate, translated from misery to
 bliss unspeakable, admitted into the joyful and
 triumphant society of all their pious ancestors,
 and have receiv'd again those unblemish'd souls,
 which they willingly sacrificed in his service,
 pure and immortal, at the hands of that God,
 with whom they were so chearfully deposited,
 and to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.





PHILO's Account
OF HIS
EMBASSY,
FROM THE
JEWS of ALEXANDRIA
TO THE EMPEROR
CAIUS CALIGULA.

CHAP. I.

The author's preface upon the subject of human frailty, and the power and providence of Almighty God.



HOW long are we to act like boys at fourscore, our heads covered with grey-hairs, and not one grain of sense in them! This is the condition of all those that place their rest upon the stability of fortune, on the one hand, and at the same time abandon an infallible guide, in the dictate of reasonable nature, on the other; though nothing so fickle under the sun as the former, or so steady and unchangeable as the other. At this rate we confound and invert the order and value of things, as if there were no more in it than the shuffling of counters, while we take certainties for uncertainties, and uncertainties for the contrary. And what's the reason of all this now, but that weak and short-sighted men see best at hand; and give more credit (right or wrong) to their senses; than to their judgments? Whereas fore-sight, with a respect to things to come, and things invisible, must be the work of argument and reasoning: not but that the eye of the soul is much quicker and sharper than that of the body; saving only where the point of it is taken off, either by luxurious excesses in eating and drinking, or by a stupid unthinking indolence; the greater mischief of the two.

We shall never need to look farther than

into the history of these times, and the many wonderful things that have fallen out in this juncture, for the proof of an over-ruling providence: a providence, that takes particular care of all virtuous holy people, but more especially of those, that with humility and reverence give themselves up as a peculiar heritage to the worship and service of the Almighty. These are the people that the Chaldeans call Israelites, [or Seers of God:] which is a blessing more valuable than the treasure of ten thousand worlds. Now if the presence of a person venerable for his age, as a governor, a tutor, or a father, shall have such a power over us to keep us in awe, and within the compass of modesty and respect, in our lives and manners, what advantages may we propound to ourselves then in the elevation of our thoughts beyond all created Beings, and the inuring of our souls to the contemplation of an uncreated Power! even God himself, who is goodness, beauty, and blessedness in the highest degree: and all these excellencies infinitely short yet of his unspeakable perfections. For how is it possible to express in words, a point utterly inexplicable; or to advance, by the scale of his attributes, to the understanding of an incomprehensible mystery! A mystery so inextricable, that if the whole creation were but one tongue, it would not serve to explain

explain it: as his omnipotency in the making of the world; his sovereignty, in the monarchical form of it; the wisdom of his providential conduct, in the order and government of it; and the justice of his proceeding toward both good and bad, in the retribution of rewards or punishments. Nay, and the vengeance itself is to be reckon'd among the things that we are the better for: not only for the natural equity sake of dealing by all men according to their demerits; but as chastisement proves many times the means of bringing people to a sight and sense of their crimes, or as it hinders them at least from persevering in their wickedness; for the punishing of one man is frequently the preventing the ruin of another, for fear of the same severity in case of the same offence.

C H A P. I.

The blessed condition of the seven months reign of the emperor Caius Caligula, after the death of Tiberius.

THE emperor Caius Caligula, that succeeded Tiberius, may serve for a lively instance in confirmation of what I have been saying: never so universal a peace and agreement thorough all the provinces both by sea and land: east, west, north and south, all in a profound quiet; Greeks and Barbarians, soldiers and burghers, living together like brethren, and in the mutual exchange of all neighbourly offices of friendship and commerce. This was such a transcendent pitch of felicity as can scarce be credited, for a young prince to be welcomed to the throne with an affluence of all the good things that his very heart could wish: a prodigious treasure, both in money and plate, wrought and unwrought, and as well for ornament as for convenience: a mighty power both at sea and land, and the whole habitable world contributing, as out of an inexhaustible fountain, toward the maintaining of his armies. His empire was bounded with two great rivers, the Euphrates, and the Rhine, the former bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations; the other, upon the Parthians, the Sarmatians, and the Scythians, &c. a race of people not one jot less barbarous and unciviliz'd than the other: so that from the sun rising to the sun setting, as well upon the continent as in the islands, there was nothing but gladness and universal satisfaction: while Rome, Italy, and all the provinces of Europe and Asia, kept holy-day, as we say, in a perpetual festival. Never were people, in fine, by the blessing of providence, so free and easy under any other prince: for every private man had so large a share in the common welfare that his good fortune left him nothing more to ask: there was hardly any thing to be seen up and down the towns, but altars, victims, sacrifices, candidates, garlands, chearful looks, feasting, merry meetings, musical concerts, racing, treating, dancing to the flute and harp, with all other recreations imaginable: and the poor all this while as well satisfy'd as the rich; common people as persons of quality; servants as their masters; debtors as their cre-

ditors: such, in short, was the felicity of those times, for plenty and pleasure, and the universal satisfaction of persons and families of all ranks and degrees, that it look'd as if the poets fiction of Saturn's golden age were no longer a fable. And this was the blessed state of things for the first seven months of Caius's reign.

C H A P. II.

The emperor Caius fell desperately ill in the eighth month of his reign, to the great affliction of the provinces for his distemper, and as great a joy afterwards for his recovery.

CAIUS, in the month following, and in the very glut of his good fortunes, happened to fall extremely ill; for having quitted the temple, and consequently the healthful course of life he led under Tiberius, he gave himself up to the court-liberties of luxury and riot: as eating and drinking to excess; the unseasonable use of baths: nay, and to eat and drink to satisfy would not satisfy him neither, without a vomit after it to make way for more. He had plung'd himself likewise into all manner of uncleannesses, with both sexes indifferently, from common appetites to the most unnatural of lusts. He did all that was possible, in fine, by sensuality, and debauch, towards the dividing of soul and body: for as health and strength are a blessing that naturally attend sobriety and good order, so the contrary way of government is as certainly followed with weakneses, sickness, and death.

It was now about the beginning of autumn, which is the season when the return-ships from all quarters are upon their last voyage, homeward bound, back again. Those I mean that would not winter abroad. By the accident of this opportunity, the story of the emperor's sickness was immediately dispers'd over the whole world, and by that means the universal contentment and satisfaction that the people enjoyed before the coming of that news, turned into as universal a mourning. Upon this change, the towns and the houses were all in tears and lamentations, in proportion to the measure of the comfortable condition they were in before. The provinces themselves were all struck in the very person of the emperor, and in a more sensible manner too; for Caius suffered only in his body, but the people in their minds, for fear of losing not only their peace, but their lives, liberties, and estates also; for which they were solicitous, even to the degree of despair. Beside that, considering the fatal consequences that commonly attend the death of princes, whether by famine, war, or otherwise) as rapine, depopulations, banishments, plunder, imprisonments, fears, dangers, and death itself) all these things considered, they could never think themselves safe, or happy, but in the well-being of their prince.

THE emperor was by this time upon the mending hand, whereupon the welcome news of it was dispatched in a trice to the furthest quarters of the earth; (for fame flies like lightning.) The people took this for an earnest

of better tidings, and fell into a violent impatience upon it to hear further, till at length their longing was gratify'd by several expresses in words at length, that the emperor was perfectly recovered; which was the same thing to the provinces, as if they had been recovered themselves, and restored to their former state and humour of jollity and ease: those in the isles, as well as those upon the continent. Finally, there was never heard of in the memory of man, such a transport of joy in any one people or nation, for the preservation of any particular prince, as was seen upon this occasion, quite thorough the universe, for the safety of Caius when restor'd to his health again. It look'd like a transition (all in a moment) from a savage life to a sociable and civil; from desarts to political communities, from confusion to order; and all these advantages owing to the government and protection of a generous and a rightful prince. But people were glad of many things without seeing thorough them.

CHAP. III.

The horrible ingratitude and cruelty of the emperor Caius toward young Tiberius.

IT was not long before Caius gave the world to understand, that their judgments were blinded, their measures mistaken, and that they governed themselves more by guess than by knowledge. For this famous prince, who seem'd to promise nothing less than a profusion of bounties and favours to all Europe and Asia, and one who was likely to be the most illustrious benefactor to all glorious purposes publick and private that every were heard of: this prince, I say, proved a monster; or rather, he took off the mask, and owned himself bare-faced for what he was.

THE emperor Tiberius, had by his son Drusus, young Tiberius, and by Germanicus Caius Caligula, whom he recommended in preference to the succession; provided only, that he should shew the sense he had of the obligation, in his respects to his grand-child. But this did not satisfy Caius yet, to hold that by adoption, which the other had a right to by birth; so that most barbarously and ungratefully, he caused his near kinsman, the co-heir of the empire, and the next successor to Tiberius, to be put to death, under a pretext, that this Tiberius had contriv'd a plot upon the life of Caius; a very unlikely project for a youth of his tender age to engage in. Beside that it was generally thought that if the young prince had been but some few years older, the emperor would have declared Tiberius his successor; for he was grown jealous of Caius already and upon taking him out of the way, the other would have had the empire to himself in course. But Caius, instead of sharing the sovereignty with his kinsman, as in justice he should have done, entered into an execrable practice upon his life; and the way he took to compass his end was this. He sent for Tiberius in the first place, and then calling a council of his friends about him, he made them a discourse much to this effect.

"As to this young man, says he, (speaking

of Tiberius) I have not only the kindness of a cousin-german for him, but the love and tenderness of a brother; and there is nothing in this world my heart is so much set upon, as to take him in for partner in the government, according to the appointment of his grand-father, in his last will and testament. But youth, alas! without experience, stands in more need of a governor itself, than of a commission to govern others. If it were not for this difficulty, how glad and ready should I be to ease myself of one part of the cares and troubles of my office, over so many nations, by dividing the burden, for fear of sinking myself under the weight. But in the mean while, let him depend upon me for protection and advice; not only as a governor to his pupil, but as a father to a son, which for the future (and pray take notice of it) shall be the stile betwixt us."

This harangue wrought so effectually upon the whole council, and the young prince himself too, that the very ground-work of the plot was now as good as secured by it; for instead of confirming the adoption, and possessing Tiberius of what he had a title to, it made void the grant of what was given him already: so that Caius was now left at liberty to treat his colleague and co-partner in the empire, at what treacherous rate he pleased. For the Roman law gives parents an absolute authority over their children, and it gives the supreme magistrate also as uncontrollable a power over the people, acting all things at will and pleasure; so that Caius had no more to do toward the gaining of his point, than first to declare Tiberius an enemy, and then to treat him like one, whether he were one or no. And this he did, without any regard, either to his years, or to an old acquaintance; or finally, to his quality, as a person that had been trained up by the emperor in a prospect of the succession: for after the death of Drusus, Tiberius was to be reputed a son rather than a grand-child.

THERE goes a report, that Caius commanded Tiberius to do execution upon himself, and at the same time strictly prohibited several tribunes and centurions, who were then present, to assist him in the action, upon a point of honour forsooth, that it was not for the dignity of the blood royal to be spilt by a common hand. So careful he was of doing things in form, that he made a scruple of the very murder itself that was not committed according to law, and covered his hypocrisy with a mask of holiness.

THIS innocent prince, that had never seen blood drawn either in jest or in earnest, no not so much as in a mock-combat, or the representation of a battle in a time of peace; an exercise well known among princes and men at arms: this prince, I say, what did he do, but first offer his throat to every man he met, and then when he saw no body would do him the good office, he took a poinard himself, and asked the people where he should strike, to make the surest dispatch of a miserable life. They told him how and where, and he followed their direction over and over. After this manner was Tiberius taught in his extremity how to murder himself.

C H A P. IV.

Caius puts Macro to death, to whom he stood indebted for his life and fortune.

THIS was Caius's master-piece, and the great difficulty of his life and reign was now surmounted; for he had no competitor to fear, nor any man of credit that was able to make a party against him. The next blow was at Macro, wherein he shew'd himself cruel and ungrateful to the highest degree.

THIS Macro had done him many signal and faithful services, not only after his coming to the crown, when a parasite, or a court-flatterer, would have done the same thing; but even before his advancement also, or I might have said in order to it; for he was look'd upon as the chief instrument that prevailed upon Tiberius to make choice of him for his successor. Tiberius was now in years, and ever crafty, both upon the account of a natural sagacity, and a long experience, and one that understood men perfectly well: he had entertain'd a great many jealousies concerning Caius, as a mortal enemy to the whole Claudian family; or if he had any tenderness for his relations, it was for those, he thought, by the mother-side. This put a great many troublesome scruples into his head, what would become of the poor child if he himself should die before him. Neither did he look upon Caius as a person competent for the weight of the commission he pretended to, but as a man that had neither solid sense nor civility; and one that, by the levity and inconsistency of his words and actions, one would have judged scarce well in his wits. Macro did all however that was possible to be done, for the removing of these jealousies, and the keeping of Tiberius quite and easy. He would be often telling him how great a deference and veneration Caius had for his person and dignity; and in particular, so generous a friendship and respect for his kinsman, that he would be glad with all his heart to see him the single lord of the whole empire, if it might stand with the publick good: and that his modesty and reserve had the ill fortune to be mistaken for want of sense and resolution. But this would not do, and when Macro perceived it, he offered to become bound body for body, that it should be all made good upon the first occasion. Now Macro being a man of a tried fidelity to the Cæsars, and more expressly yet to Tiberius himself in the conspiracy of Sejanus, (which Macro both detected and crushed) there was no room left for a doubt upon the faith and credit of the mediator: for, to shorten the story, Macro was never well but when he was doing Caius some good office or other, and commending him to Tiberius; at least if it could be called a commendation to defend a man against dark surmises and reports, and uncertain accusations. But in one word, he could not have done more for the nearest relation he had in the world, than he did for Caius. Some would have it that this was done in consideration of the good understanding that had always been betwixt Caius and Macro, who was at that time highly in credit with the emperor. Others ascribed it to an intrigue with Macro's wife, who for some private reasons, best known to herself, was perpetually

importuning her husband on the behalf of the young man, to do him upon all occasions the best offices he could; and there's no resisting the charms of a wanton woman that manages with art and address.

Now Macro, who knew nothing as yet that his wife had dishonour'd his bed, attributed all her fondnesses and caresses to the force of a conjugal affection, and was thereby so far imposed upon, that he took the most deadly enemies he had in the world for his truest friends. He was conscious to himself how faithfully he had served Caius in several extremities, where his life was at stake; and in the confidence of that merit, he had some sort of right, he thought, to be plainer with him than another man; for his business was, like a great master, to make his work perfect, and lasting, by preserving him both from himself and others. As for example, when he saw him sometimes asleep at the table, he would take the freedom now and then to wake him, with a private hint, that it was neither decent nor safe; for it laid him open to any man that had a design upon his life. And so at any time when Caius was degrading himself by giving too fond an attention to buffoons and tumblers, or laughing out-right at the scurrilous conceits of a jester, or perhaps playing a part himself, in a band of common fidlers, if it was Macro's hap to be within reach of him, it was his way to give him a private jog with his elbow, a discouraging wink, or some secret whisper, and at the end of all, this following admonition.

"It is not for you, sir, to see, hear, and gratify your senses, like other men, but you are to advance yourself as much above the rest of the world in the dignity of your mind, as you are in the elevation of your fortune. For what can be more incongruous, than for the master of the world to entertain himself with the amusements of singing, dancing, insipid jesting, and other fopperies of that kind! Whereas it is his part, in all cases, times, and places, to uphold the majesty of an imperial prince, as a shepherd set over the whole flock, and be improving his character daily." But Macro went further yet.

"WHEN it shall be your hap, says he, to be at the Circus, the theatre, or any other publick spectacle or exercise, you are not so much to attend the thing in itself, as the industry in the composition, and to reason the matter thus: if people take such care and pains to please the spectators, without any benefit to mankind, purely for popular applause, and at last reckon it as an ample reward to carry the cause with credit, what shall we expect from the profession of a much more excellent art, that is to say, the art of government, which provides for tillage, planting, navigation, and the security of commerce, in the establishment of a reciprocal exchange of commodities all over the provinces for the supply one of another? Not but that some persons and places have been tainted with a venomous envy for this blessed provision and agreement; but the malignity never went so far however, as to poison the whole world; no, nor the greater part of it; here and there a man, or a family, or perhaps a city or two, might be

“ concerned ; but for whole countries, or nations, there has been nothing of it ; especially since your illustrious family has had the admiration of the government : but the monsters that formerly had the confidence to domineer in the very hearts of the towns, are now glad to shift for themselves, like wild beasts, into caves and hiding-places, and have left us in exchange a beneficial intercourse of correspondence with all quarters of the earth ; which is all subjected entirely to your good pleasure and conduct. This empire, in fine, looks like a mighty ship, and yourself by providence set at the helm, where you are left answerable for the safety of the vessel, as you tender the good of mankind. Wherefore pray be sure to have a care of it, and make it the business and comfort of your life, to promote the happiness of your people. Private persons may do many good offices among themselves, some one way, and some another, both publick and private ; but it is from the bounty and wisdom of the prince alone, that the people can ever pretend to be free and easy. He must have an open hand, and a large soul, and no bar to his liberality, but what shall be found necessary for a reserve, to answer all the ends, the needs, and the chances of government.”

HERE was a great deal of good-will and friendly advice cast away to very little purpose ; for Caius instead of being the better for't, was the worse ; and Macro utterly ruined, over and above, for the good office ; his counsel rejected, and his person treated with contempt. For Caius had taken such an aversion to him, that when he saw him at any time coming towards him, at a distance, he would be saying to those about him :

“ Look you, sirs, here comes my governor ! but I thank my stars for it, I am out of my wardship : he sets up for my master too, but I am past a boy ; and so likewise for a monitor to one that understands the world better than himself. The pedant takes upon him to instruct an emperor how to behave himself toward his subjects ; and an emperor much better acquainted in all the arts of court-politicks than he can pretend to be. This man now has the vanity to act the part of my master ; but I would fain know where he learnt that skill himself that I want. Alas ! I have been trained up from my cradle to the mysteries of state, under variety of tutors ; as father, brothers, uncles, cousins, grand-fathers, great-grand-fathers ; beside a continued succession of so many great princes in a right line, both by father and mother, to say nothing of the seeds of royal virtues that shew themselves commonly in the forming of a governor. For as children many times resemble their parents, not in face and manners only, but in their very motions, humours, habits, gestures, &c. so does nature infuse royal abilities into the very veins of a governor. And shall a sot take upon him now to instruct me in the mysteries of an art that I brought into the world with me ? And yet here's an obscure, mean wretch, that has the face to lie tutoring me upon a subject he knows nothing at all of himself.”

CAIUS was by this time so embittered against Macro, that nothing less than his life would serve his turn ; and whether the charge were true or false, it did not signify, provided only matter of accusation was exhibited against him that would bear a colour to make it plausible. When his head was working upon this thought, a certain expression of Macro's was pitch'd upon, for the ground of an impeachment.

“ CAIUS, says he, is a man of my making, and as much, if not more, obliged to me for what he is, than to him that begot him. It was my interest, that not only once, but thrice, rescued him from the rage of Tiberius, when he would have put him to death. And then after the death of Tiberius, when the Pretorian bands were under my command, I gave up my guards into his hands, with this monitory precaution, that the empire could never be safe and entire, but in the hands of a single person.”

This was all true beyond contradiction, and not without the approbation of several that heard it, who were not as yet acquainted with the dark and slippery ways of Caius, and that dissembling and hypocrisy were his masterpiece. In short, it was not many days before the unfortunate Macro, and his wife, were both taken out of the way, by a barbarity answerable in the other extreme, to the degree of so many generous services. But this is the ungrateful man's way of reckoning with his benefactors ; and it was an honest man's reward too, for saving the life of a brute, and setting a monster upon the throne. There goes a report that the man and the woman were both forced to lay violent hands upon themselves, notwithstanding the tenderness of Cesar for his mistress. But the gluts and the lothings of an irregular love are unaccountable.

C H A P. V.

Caius puts his father-in-law M. Silanus to death, and several others.

WHEN this treacherous prince had rid himself of the danger of a competitor, and cut off Macro, with his whole family to a single man, in requital for the saving of his life and empire, his third exploit was to be upon his father-in-law, M. Silanus, which he look'd upon as his master-piece.

THIS Marcus Silanus was a brave man, and nobly born ; and his daughter dying young, the father paid Caius the same respects still, if not greater, afterwards than he had done before ; not doubting of a reciprocal return, and not imagining what a weather-cock he had to do withal. Silanus being a frank plain-dealing man, was often descanting upon the topick of morals and politicks, as the offices and functions of a prince, and the measures of good manners and government. Now this was a freedom that he had some sort of title to, by his quality and station : beside that the wound of his daughter's death, being yet fresh and bleeding upon him, the sense of the affinity, he thought, could not be so soon forgotten. But Caius took all manner of good counsel for reproach, and consequently his best friends for his mortal enemies : himself being so wise, so

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valiant, so temperate, so just, and, in fine, every way so perfect and accomplish'd in his own conceit, that he reckoned it as a scandal to be charged with the very possibility of being better: so that whoever pretended to advise him, did it at his own peril. He had a quarrel also to Silanus, as a kind of check upon him in the course of his extravagant lusts; and in that fit of outrage he had a final adieu to the memory of his dead wife, and followed the barbarity with a treacherous practice upon the life of her own father, and, at the same time, to the most indulgent father-in-law under the sun, in the same person. The fame of this murder, and others little less considerable, that followed upon it, struck the whole world with horror and indignation, but they kept their thoughts to themselves, for fear of the worst. But for the people now, that are easily imposed upon, and firm to nothing; the people, I say, were so far from believing it possible for a prince to be so human, candid, and generous one day, and so merciless, false, and bloody the next, that they took upon them the justification of what he had done, and to plead the equity of the cause in his defence.

As to what concerns the death of young Tiberius: "Tis against nature, they said, to admit a partner in sovereignty, and it was only an act of prevention, to take away the life of a man that would otherwise have taken away his life, if he had got him in his power. Now Caius, in this action, was not so properly to be called a murderer, as an instrument of divine providence, in removing Tiberius out of the way, for the common good of mankind, for fear of factions, and parties; some drawing one way and some another, so as to embroil the empire in the miseries both of a foreign and of an intestine war. Now peace is undoubtedly the greatest of blessings, and what is it but an orderly government that keeps people quiet? that is to say, a government where no competitions are encouraged by any division of the princes."

THEY had their reasonings likewise upon the case of Macro: "Macro, they cried, was a proud haughty man; and had forgot the Delphick oracle, that bids every man [Know himself] giving to understand, that whoever digests that lesson well, can never be miserable, nor any man happy without it. What has a subject to do in the province of a prince, or to take upon him to teach his master his duty? 'Tis the sovereign's province to command, and the subjects to obey." At this rate it is that the silly people descant upon wholesome counsels and admonitions; partly for want of sense to distinguish one thing from another; and partly for want of honesty and plain-dealing, in the confounding both of names and things.

THEY made also a great many carping reflections on the behaviour of Silanus: "How ridiculous he rendered himself in claiming the same authority over a son-in-law that a father had over his own son: whereas private citizens make no difficulty of giving way to their own children, in case of any honourable charge or preferment; but this man had the confidence, without the very pretence of being so much as a father-in-

law, to intermeddle in matters he had nothing to do withal, for the affinity died with the daughter. Marriage 'tis true, ties families together for the present, but the death of either party dissolves the relation."

This was the talk every where, to save the emperor's credit as far as possible: for the high opinion they had of this prince's character above all others, for bounty and good nature, had so far prepossessed them in his favour, that they could not think any thing amiss of him, especially upon so sudden a change from one extreme to another.

CHAP. VI.

Caius sets up for a demi-god.

THESE three horrid outrages committed upon the persons of Tiberius, Macro, and Silanus, were as good to Caius as so many triumphs over the empire; for now these three were gone, he had nothing more to fear, either from the imperial family, the soldiery, or the senate, Silanus being the glory of that illustrious body. But now he had subjected the world to his power, an arrogant freak of vanity carried him farther yet, and nothing would serve him but divine honours, and translating of the emperor into a demi-god. Now the ground of the whimsy was this.

HE fancy'd to himself, that, "as the master and leader of troops and flocks of beasts, as shepherds, goat-herds, herdsmen, and the like, are not sheep, goats, nor oxen, themselves, but reasonable creatures, and infinitely above them; so should the supreme governor of men in society, be allowed to have somewhat in him above the scale of human nature, that may deserve a place among the gods."

THIS fantastical imagination no sooner possessed his head, but the foolery went down with him for a truth; and shew'd itself soon after, in the effects of his blasphemous phrensy; as he proceeded farther and farther still by degrees. The first step of his ambition was to be a demi-god; such an one as Bacchus, Hercules, Castor, Trophonius, Amphiarus, Amphilocheus, and the like. He made himself sport all this while, with their oracles and ceremonies, but still assuming to himself what he took away from others.

AND then he would be changing habits, and persons, like a comedian upon the stage. One while he would act Hercules, with his lion's skin, and his club; another while he would dress himself with a cap upon his head, and personate Castor. Sometimes again, he would appear in a Faun's skin, and his Thyrsus wrap'd up in ivy, in imitation of Bacchus. But he had this peculiar to himself, that whereas his fellow demi-gods were well enough content with their several ensigns, and privileges apart, Caius engross'd them all to himself, for his own greater honour, in the outdoing even of those that he envy'd.

BUT that which drew the greatest train of followers after him, was not that he had three bodies like Geryon, but what was more wonderful, the turning of one body into so many shapes, like the Egyptian Proteus in Homer,

who transforms himself into animals, the elements of fire and water, and what not?

BUT what are you the better, Caius, for this way of resembling the figures of the demi-gods, without imitating their virtues? The labours and the hazards of Hercules, were all employ'd for the good of mankind, in delivering the world, both at sea and land, from the monsters that infested it. Bacchus planted and cultivated the vines, and drew a cordial drink from them in the juice of the grape, that cheers both body and mind. It lays our cares asleep, and at the same time makes us forget our misfortunes, and hope for better. Wine, in short, gives us health, strength, and activity: private persons, cities, and families, are all the better for it; and a cheerful cup is but a transition from labour to rest; and when all is done, 'tis a comfort and relief, both to Greeks and Barbarians, and their feasts, merry-meetings, musick, and dancings, are wholly owing to it. Let this suffice now to the honour of wine.

Now as to Jupiter's two twins, Castor and Pollux, the one of them was immortal, they say, and the other mortal; and the immortal brother had so passionate a tenderness for the other, that he chose rather to devolve part of his own privilege upon his brother, and to subject himself to the fate of other mortals, than to outlive so dear a friend: "For, (says he) what will my immortality signify to me, after my brother's death, but an everlasting mourning for so irreparable a loss?" Whereupon, he bethought himself of an expedient, to compound the difficulty, by dividing the mortality and immortality of the two brothers equally betwixt them, and fixing two different natures upon the same bottom of equity and reason.

Now these worthies were famous men in their generations, and so they continue to this day, both for their personal piety, and the good offices they have render'd to the publick; upon which account they have made themselves venerable for their virtue. But now, Caius, what great or good thing did you ever do, to entitle yourself to the honour of a demi-god? To begin with Castor: instead of emulating the heroical bravery of so generous a friend and brother, your merit lies in the merciless and inhuman murder of an innocent prince, your own flesh and blood, and rightful co-partner in the empire; and that murder follow'd with the banishment of his sisters, to secure your usurpation. Or what have you done after the precedent of Bacchus? what new invention, that the world was ever the better for? Is mankind ever the easier, or the happier, for you? But, to your praise be it spoken, you have found out inventions indeed: inventions, that like an epidemical pestilence turn joy into heaviness and mourning, and make all people weary of their lives. And pray what's the return you make for the vast treasures that come flowing daily into your coffers, from the four quarters of the earth, to gratify an insatiable avarice, but insupportable impositions, by unheard of taxes and tributes, to make the burden of the oppression odious and intolerable? Is this a way of proceeding now, after the example of Bacchus?

Or what shall we say in the next place to the indefatigable Hercules? his publick-

spirited labours and bold adventures, wholesome laws, righteous judgments, plenty both at sea and land, and all to establish peace and commerce over the face of the universe? This is a short character of Hercules, and let us now compare the copy with the original, and see what a picture we have gotten of that hero in Caius. A dull, slothful, wretched mortal, and so far from brave, that he's as timorous as a hare: nothing of order, quiet, or comfort, but on the contrary, sedition, misery, and tumult, where-ever he comes. And this Caius setting up at last for a demi-god in imitation of Hercules.

Now speak, Caius, is it for thy butchery and tyranny, that thou hopest to be made a God? or is it thy spite to mankind, to consider, that being immortal thyself, all the plagues thou hast brought upon the world must be likewise everlasting? Now I am of another opinion, and that if thou wert already upon the very list for a God, the lewdness of thy life would bring thee down again, into a state of mortality; for if virtue can make a God, wickedness consequently will degrade him. It is not for the murderer of his brother to take sanctuary under the protection of the most illustrious friendship betwixt two brothers that ever was heard of; neither is it for any man to entitle himself to the merits of Hercules and Bacchus, that lives in a contradiction to their principles of honour and virtue.

CHAP. VII.

Caius grows worse and worse; and sets up for a god of a superior order.

THE madness of Caius was by this time advanced to so extravagant a pitch, that a demi-god's place would not now content him, without entering into a competition with the gods of the first rate; as Apollo, Mars, and Mercury. He began with Mercury, and so dress'd himself up in all the ornaments and ensigns of his dignity, as the mantle, the white rod, the wings and buskins; valuing himself all this while upon order, in confusion itself, and reason in the head of a man whose brain was distemper'd with the phrensy. When he was weary of being Mercury, he laid aside that masquerade, and personated Apollo, with a radiant crown upon his head, a bow and arrows in his left hand, and the graces held forth in his right; intimating, that we should be forward and ready to do good offices, but backward and slow to punish.

After this, there were holy songs and dances exhibited to this new god; though well enough satisfied but a little before in the person of Bacchus, with the appellations of Liber, Evius and Lyceus. He would then again, by fits, be assuming the person of Mars, accoutred with a costly head-piece, sword and buckler; taking his march, with his priests and braves on each hand of him, and so act Mars himself to the life, in the execution of his blood-thirsty cruelties. This horrid spectacle struck an astonishing terror into all that beheld it; to see a counterfeit usurp upon the honours of these heroes, though a perfect enemy to their virtue, and resembling them in nothing but their habits, which have no further

ther meaning than as intimations of the bounty and goodness of the gods to those that truly love and fear them. And what's the moral now of Mercury's winged buskins, but that being the messenger or embassadour of the gods, as the Greek word imports, and the bearer of good tidings, (as no wise man, much less a God, would undertake to be the author of ill news) 'tis fit he should be quick in his dispatches, where haste is so requisite? And what again does his wand or white rod signify, but the ensign of a league or a peace-maker? For 'tis the herald that puts an end to the war either by agreement or truce; and without the mediation of this good office we should be continually destroying one another without either end or measure. But what did Caius's wings serve him for, saving only to publish the execrable lewdness of his life and manners over the face of the whole earth; scandal that on the contrary should rather have been bury'd in silence? Neither was there any occasion for the figure of a speedy passage, to a wretch that might have stood still in the same place, and like an inexhaustible fountain have laid the world under water. And what use had he again for the figure of a wand, the emblem of peace, that was never the author of one temperate word or action? For there was nothing where he had to do, whether among Greeks or Barbarians, in private houses or in cities, but civil wars, heart-burnings, and sedition: wherefore our imaginary and counterfeit Mercury should do well to quit a name and a pretence he has so little colour of a title to.

NEITHER is he, in the complexion of his mind, one jot liker Apollo than he was to Mercury. He wears a sparkling crown, 'tis true, with the beams of the sun artificially wrought upon it; but what's the sun to deeds that would not bear the light? An honest and a virtuous action cannot have too many eyes to look upon it, no not the sun itself in his meridian glory, when it shines the brightest. But for foul, impious, and dishonourable practices, that will not stand the test, as they were works of darkness, in the very conscience of them, so let them remain condemn'd to the regions of darkness, and never see the light. But let him change hands now, and take the bow and the arrows in his right hand, and destroy men, women and children, cities and families, according to his custom, and then let him conceal the graces in his left hand, unless he had rather throw them away: for he is evidently guilty of horrible oppressions, out of an immoderate love of money: and then follow his rapines, with the murder of the proprietors; by which means he turns the very bounties of providence into a snare, by make it a crime to be wealthy. And it is much the same case with our mock Apollo in the matter of physick; who instead of being the inventor of salutary remedies, and of a benevolent readiness to assist people, either in the preventing or in the curing of diseases, infects the sound, makes cripples, of men even in perfect health, dispatches men before their time, and enter'd so far into the art of poisoning, that if divine justice had not given him a check in the course of his wickedness, there would hardly have been one honest or substantial man left, especially in Italy and other populous places; for there was more gold and silver hoarded up in that compass of

ground than in the whole world beside. But he began at home, and shew'd himself the scourge, the plague, and the ruin of the people. Apollo was as famous also for his predictions as for his physick; but all still for the good of mankind: for when people were in the dark and doubtful, and in danger of taking good for evil, he never fail'd with his oracles to set them right, and to keep them from wavering: nay, his fore-knowledge of the future was so certain, that men believ'd it as if they had seen it with their eyes. But what if we should compare the doughty oracles of Caius now with those of Apollo? his prognosticks of infamy, confiscations, exiles and executions, to all men of quality and merit? Where's the affinity betwixt our new Apollo and the other, that never did the like? Wherefore let us have no more mock songs of joy and triumph, to the tune of true ones; for if the counterfeiting of a prince's image upon his coin be reckon'd a crime, a false worship is worse certainly by much than false money.

BUT the greatest surprize of all rest, is the taking upon him to personate the strength and bravery of Mars, with a broken constitution that has not the soul in it of a woman, and then making no more difficulty of putting the cheat upon the spectators, than as if it were but a scene of a play upon a stage. But without descending to particulars in our comparison, take them body and mind together, and no two things can be more unlike. I do not speak of the fabulous, or the phantome Mars; but of the other; by which we understand the force of a natural courage in the protection of the innocent, and for the relief of the oppressed, according to the derivation of the Greek word, *Ἄρης* from *ἀρῆναι*, to help. Mars, in fine, has two names; one of them a lover of peace, so far as it conduces to the good of the publick; and the other, as much a friend to war, that is sure to be attended with blood and confusion.

CHAP. VIII.

Caius's rage against the Jews, for refusing to pay him divine honour.

HERE's enough said to shew, that Caius had no pretence to lift himself upon the roll of the gods; no, not so much as upon that of the demi-gods: for there was no sort of agreement betwixt them, either in their nature, or in their essence; or more particularly, in their inclinations and manners. Men are blinded with their lusts, especially when they are seconded by ambition, obstinacy, the love of contention, and the licentious impotency of unbridled appetites. But men do not know when they are well, and this was our ruin. Now Caius had nothing under the cope of heaven to fear, but the Jews, to cross him in his design; being a people train'd up from their cradle under the care of parents, tutors, and masters, the doctrine of holy writ, and the law of nature, to the belief only of one God, the father and creator of the world. I speak this of the Jews; for as to the rest, men and women, cities, nations, countries, provinces, I might have said, well nigh the whole universe,

verse, how much soever against their inclinations, did nevertheless join with the faction, extoll'd Caius to the skies, and consequently gave a kind of sanction to his pride and vanity.

NAY there were certain Romans, that descended so low, as to introduce the barbarous way of worship into Italy itself, to the scandal of their liberties. But the Jews, I say, were the only nation from whom they apprehended any opposition; a people, that rather than part with the least scruple of their country's rights, would embrace death as cheerfully, as if it were but entering into a state of immortality: for 'tis in this case as it is in buildings; take out one stone, and tho' the rest may seem to stand firm at present, time will weaken it by degrees, till it falls all to pieces. And the point in question was no trifle neither; but a matter, on the contrary, of the highest importance imaginable; and no less than the transforming of flesh and blood into a deity, and turning a mortal man into an immortal god. A most execrable blasphemy; and the notion would have been more tolerable, if it had been the turning of a god into a man, than of a man into a god. Beside the gap that it would open into all manner of wickedness, as infidelity and ingratitude to the author of all mercies and bounties, in the distribution of his blessings and graces to the common good and comfort of mankind.

THIS was it that involv'd our nation in so destructive and merciless a war. For what greater misery can befall a servant, than to lie under the mortal hatred of his master? Now the subjects of emperors are servants; but how easily soever they liv'd under former emperors, the government of Caius made their condition insupportable: a prince without any bowels of humanity or compassion; one that knew no other law but his own will, and abrogated all other provisions as superfluous. But still of all other people under the sun, ours were certainly the most despicable of slaves and drudges, under the arbitrary rigour of a tyrannical monster, instead of a father of his people.

CHAP. IX.

The horrid outrages of the Alexandrians against the Jews, upon this occasion of Caius's persecution.

THE Alexandrians no sooner came to understand the malicious intentions of Caius against the Jews, but the populace immediately laid hold of the occasion to revenge themselves upon them, for an old grudge, and so enter'd into a conspiracy to put all in a tumult. The work went on so unanimously, that it look'd as if the emperor himself had been a party to the uproar, or that we had been all prisoners at mercy: so brutal and bloody was the execution they did upon us; breaking open of houses, turning man, woman, and child out of doors, and then rifling and carrying away all they could lay their hands on that was valuable. And this not done under any awe neither, or in the dark, like common night-thieves, that are afraid of being taken up and brought to justice; but they committed these robberies in the very face of the sun, shewing what they had gotten to

every body they met, with as much confidence as if it had been an inheritance or a purchase. Nay, they had companies and societies among themselves, that went sharers in the booty, dividing the spoil, even in the market-place, and the proprietors themselves, as it fell out sometimes, looking on, whom they mock'd and vilify'd with scorns and virulent railings over and above.

THIS was a hard case, at least, if it may pass for one, to have men of quality and estates turn'd out of all in a moment, and made beggars without so much as knowing their fault. But so it was, that they were forc'd from their habitations, and expos'd like vagabonds to the wide world, to perish with heat or starve with cold, no provisions being allow'd them to support life. And this was all nothing yet, to that which follow'd. For after the cooping up of so many thousands of men, women, and children, in a narrow place, like beasts in a pound, without the necessaries of life, they made no doubt of finding them in a few days a pile of carcases, for want either of food or of breath; the place being close and smothering, and the air corrupted with malignant vapours from the vitiated lungs of a confus'd crowd of people: which in this case is but adding fire to fire. Now the body is hot in itself, and that heat requires a refreshing air from without to assist respiration; but hot upon hot puts all out of order.

SUCH, in fine, were the difficulties of this place, that there was no longer any living in it for want of air; so that the poor people were forc'd abroad in this extremity: some withdrew toward the sea-side, others betook themselves to some remote burying places; some one way, some another, and all gasping for breath. As for those that stay'd behind, in any other part of the city, or came into it afterward during this outrage, without knowing any thing of the matter, these miserable wretches were batter'd with tiles and brickbats, their limbs broken, and their brains beaten out with cudgels, and those parts of the body principally aim'd at, where the wound or the bruise was most likely to be mortal. And it far'd not much better with those neither, who were coop'd up, as I said, in that narrow corner of the city, where they were beset with spies, in case any of them should venture upon an escape; which was reasonably to be expected, not so much for their own sakes, as to save their families from perishing by hunger. The Alexandrians kept a strict guard upon that quarter; and so many as they found attempting to get away, they put them first to the torture, and then to death; and no cruelty was thought too much for them. There was another body of these brutes that planted themselves upon the river side, to lie in wait there for the Jewish merchants, and their effects, which they took away in sight of the owners, and then burnt them alive; making use of the cabins, oars, and tember vessel for the fuel. Others were burnt in the middle of the city, and in a way much more terrible; for they made use of the brush-wood instead of billets, and when they had kindled it, they threw the miserable wretches into the fire; but the branches being moist and green, the smoke was stronger than the flame, and left no coals behind.

There

There were several drawn alive too, with ropes and cords, through the streets, and cross the market-place; the multitude insulting over their bodies even when they were dead: for after the quartering, and cutting of them piece-meal, they trampled them under foot, and with more than brutal cruelty would not let one bit of them appear to intitle them to a burial.

Now the governor of the province, who might with ease have put a stop to the course of this popular fury, if he had had a mind to it: this governor, I say, pretended a downright ignorance all this while of the very things he saw and heard, which was as good as a commission to them in what they did, and an encouragement to worse. There were meeting houses, or places of prayer, up and down the city in abundance; and there it was, that the people in vast bodies discharg'd their fury next: in some places by grubbing up their groves and trees; in others, they demolish'd the houses from top to bottom: in some again, they committed all to the flames; but in such a transport of rage and madness, that the fire took the adjoining buildings; as 'tis hard putting a stop to a conflagration where there's combustible matter to work upon: to say nothing of the monumental and illustrious memorials, that were set up by several of the Roman emperors, in honour of the Jews, and were all consum'd at the same time; as bucklers, crowns, and garlands, gilt statues, with their titles and inscriptions, &c. which all people had a veneration for. But the faction was at that time stark mad.

And now to fortify themselves yet more in the prince's favour, and to secure Caius likewise, all that was possible, in the execution of his bloody designs, they apply'd themselves to new arts of flattery and insinuation, and this was the way they went to work.

THERE were a great many oratories, where the Jews would have been too strong for the rioters if it had come to a scuffle; and these they durst not venture on, either to burn, or to pull down; so that they bethought themselves of another way of proceeding, and how they might destroy their worship and their manners both in one; that is to say, they erected Caius's statue in all the meeting-places that they could not demolish; and in the chief of them, a chariot with four horses of brass; an invention that several officious zealots were so fond of, as for want of others, to make use of old rusty jades, without either ears, tails, or legs; being taken out of the Gymnasium or place of exercise, and, as they say, dedicated of old to Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the last queen of that name. Now whether this was well or ill done, let any mortal judge: I mean the dedication of that to an emperor, that had been first dedicated to a woman: besides that it was old, and out of fashion over and above, and in that respect below the acceptance of an imperial patron: how should they imagine, that a vain, a haugh-

ty, and a violent prince, should ever be pleas'd with any thing so like a mockery, under the cover of a reverential respect! And yet they had the face to value themselves upon the merit of what they had done, and to expect a reward for it. But the service they laid the greatest stress upon, was the turning of so many oratories into new temples, and encreasing the number of them; wherein nothing can be more certain than that they did not so much consult the honour of their master, as the gratifying of their own passions, in wreaking their spite all manner of ways upon the Jews. As for example: there were a matter of ten kings, in the space of three hundred years, and not so much as one image or statue consecrated to any of them; notwithstanding that they treated them at the same time, in the stile and title of gods. 'Tis true they knew them to be but men all this while, when they made gods of them. And why not a god of a man, as well as a god of a serpent, a crocodile, a bird, a beast, a fish, and the like? as we find in the Egyptian temples, altars, and groves, that are consecrated to the honour of those creatures.

But as these people are the grossest flatterers under the sun, and court princes for their fortunes, rather than for their persons and virtues, they will be answering perhaps, that as the emperors are greater, and more considerable than the Ptolemies, so 'tis but reasonable they should have more honour done them than the other. A most ridiculous pretence! For at that rate, why had not Octavianus* the same honours done him before Caius, to whom Caius stood indebted for the empire: a prince, that after a reign of three and forty* years, both at sea and land, did not leave so much as the least spark or prospect of a war, either in Greece or Barbary, but lived in the constant possession of peace, and in the enjoyment of the blessings of it to his dying day. And yet this prince after all had none of these honours done him. Was it for want of blood and family, to entitle him to this preferment? No, no; there was no defect that way, for he was much superior to Caius both by father and mother. Or can it be said that he was inferior to him in learning, and less skill'd in the rules and arts of government? No man of his time certainly made a truer judgment of things, or discoursed matters better. And for his years then, never any prince or emperor had the reputation of being wise sooner, or of growing old more to his honour: insomuch, that he was celebrated for the early pregnancy of his understanding, by the distinguishing character of the old young prince.

AND yet this incomparable prince must be pass'd over, to make way for Caius; a prince, that by his virtue, has in a manner surmounted the very frailties of human nature, and intitled himself by the bravery, conduct, and justice of his administration, to the venerable name of Augustus: not as an hereditary honour transmitted to him from his ancestors, but a glo-

* Though the original in this place says three and twenty years, and speaks of Tiberius, and not of Octavianus, yet 'tis plain, not only from all the several circumstances that follow, but also more expressly from the last paragraph of this chapter, that the text is corrupted in both places, and that the exalted encomiums here given could not belong to Tiberius, but to Octavianus Cesar Augustus; for which reason we have corrected the text by changing the names and number of years according to authentic Roman history.

nious title, that began in himself and will descend to his posterity.

THE whole world was in a flame, both at sea and land, when this mighty prince came to the government. The quarrel in short was empire; the maritime, and the inland provinces engaged in it under the command of the bravest men among the Romans, party against party, and the greatest part of the world concerned in the dispute; nation against nation, and people against people, to the degree of endangering a total devastation, in the consequences of so bloody a contest: for not only the happiness, but the very being of mankind was at stake upon the issue, if providence, in the critical nick of this juncture, when their hearts were ready to sink under the burden, had not raised up a prince of an illustrious family, like a guardian angel to their deliverance. And this prince was that Cesar, that by charming the winds and the waves, and laying the storm, settled the whole race of mankind in an universal peace: the prince that brought a remedy for all sores, that had spread themselves east, west, north, and south, through all quarters: this was he, that in his own single person, set all the provinces at liberty, and put an end both to wars and robberies; and when he had cleared the seas of pirates, he replenished them again with vessels of trade and commerce, and brought order out of confusion; reducing the most barbarous and inhospitable of nations, to a temper of society and good-nature, and making all the towns as easy as if they had been perfectly free. He maintained peace, and administer'd justice, and scatter'd his bounties and good graces among the people, in so generous a way of profusion, that they wanted for nothing: and this was his course and practice to the end of his days. And yet after all these obligations, to so great and glorious a benefactor, and the three and forty years government of Egypt over and above, there was no talk of statues, or images, to his honour in any of their oratories. But yet if any mortal could pretend a title to a respect so new and extraordinary, this prince of all men living had certainly the fairest right to it: not only, as the author of the august imperial family, and the best deserving from all mankind; but for taking the power out of many hands into one, and assuming the care of it to himself, as a prince perfectly skilled in the art of government. It was well said, that, "sovereignty is not to be divided," for many voices are the cause of many mischiefs. And this is not all neither, for the whole world had decreed him divine honours, as temples, groves, porticos, and such pieces of curiosity and state, that new or old, ancient or modern, the world does not afford the like: especially that temple of Cesar's in Alexandria, under the name of Sebaste, a piece incomparably above all others. It stands situate over against a most commodious harbour; wonderful high, and large in proportion, and an eminent sea-mark; full of choice paintings and statues, with donatives and oblations in abundance; and then it is beautified all over with gold and silver; the model curious, and regular in the disposition of the parts, as galleries, libraries, porches, courts, halls, walks, and consecrated groves, as glorious as expence and

art could make them, and every thing in the proper place: beside that, the hope and comfort of sea-faring men either coming in or going out. Shall any man think now that in such a case as this, and in so universal a consent and concurrence of nations, any thing was wanting, that was justly due to the honour of Cesar, without setting up the statues in the Jews oratories. No man in his right wits can say there was. But why was it omitted then? Hear, and I'll tell you.

THEY understood the generosity and justice of Cesar so well, that they knew he would be as tender of the rights and privileges of the several provinces, as of the ceremonies of Rome itself: but he did not think fit however to reject the good-will of his blind flatterers; not that he approved of the thing, but the dignity of the empire required it, as an artificial way of creating a veneration for the government. Neither was he one jot puffed up with the complimentary offers, as it appears by this, that he would never suffer himself to be treated in the stile of God or master; so great an aversion he had to so servile a way of adulation. Nay he would not stick to declare himself well satisfied with the Jews refusal to comply with this abominable practice: he would never else have suffered so considerable a part of the city beyond Tyber, to continue in the possession of the Jews, the greater part of them being freemen too, that is to say, men that having been prisoners of war, were set at liberty by their masters, to live according to the laws of their country and profession. He was no stranger to the nature of their oratories, and their worship there on the sabbath-days, especially, according to the practice of their fore-fathers. He knew well enough too of the collections they made, and the sending of them up to Jerusalem, under the name of first fruits; and of ministers they had to offer sacrifice for them; and yet he neither turned them out of the city, nor inflicted any other punishment upon them, as he might have done. Nay, and in Palestine itself, the Jews were allowed the liberty of their country's worship, without putting any check or restraint upon them, either in the matter of their oratories, or in the freedom of their legislative assemblies. Neither did he shew any dislike to the solemn custom of offering up of first fruits; but on the contrary, he had so great a reverence for our holy worship, that we have the presents yet to shew, of almost all his domesticks, in that temple of ours, in token of his approbation: beside his express order for the offering up of daily sacrifices to the most high God, at his own charge; which custom is in practice to this day, and will continue so for ever as a monument to the everlasting honour of this pious emperor. And then upon any occasion of a monthly distribution of money and corn to be made among the people, he took care that the Jews might have their proportion of the charity: or if the day for the disposing of it happened to fall out upon the Jews sabbath, when our people were not allowed either to give or take, or to do any sort of work, especially for profit, the officers were commanded to reserve their share apart for them till the next day. This generous tenderness gave the Jews so great a reputation in

in the world, that it kept their very enemies in awe, from breaking in upon the sacredness of their privileges.

THE Jews were as easy also under Tiberius, as under Augustus, though Sejanus did what he could to irritate him against them, and to embroil Italy in new troubles. Now Tiberius quickly found, after the miserable death of Sejanus, that the stories he had told him were only calumny and malice, and that Sejanus's business was only to clear the city of the Jews, as the men the most likely of all others to oppose his impious design upon the life of the emperor; who, upon this, sent orders immediately to all the governors of provinces, to be kind to the Jews wherever they found them, some very few excepted: but for pressing any innovations upon them in matters of worship, that was not to be endured; for he looked upon them to be a peaceable, and a good sort of people, and found nothing in their laws, lives, and manners, but what was very agreeable to the measures of a well ordered government.

CHAP. X.

One Helico an Egyptian, formerly a slave, and at present a favourite, exasperates Caius against the Alexandrian Jews.

CAIUS was now so puffed up with pride and vanity, that he really took himself for the god he pretended to be: and no people so forward, either Greeks or Barbarians, to countenance the phrensy, as these Alexandrians; who are certainly the most artificial dissemblers, flatterers, and hypocrites, under the cope of heaven. They have smooth tongues, words at will, and the best qualified men in nature for the overturning of a state and laying all in confusion. He that would be well informed of the veneration that these religious people have for the dreadful name of God, needs but consider that they treat their * Ibex, their † Asps, and several other animals in the same stile, whereby men are easily imposed upon, that are not well aware of the horrid impiety of the Egyptians; but for those that understand the humour and genius of the people, and make a right judgment of things, they lie as open to them as the day. Now Caius was so befotted, as to think that the Alexandrians believed him to be a god in good earnest: for they acted their part so well, that there was no difference in appearance betwixt a false worship and a true; the acclamations, and the external formalities, being the very same. This gross mistake made him reflect upon all the extravagances of a sacrilegious zeal, together with the late affronts upon the oratories in particular, as an impulse of conscience and affection. He had an account sent him daily from Alexandria of these transactions, which he read with more pleasure and delight than any poem or history: nor any intelligencers so fit for his turn, as his own domesticks, to gratify the humour of their master in what he lik'd or dislik'd. The

greater part of them were Egyptians; an abject, vile sort of people, train'd up in the worship of serpents and crocodiles, and corrupted body and soul. The head of this abominable troop was one Helico, a mean and a wicked wretch, that by lewd arts had wrought himself into the court. He had some tincture of learning, that he got under his first master, whose slave he was, and who afterwards made a present of him to Tiberius Cesar. But that prince's genius leading him to what was grave and serious, and Helico's talent lying altogether upon the buffoon, he took no pleasure in him at all. Nay, on the contrary, he had a natural aversion, even in his youth, for all things that were trivial and light. But upon Tiberius's decease, and Caius's succeeding to the empire, Helico considered with himself, that he had now another game to play with his new master, who he saw was a prince wholly abandoned to all manner of vitious licence.

"WELL, (says Helico to himself) the happy hour is now at hand, wherefore rouze, and bestir thyself; thou hast a master to thy very heart's wish, and thou hast that master to thyself at pleasure: thou hast a turn of wit agreeable enough, and a faculty of droll and banter, no man better; to say nothing of pleasant conceits, mirth, jokes, and raillery, peculiar to thyself. Thou art equally the master of arts, liberal and illiberal. Thy tongue is well enough hung too, to cut a hair betwixt satire and flattery; especially when thou hast a prince in thy power that takes delight in calumny and reproach: for his ears are always open, thou knowest, to slander and obloquy: and then never trouble thy head to look farther for matter, so long as thou hast the Jews laws and ceremonies to work upon: and this is a point of skill that thou hast been instructed in from thy very cradle; not from any one master, but from the clamorous and noisy part of the Alexandrian rabble. This is the case; and now let us see what thou art the better for thy learning."

HELICO's head was so full of this capricious whimsy, that he ply'd Caius night and day; breaking in upon him still in the very privacy of his recesses, entertaining him with squinting double-edged stories, betwixt jest and earnest, and the sharper the pleasanter. But his way was not to play the informer barefaced, or to own himself for what he was; but he did the Jews more mischief by oblique innuendoes, and under the disguise of an allusion, than he could have done in the quality of a professed enemy.

WHEN the Alexandrian ambassadors came to understand the management of this intrigue, they made it their business to bring Helico over into their interest; some say, by great sums of money in hand, or at least by large promises, both of treasure and of honour, so soon as Caius should come to Alexandria. Helico's head was mightily affected with the vanity of thinking what respects he was to receive in the presence, not only of his master, but of so many eminent persons as would be sure to appear from all quarters upon so solemn an occasion,

* The Ibis was an Egyptian bird, very high, with stiff legs and a long bill, that eat up the serpents that infested the country. See Plin. viii. 27. Authors make frequent mention of the Egyptians worshipping this bird.

† The Asp was a most venomous serpent, worshipp'd also by the Egyptians.

and in veneration to so great a prince. So that Helico promis'd great matters in the conclusion.

WE had been hitherto so taken up with the thought of our known and open enemies, that we never so much as dreamt of the danger of a secret one, in the person of Helico. But when we came to find our mistake, we made a trial to work upon him by flattery and fair words as the man of the whole world we had the most reason to dread; for he attended Caius at all his exercises, liberties and entertainments; as balls, wrestling, bathing, feasting, beside all manner of sensual pleasures. And which is more than all the rest, he was the first gentleman of the bed-chamber, so that upon all occasions he was sure of the emperor's ear. His discourses turn'd all upon scurrility and buffoonery, and yet were so temper'd betwixt sweet and sour, that they were at the same time the sharpest, and the most agreeable mixture that could be imagin'd; it being his principal design to please Caius, and at the same time to ruin us by scandal and subornations; though the former fell in only by the bye, yet the other was in truth his principal design and main business. But in the end, out comes such a concatenation of stories so artificially link'd together, and improv'd with such aggravations, that the impression they made upon the prince was never to be forgotten or defac'd.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews of Alexandria send deputies to Caius, with an account of their grievances, and Philo the chief of their embassy.

WHEN we had done all that was possible toward cultivating a better understanding with Helico, and found him so intolerably proud and inaccessible, that there was no speaking to him, we let that project fall, and bethought ourselves of another expedient, which seem'd no less necessary, and yet more likely to take effect; not knowing all this while, but it might be some personal and particular pique against the Jews, that made him so exasperated against us. Now the course we took was this: It was thought reasonable to present Caius with a petition, in the nature of a remonstrance of all our grievances, and a prayer for relief. This petition was, in truth, but the abstract of a longer address, that was deliver'd a little before to king Agrippa, when he call'd at Alexandria in his way to Syria, to take possession of a government the emperor had confer'd upon him. We were thus far advanced in our way toward Rome, under a great mistake it seems; for whereas we made no doubt of finding Caius a prince of honour and justice, he prov'd, on the contrary, the most implacable enemy we had to do withal; but with the words and countenance, and under the mask still, of a generous friend. It was in the field of Mars; (a field near Tyber) that he saluted and received us, and so he gave us to understand by a sign of his right hand, that we were heartily welcome: he sent Homulus also, the introducer of ambassadors, to tell us, he would take cognizance of our cause at leisure: which made all people

conclude, both Jews and strangers, that our business was as good as done. But wisdom and experience taught me better things, than to judge by appearances, and so that which pleas'd the rest of the company troubled me, and gave me a jealousy upon the main; whereupon I reasoned the matter thus with myself: "Here are ambassadors from all parts of the world; and what's the meaning of it, that the Jews are only to be heard; beside that they are known to be Jews, and a people that will content themselves to stand upon the same level with the rest. But for us, in fine, to expect a privilege from a stranger, a young and a free prince, would be next door to madness. He is partial to the Alexandrians without dispute, and it is for their sakes, that he presses the matter to an issue. I should be glad to see him an indifferent arbitrator betwixt party and party, but I dread the thought of finding him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us."

CHAP. XII.

Caius orders Petronius, the governor of Syria, to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem: Philo and his colleagues are inform'd of it.

THESE thoughts kept me waking, and in this anxiety I was surpriz'd with a dismal accident not to be foreseen, and an accident that boded destruction to the whole nation of the Jews. There was no importuning of Caius in the matter, and so we only follow'd him out of town to Puteoli, whither he went to take the air at the sea-side, and to divert himself from place to place, in the sight of goodly towns and palaces, which are thereabouts in abundance. While we were waiting there in daily expectation of an audience, and highly solicitous what would become of our cause, up comes a man to us trembling, and out of breath, with his eyes blood-shot-ten; and after standing a while at gaze, he withdrew a little out of hearing, for there was company by. "And hark ye, says he softly, do you hear any news?" And as he was going to tell something, he gush'd out into tears that put a stop to his speech. He offer'd at it again and again, but still was not able to express himself. But seeing him at last so frightful a spectacle, we besought him to tell us what he came thither for, unless he came purely for crying sake; but if there was any mournful matter of moment that was worth communicating, we begg'd to partake of it, for mourning was our daily exercise: but in the end, after many a sigh and sob, "Our temple, says he, is utterly ruin'd; for Caius has commanded his image to be set up in the sanctuary, with Jupiter's name upon it." This dreadful news struck us all senseless that heard it; and the truth of it was quickly confirm'd by several others. Upon this, we all withdrew together into a closet, where we shut up ourselves, and there condol'd our misfortunes publick and private; as grief is talkative, and will never want matter to work upon.

LITTLE did we think, when we committed ourselves to the hazards of raging seas, and a tedious winter voyage, to deliver us from

from our persecuting oppressors; little did we think, I say, of a storm at land, and that the most dismal part of our calamity was yet to come: for winter blasts are but according to the course of nature, in the distinguishing of the seasons; and the works of nature are but in other terms the operations of providence, in order to the common good of mankind. But the author of this tempest is perfectly devoid both of humanity and prudence, a turbulent and an ambitious young man, and so much the more dangerous, for having the power of the whole empire to support him. For who should dare to intercede in case of need, or but so much as open his mouth upon the temple's behalf, to the most sacrilegious enemy of all men living? for it would be against common sense, to expect mercy out of cruelty; and to deposit the hopes of our preservation in the hands of our persecutors. A temple as venerable all over the world as the sun in the firmament; and we may be sure, that he that refuses to spare that temple will spare nothing!

"WELL! and why should not we die then? especially when he that lays down one life for the laws and religion of his country, is sure of a life more glorious in exchange. But he must be a madman at last however, that casts away a life at this rate, which no body is the better for. So that such an instance as this would but be the addition of one more to the roll of our former calamities: especially we being here under the character of ambassador, and in a point where the principals are more concern'd than the deputies. Nay, we shall not want envious and malignant spirits over and above, and of our own people too, to make the worst of things, and to impute any glorious resolution to a wrong cause. The ambassadors, they'll say, were men of unsound principles, who quitted their station, and deserted the common-wealth, when they found it in danger, in order to the promoting of their own private interest. But the less must give way to the greater; private matters to publick; and wherever this order is broken or confounded, the whole government is at stake and out of frame; and in one word, where the polity of the Jews comes once to be subjected to the question, 'tis a step toward the abolishing of the very name of the nation, where there is an agreement of power and malice in the doing of it. We cannot, in fine, abandon the Alexandrian Jews; for the whole nation of the Jews is at stake upon it, being false to ourselves; and it is to be fear'd, that this cruel oppressor will extirpate us all from off the face of the earth. It will be said, perhaps, that if we can make nothing of it either way, we are at liberty to come off at last, in case of the worst. To which I answer; he that makes such a proposition, has neither courage nor scripture in him. Generous natures will hope the best, and holy writ lays the foundation of that hope, to all those that heartily embrace the doctrine; and who knows now at last, but this may be for a trial of our constancy and virtue in the worst of fortunes? Adieu then to all worldly comforts and supports: they are false and fickle, and leave us when we have most need of them. Adieu, I say, to vain confidences, and let

us cast ourselves in a firm and lively faith upon the goodness of God; who hath so often deliver'd us already, and will never forsake us." After this manner we comforted ourselves, and one another, in all cases of surprize, and in the hopes of better times.

WHEN we had gone thus far, after a short pause, we apply'd ourselves to the bearer of this dismal news. "You do not consider, we told him, that what you have said as yet, is but as so many live coals thrown into our ears as you have utter'd words; for you have only told us matter of fact, which signifies nothing to our satisfaction without the reason of it, and without knowing what it was transported the emperor into this horrid resolution."

"WHY then, says the other, to tell you that which every body knows, Caius has a mind to pass for a god; and looking upon the Jews as the only people likely to oppose him in his blasphemous pretence, he resolv'd, if possible, to remove that obstacle out of the way, toward the facilitating of the work. And this could not be better done, he thought, than by beginning with a contempt and indignity upon the holy temple, which was allow'd at all hands to be the most glorious piece in the universe, both for ornament, and a vast treasure in presents and oblations, which had been so many years a gathering, and which Caius, in the conclusion, had the face and confidence to assume to himself. Beside that he was now further exasperated by Capito the questor; which Capito was also the receiver of the tributes in Judea, and a fellow that by his actions and oppressions, had made himself odious to all the provinces. He came thither poor, and when he had so enrich'd himself by fraud and corruption, that he was afraid of being call'd to an account for it, he found it his best way to complain first; and to prevent an accusation with a calumny, by the improvement of an opportunity that lay fair for his purpose."

"JAMNIA is a city of Judea, wonderfully populous, and the inhabitants all Jews; some few strangers excepted, that to our cost came thither out of the bordering countries to make acquaintances, or, as we say, to see fashions: over and above that they are always contriving some plot or other against the laws and customs of the Jews. So soon as ever these people came to understand the extravagant ambition of Caius after divine honours, and his deadly malice to the whole Jewish nation, matters being now ripe for a plot, they presently caused an altar to be erected of clay wrought into bricks out of pure spite to the citizens; for they knew well enough, that this violation of our laws would prove the ground of a quarrel, and so they found it: for the Jews gather'd together presently, and demolished the altar; the other party applying themselves to Capito for redress. Now Capito was the author and contriver of the whole tragedy, and pleasing himself to see every thing succeed so to his wish, he sent an account of it immediately to Caius, with inflaming aggravations to make the matter look worse than it was. This arrogant hot-headed prince, had no sooner receiv'd the intel-

"intelligence, but he presently gave order
 "for the erecting of a glorious Colossus in the
 "temple of Jerusalem, in revenge of the brick
 "altar that was pull'd down in Jamnia; and
 "this was done by the counsel of his two
 "doughty advisers, Helico, the court buff-
 "foon, and Apelles the tragedian; who from
 "a prostitute in his youth, went over after-
 "wards to be an actor upon the stage; a sort
 "of people that are look'd upon in their thea-
 "trical liberties to be the loosest and the most
 "shameless of all professions. And these were
 "the men that Caius pitch'd upon to instruct
 "him in the arts of singing and raillery, with-
 "out so much as ever thinking of the duties
 "of justice, and the care of maintaining the
 "publick peace. Thus did Helico, like a
 "scorpion, attack the Jews with an Egyptian
 "venom, and Apelles at the same time as an
 "Ascalonite, that is to say, as a member of a
 "nation that's never to be reconciled to the
 "bordering Jews."

EVERY word of this relation, with the very
 names of the persons that were mention'd in
 it, went to the hearts of us; but the learned
 counsellors liv'd in a short time after, to re-
 ceive rewards according to their deserts. Apel-
 les was taken up, laid in chains, and put to ex-
 quisite tortures, and so consequently to a lin-
 gering death: and Helico was afterwards put
 to death by Claudius the successor of Caius,
 for having been the author of evil counsels.

CHAP. XIII.

*Petronius finds great difficulty to execute the order
 of Caius for erecting his statue in the temple of
 Jerusalem.*

AND now came Caius's order for the con-
 secrating and erecting of his statue;
 which was drawn with all the caution and
 exactness in the world to secure the execution
 of it. As particularly, Petronius, the gover-
 nor of Syria, was expressly commanded to draw
 out one half of the army that lay upon the ri-
 ver Euphrates, as a guard of defence against
 any inroads and incursions of the eastern kings
 or nations; and with these troops he was to
 attend the statue, not for the solemnity of the
 dedication, but for a terror to any that should
 dare to oppose it. "Ah cruel prince! (says
 "Petronius to himself,) when thou thyself
 "knowest before-hand, that these people will
 "rather die a thousand deaths, than submit
 "to such an imposition. And then what sig-
 "nifies the calling of an army, but in order
 "to the consecrating of the villany, with the
 "blood of so many thousands of innocents?"

PETRONIUS was miserably divided within
 himself upon this commission. There was
 danger in refusing, danger in delaying, and
 danger again in the very offering to evade
 it; beside the infinite difficulties on the other
 hand, in case of a compliance; for he made no
 doubt at all of the Jews standing out all ex-
 tremities, at what hazard soever. All nati-
 ons are tender and jealous of their privileges
 and customs, but the Jews above all others;
 they look upon their laws to be no less than
 divine oracles, and they are train'd up to the
 love and study of them, from their cradles.
 They bear them in their hearts, and the more

they think of them, the greater reverence they
 have for them. They treat all their prosely-
 tes with the privileges of free-citizens, and
 the veneration they have for the dignity of
 their profession, is so sacred, that they could
 rather part with any thing, than the least scruple
 of their duty: counting none so worthy of
 the name of enemies as the contemners and
 persecutors of their religion. But the high e-
 steem they have for their holy temple, surpas-
 seth all the rest: witness the law that makes
 it death without mercy, for any man to set
 foot within the sanctuary; whereas the rest is
 open indifferently to all of their own nation
 from what province soever they come.

THIS was a matter of so great importance,
 that Petronius consider'd of it over and over
 again, without coming to a resolution; but in
 conclusion he call'd a kind of a council upon
 the question, and upon summing up all argu-
 ments and opinions the result was this. "That
 "there must be no innovations in matter of
 "religion: first, because nature and equity
 "are both against it; and, secondly, for fear
 "of unhappy consequences, not only from
 "God himself, but from the passions of vio-
 "lent and revengeful men." He took into
 consideration also, the prodigious extent of this
 populous nation: a people not coop'd up in
 this or that quarter, like other men, but dis-
 pers'd over the world, the islands as well as
 the continent. So that upon the computation,
 the Jews are reckon'd to be well-nigh as
 numerous as all the rest. "Now, says Pe-
 "tronus, how far it may stand with the rea-
 "son of the case, to provoke so many my-
 "riads of men into one common confedera-
 "cy, may deserve a farther consideration;
 "for all these multitudes united into one
 "mass, would be able to drive the whole
 "earth before them. To say nothing of the
 "vast numbers in Judea itself; a brave, hardy,
 "and a well-disciplin'd sort of people, that
 "had much rather undergo a generous death,
 "than out-live the laws and religion of their
 "country: how barbarous soever in the opi-
 "nion of their enemies, yet in truth and ef-
 "fect, most generous and noble."

THE governor had another jealousy also, of
 the troops on the other side of the Euphrates;
 as Babylon, and several other provinces, that
 to his certain knowledge were in the interest
 of the Jews: "For, says he, they sent their
 "yearly contributions of holy treasure, as they
 "call it, up to the temple under the name of
 "first fruits, and they all came safe, though
 "the ways were very difficult and dangerous;
 "as what is it, that piety and resolution will
 "not make easy? But the main difficulty is
 "yet behind; which is, that upon the first
 "tidings of this new dedication, they would
 "immediately take the field, march directly
 "up to them, beset and surround them, and
 "then cut them to pieces."

WHEN Petronius had debated this affair a
 while in his mind, he pass'd a short reflection
 or two upon the temper and the character of
 his master. "The person, says he, under
 "whose command I am now to act, is a young
 "prince: his will is his law, and whether
 "it be just or not, right or wrong, 'tis equal-
 "ly dangerous to oppose, either the one or
 "the other, or to distinguish one from t'other,
 "but by this measure. If he says he's a god,
 "who

"who shall dare to say the contrary? So that in this case, 'tis as much as a man's life is worth, either to obey, or not. The one way a man is liable to the chance of war; (which in truth is but doubtful:) and the other way the disobedience is certain death."

C H A P. XIV.

Petronius sets people at work upon the statue. The principals of the Jews refuse to receive it. They get leave to send their deputies to the emperor about it.

THE Roman officers, that serv'd under Petronius in the government of Syria, were all of them for a war, giving for granted, that in case of declining it, the first fury of the emperor's displeasure would fall upon them, as the heads of a sedition. So that it was so much time clear gain'd, as was spent in deliberations, till the statue might be got ready; for there was none brought out of Italy, nor so much as any order taken for the best that might be found in Syria; which was a special act of providence in favour of God's people; for the tumult would have broken out else before they could have made any provision against it: for a man is not half master of his reason in the hurry of a surprize.

WHEREFORE Petronius gave orders for a statue to be made; and sent for the greatest masters of Phenicia, to advise withal about it, supplied them with all materials, and Sidon was the place appointed for the work. He sent notice likewise of the emperor's pleasure to the high-priests and eminent officers of the Jews, advising by all means to submit cheerfully to their master's pleasure, for fear of worse consequences. For the Syrian troops, he told them, had their particular orders to lay the whole country waste with fire and sword, in case of disobedience. Now Petronius went this way to work, upon an opinion that if he could but mollify the great ones, the rest would follow in course. But he was wonderfully out in his conjecture; for the very mention of the thing struck them into such a consternation, that they burst out into so profuse an excess of weeping, as if their eyes had been fountains of tears, and all this without one word speaking: and from thence they passed into frantick violences of tearing their hair, and their beards, and so by degrees into lamentations in words at length.

"AND have we lived now, they cry'd, to see, at this time of day, that which none of our fore-fathers ever so much as thought of! But what do we talk of seeing any thing without eyes to see withal? For, rather than entertain those eyes we have, with a spectacle so impious and execrable, that a person cannot so much as hear or think of it without horror; rather than so, we'll part with our eyes and our miserable lives together."

THE fame of this resolution was no sooner bruited in Jerusalem, and from thence up and down in Judea, but the Jews, all as one man, quitted their towns, castles, and dwellings, and drawing into a body, as by consent, they took their march directly toward Phenicia, to

look for Petronius, who was then at his command. Upon the first sight of this prodigious multitude, several of Petronius's friends advised him to look to himself, for there was a mighty army advancing against him; and so they took it to be, as believing it impossible for the Jews alone to furnish such a body.

As the Jews advanced still nearer and nearer, they came at last to cover the whole country as with a cloud, but without either arms, all this while, or any thing of guards, only the air was filled with such frightful outcries and lamentations, that when the noise was gone, the echo still continued. When the clamorous part was over, they entertained themselves with discourses and ejaculations, suitable to the occasion. The people marched in six divisions; old men, young men, and boys; old women, young women, and virgins: three on the one hand and three on the other.

WHEN they came within sight of Petronius, who was mounted upon a seat of eminence, they cast themselves upon the ground before him, all in their ranks, as supplicants, and in so moving a manner, in the harmony of their ways and actions, as if they had been all govern'd by one spirit: neither were they less tender upon the scruple of modesty in their behaviour; for though Petronius called to them to rise and draw near, it was some time before they could be persuaded to it. But at last they got up, and in sack-cloth and ashes, with their hands bound behind them like condemned prisoners, they advanced up toward the governor, where one of the senators addressed himself to Petronius in these terms.

"HERE, we are, says he to Petronius, without arms, to shew that we bring no hostile intention along with us; but those hands that nature gave us for the use of arms are put out of condition to serve us in that capacity. We bring our very bodies at mercy too, our wives, children, and families, in the quality of petitioners, first to Petronius, and then by his means to Caius. We have not left one soul at home, and our prayer is either that we may be all preserved, or all destroyed. We are naturally lovers of peace, and it is our interests as well as our inclinations so to be, in regard of the benefits we receive from it. When Caius came to the empire, and the notice of it to Vitellius, your predecessor in the government, and at that time living among us, we were the first of all Syria to gratulate his accession to the sovereignty, and to spread the joyful news of his elevation through other cities and places. Was it not our temple also that first offered up vows and sacrifices for the happiness of his life and reign? And are we now to be the first, if not the only temple, that is to be deprived of the exercise and enjoyment of our religious worship? If the quitting of our houses, privileges, and possessions publick and private, may be worth your acceptance, we are ready to lay them all at your feet. And so for the matter of plate, household-stuff, or whatever we have that is more precious, it is at your service for the asking: and with so good a heart too, that we shall reckon ourselves upon the receiving hand, even in what we give. And all upon this single condition, that the temple may stand as

" as it did, and continue inviolate, as we received it from our fore-fathers. Grant us this single request, and we'll ask no more. But if nothing less than our religion will content you, pray take away our lives too, without forcing us upon a life of torment, worse than a thousand deaths. We are threaten'd here with armed troops and military executions, if any of us shall presume to obstruct the intended dedication. Why, no man is so mad, as to set himself up in contradiction to his master; but let them strike, out, and hack us to pieces, and do all that a victorious enemy can pretend to, so long as they may do it securely, without any danger of their own blood. But what needs an army be drawn out for such an execution; where there's only a butchery on the one side, and not so much as a defence on the other? As for sacrifices, we may do the work of our own priests ourselves, upon the victims of our own wives, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters; and content ourselves with the denomination of men, women, and children slayers; for tragical cases must have tragical terms. And what have we to do now after spilling so much innocent blood of other people, but to lay violent hands upon ourselves, and mingle our own with it too in one common mass! ending our days at last, with this prayer in our mouths, that God will not be offended with us for an action that carries along with it so great a deference to the authority of the emperor, and at the same time to the sacredness of our holy profession. This will be the case, if we have the hearts to condemn a life that a good man would be ashamed to lead. There is an old story among the Greek fables of Gorgon's head, that turned every thing to stone that did but look upon it. The report, 'tis true, is but a fiction, and yet not without some emblematical resemblances of truth, especially in many accidents of astonishment and surprise. The displeasure of a master is mortal, or somewhat that comes near up to it. And now, Petronius, do but you imagine, if some of our people should see such a statue brought into the temple, as you have here before you (which heaven forbid!) would they not look, do you think, like men turned into marble at the spectacle? Their eyes set in their heads, and nature itself out of condition for all the offices of life? But to come to a conclusion, we do not desire an absolute discharge of our obedience, but time and leave only to address ourselves by our deputies, to his imperial majesty for relief. Who knows but he may be wrought upon to grant us a toleration of our holy laws and worship, and a liberty in common with the rest of the world? for we ask no more, than what all other nations enjoy without exception, in the preservation of those rites and traditions that we have received inviolate from our fore-fathers, in favour both of our customs and manners, approv'd, confirm'd, and ratify'd to us by the decrees of his grand-father and great grand-father. Who knows, I say, but such a remonstrance as this may mollify him? The hearts of princes are variable, like those of other people, neither is their displeasure c-

" verlasting; for commonly they that are most subject to anger are soonest appeased. We are wounded here with calumnies, and there's no remedy like truth; which is all we have to offer, and that we may not be condemned without a hearing: or, admit the worst, supposing we should find the prince inexorable, the cause is but where it was, for he may still do the same thing afterward, that he would have done before. And now for our last request, Petronius, and in the names of this vast multitude, be but so good and generous, we beseech you, as not to oppose an embassy that has so many thousands of lives depending upon it: and pray be pleased to know that we do not contend for profit, but for piety, in any other sense than as godliness is the greatest gain.

CHAP. XV.

Petronius writes to Caius about the Jews, and gains time by it. Caius enraged at Petronius, but dissembles the matter.

THIS remonstrance, made by the most honourable of the senators, with pathetic vehemence of lamentations and outcries, in favour of their laws and worship, was received by them that were present with all the tenderness and compassion imaginable, as appeared by their looks, actions, gestures, and behaviour upon the hearing of it: and it wrought likewise upon Petronius among the rest. Now Petronius was a soft good-natured person, a moderate man, and a lover of truth and justice; and he was so far a friend to the Jews too, that he thought they had severe treatment, and discovered his inclinations in his very countenance. He observed upon some discourse he had with his fellow commissioners, that the people were mightily come about, and from violent prejudices against him, to manifest partiality in his favour. Thus it was, and Petronius was highly pleased with that change of humour. He was no stranger all this while to the implacable spirit of the emperor, and to the bitterness of his natural cruelty; but he seemed to act yet in some measure under a philosophical conduct, and under the government of a Jewish piety: whether he was influenc'd to do this from principles early imbib'd in his youth, or that it was the effect of what he had learn'd since his coming to the government of Asia and Syria, where they had Jews in abundance in all their towns; or whether he acted as a man whose genius led him to the study and knowledge of useful things; or whether it be, that God puts good things in the heads of good men, for the common benefit, both of themselves, and of the publick, as it fell out upon this occasion. The statuaries had their orders, to provide as perfect a figure, as art and hands could make; but for fear of the worst, to take time and care about it, for the longer the piece was under the chisel in the making, the longer would the reputation of it last in the world after it should be finished. Petronius however would not agree upon any terms to the Jews sending of an embassy, for fear of a greater mischief, in leaving them at the mercy of a powerful, a cruel, and a capricious prince. And

And so for either granting or refusing, he found it dangerous both ways. But the way, at last, that he pitched upon, was a letter to Caius, setting forth the pretended supplications of the Jews, and without any reflexions upon them, by way of accusation and complaint. The delay of the dedication was imputed to the very nature of the case, and fix'd upon the workmen, who must of necessity have some certain space of time allowed them for the performance of covenants. So that step after step, one obstruction was made the ground and pretence of another; and in this interim, who knew but Caius himself might find it reasonable to change his mind. For harvest being just now begun, and the Jews in a most outrageous fit of despair for the profanation of their laws and religion, what if they should have pushed on this violence to the contempt of their lives, and laid the whole country waste, by setting fire to their own corn in revenge? This was no idle apprehension, and there was early care taken by Petronius for the reaping of the grain, and the gathering of the fruits; partly by way of prevention, and partly for a publick supply in case of need. For it was at that time generally reported that Caius had some thoughts of a voyage for Alexandria in Egypt; though it seemed not very likely yet, that so great a prince should expose his person to the difficulties of a long sea, with such a numerous train of attendance; when the way about by the coasts of Asia and Syria, would have been so much a more commodious passage; where he might have embarked or disembarked at pleasure, having at command two hundred long boats, for the use and service of the coasts, beside vessels of burden for the ocean. Now it was an absolute necessity, to store Syria with all manner of provision from one end of it to the other; especially the towns that lay upon the sea; and all little enough to answer the necessities of the time and place. For there never was such a multitude of people gotten together from all places, and of all conditions, as upon this juncture: men of honour, civil and military, land and sea officers, and servants almost as many as soldiers; and all at last to be provided for, not as we say with bare necessities, but in a proportion of state and plenty, answerable to the dignity of so illustrious a prince.

THERE was no body doubted, but that the emperor, upon the reading of this letter, would be highly pleased both with the prudence and the conduct, even in the very point of the delay itself; not for the Jews sake, but for the advantage of securing the fruits and the corn. This letter, in fine, was approved and transcribed, and a messenger sent away with all expedition with a fair copy of it. Caius looked as pale as death upon the reading of it, and so soon as that conscious hint was a little over, he clapt his hands, and brake out into a furious violence of words as well as gesture.

WELL Petronius, says the prince, thou art the better man of the two sure, and if Petronius will not hear the emperor, the emperor must hear Petronius. But thou art so puffed up with the vanity of a splendid commission and a full employment, that it looks as if there were not such a thing as

Caius in nature: but it will not be long before thou art given to understand the contrary. The greatest enemies I have in the world are the Jews; and yet their laws are more to thee than the commands of thy prince; and what's all this at the bottom, but that thou art afraid of the multitude? And what signifies that, when thou hast a power in thy hands to encounter the strength of the kings of Parthia themselves, and the force of the whole east? Well but there's pity in the case too, and at that rate thy compassion does more with thee than thy duty. But what's to be said to the providence of saving the harvest? That frivolous pretence will cost you your head before you are aware; and so for your pretended care of having stores in readiness for my voyage, 'tis as vile and evasive a pretence as any of the rest. For supposing a scarcity in Judea, even to the degree of a famine, the neighbouring provinces, upon such an emergent occasion, would be able to supply the want. But what do I stand talking for, when I should be doing? Wherefore let this fellow feel what he has deserv'd, without any more words: and so I have done menacing, but my indignation burns on still.

Caius, upon this, made a short pause, and dictated to one of his secretaries an answer to Petronius, which was in appearance very much to the honour of the governor's providence and foresight. For there were some of the governors he stood in awe of, for fear of their tampering the people into a revolt, especially in large and populous provinces, with mighty armies in them, as in that tract of ground along the Euphrates. When he had cajol'd Petronius for a while, with formalities of respect and fair words, (but an implacable venom under that cloke) he gave him a positive command, all other business apart, to see the image dedicated the first thing he did: "For, says he, harvest being now over, there is no longer any colour for a further delay."

C H A P. XVI.

King Agrippa comes to Rome, and upon hearing that the image was to be consecrated, he falls into a swoon; and then coming to himself again, he writes to the prince about it.

SOON after this, came king Agrippa to Rome, to pay his duty to the emperor, after his usual manner; but without knowing any thing as yet of what had pass'd betwixt Caius and Petronius; only somewhat he gather'd however, from an angry cloud he saw in the face of Caius, that there was a storm a coming, though he could not guess where it would fall; so that he put himself to the utmost scrutiny of thought, word, and deed, to try if he could find himself conscious of any thing that might give offence: but upon standing that test, he concluded, that the emperor's displeasure look'd some other way, as in truth it did; but then considering afterwards, that the emperor's eye was much fiercer when it was intent upon him alone than when he look'd another way, he fell again

into his former apprehension. He was thinking many times to ask the emperor the reason of this alteration; but then the curiosity he thought would be so rash and unmannerly, that he did not know what mischief he might draw upon himself by it.

CAIUS, that was as well read in faces as any man, observing Agrippa to be troubled and uneasy, laid hold of this occasion to break the ice of the difficulty. - "Agrippa, says he, you are in doubt, I perceive; and I am now about to tell you the thing you so much desire to know. You have not been so long about me sure, as to be now ignorant that I discourse with my eyes as well as with my tongue. The good people of your nation are the only men under the sun, that refuse to own Caius for a god; and in the contumacy of their disobedience, plunge themselves beyond redemption into a certain death. It is my positive command to have the image of Jupiter set up in their temple; and see what multitudes are gathered together now from all quarters, under the pretext of supplicants and petitioners, but in effect to trample my authority under their feet."

As he was going forward, king Agrippa was observed to change colour all on a sudden, a violent horror seizing him from head to foot, a trembling all over his body, and his legs failing him to that degree, that if bystanders had not supported him, he must have fallen at his length upon the ground. He fell, in short, into a fainting fit, and in that condition they carried him home, without any sense or knowledge of what pass'd.

THIS accident, instead of working upon the emperor's good-nature, serv'd only for a further incentive to his rage against the Jews. "Well, says Caius, if Agrippa, my familiar friend, and one that has received so many good offices from me: — If Agrippa himself, I say, has so great a veneration for his country's rites and customs, as not to endure so much as one word to their prejudice, without falling into a swoon, what good am I to look for from others, that have none of these considerations to work upon them in my favour?"

AGRIPPA lay all that day, and part of the next, dozing and senseless, till toward evening, and then he began to raise his head a little, and with much ado to open his eyes, dazzling as they were, toward the company, without knowing one face that was there present. He fell then into a somewhat sounder sleep, as appeared by the drawing of his breath, and the temper of his body. When he had lain thus a while, he awak'd, and call'd out to know where he was. "Am I with the emperor, or no; and is he present? Have a good heart, they cry'd, for you are at home, and Caius is not here: you have e'en slept long enough, wherefore sit up a little, and see if you know us: here are none but your own people, friends, freed-men, servants, and those that wish you well". In fine, the tenderness they express'd to him in his distress, brought him in some measure to himself again. Upon the physicians ordering the company to withdraw, that the patient might be quiet, and at liberty for remedies

and refreshments, "Never trouble your heads, says Agrippa, with delicacies for my palate; a coarse diet, and a good stomach, is all I ask, and more yet than I should make use of, if it were not for the hopes I have yet left me, of living to be serviceable, even at the last extremity, to my miserable country." These last words were accompany'd with tears, and so he took a repast of what was just necessary to keep him alive, and no more. His food was plain and simple, and his drink water, without one drop of wine. And now, says he, upon the finishing of his meal, "I have paid a debt to nature, so that I have nothing more left me to do, but most dutifully to solicit Caius about the present state of things." And so he call'd for a tablet, and wrote this following letter to the emperor:

SIR,

BETWIXT the fear and the reverence I have for your imperial majesty, in the dread of your high displeasure, on the one hand, and in the veneration I have for the dignity of your sacred character, on the other; I have rather presum'd to lay my humble duty at your majesty's feet in writing, than to venture upon it in an address by word of mouth.

It may be laid down for a maxim, that all men living have a natural affection for the place where they were born, and an awful reverence for the laws they were brought up in; which is a truth that hath been abundantly asserted in the piety, great prince, of your profession and practice. And it is as natural again for every man to like his own way best, whether it be so or no, because we are govern'd in particular cases more by passion than by reason.

As to myself, I shall not need to inform you, sir, that I am by nation a Jew, by birth of Jerusalem, the seat of the holy temple that stands there dedicated in a most peculiar manner to the honour of the most high God. As to my predecessors, some of them have been kings, others high-priests, upon which dignity they valu'd themselves more than upon the authority royal; computing upon it, that as God is above man, so the sacerdotal character is above the civil; the one exercising itself in divine matters, and the other only in human.

Now such is the nearness of the relation I have, and of my manifold obligations to this nation, country, and temper, that I cannot but implore your royal grace and favour on their behalf. And first for the nation, that they may not be forc'd over from the profession of their own religion to the contrary; especially considering how true and loyal they have ever been to your illustrious family: no people under the heavens so frank of their vows and prayers for the welfare and prosperity of your empire, or so free of their sacrifices and oblations, not only upon solemn festivals, but daily; and this not only in plausible words and forms, but with a piety of reverence and affection, that came from the very hearts and souls of them; and without any exception, saving only in cases of inconsistency with their laws and religion.

AND

AND I have this to say further now for the holy city, and the place of my birth; which is not to be look'd upon as the metropolis only of Judea, but of many other colonies that have been planted from thence; as Egypt, Phenicia, upper and lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and several parts of Asia, as far as Bithynia, and Pontus; and so in Europe, there's Thessaly, Boetia, Macedonia, Etolia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the better part of Peloponnesus: and not only the continent, but the islands also of a most eminent note, are filled with Jewish plantations; as Euboea, Cyprus, Crete; to say nothing of those beyond the Euphrates: for, in short, bating only a small part of Babylon, and some other governments, there is hardly a city that is good for any thing, but in the possession of the Jews: so that if this be the case, I am not a suitor for my own country alone, but for the common good of Asia, Europe, and Africa; sea and land, islands and continent, all under one: For the interest of the whole depends upon the same act of clemency; and I hope my confidence will be the more pardonable, for the zeal I have to be an instrument in a mediation so much to the honour of Cesar. For what can be more agreeable to the spirit and genius of so glorious a prince, than the ministering so fair an occasion of obliging the whole world at once, and consequently, the perpetuating of your name and memory to all ages, as the guardian-angel of mankind.

You have been pleas'd, at the request of some particular friends, to make whole towns free citizens of Rome, and masters of those that were but servants before; and in so doing, your kindness was as great to the procurers of this bounty, as to the receivers of it. I am sensible of being under the command of a master, and yet give me leave to value myself upon the title of a friend too; and a friend not inferior to many in dignity, but above all others in good-will and respect; for it has ever been so, and in honour and gratitude it must ever so continue. And yet after all this, I have not the confidence to open my mouth for my countrymen, for grants and privileges; no, not so much as for the common freedom, or immunity from taxes. The grace that I have to beg would be of high advantage to them, 'tis true, and of no sort of inconvenience to Cesar; for what greater blessing can a subject desire than the favour of his prince? Was it not Jerusalem that first gratulated the accession of Caius to the empire? and was it not Jerusalem again, that sent the joyful tidings of it into all the neighbouring provinces? the very providence of making the Jews subservient to such a revolution, may deserve some sort of acknowledgment. As the eldest son of the family is reputed the most honourable, because it was he that first entitled his parents to the reverend names of father and mother; so that city, one would think, that first saluted Caius by the name of emperor, should be treated as well, at least, if not better, than any of the rest.

I HAVE been thus far an advocate for my country, but my last prayer must be for our temple. This temple, Caius, is the house of God, and there was never any image made with hands admitted into it. The works of painters and statuaries are the figures on-

ly of sensible gods; but for a picture-drawer or engraver to offer at any sort of representation of the invisible God, was looked upon as an abomination. Agrippa, your grandfather, had a mighty reverence for this temple. Augustus provided expressly for the supplying of it with the first-fruits from all quarters, and the offering of daily sacrifices in it. Your great grandmother had likewise an high veneration for it. Neither Greek, in fine, nor Barbarian; neither prince nor potentate; no, nor the deadliest enemies we had, sedition, war, bondage, desolation, or the most destructive of other calamities, could ever prevail upon us to receive the idol of an image into the temple. Not that it had no enemies, but its religion was safe still; for being dedicated to the father and author of all things, it struck people into a dread of the judgments that frequently attend such violations; so that they durst not venture to sow the seeds of wickedness, for fear of reaping the fruits of it themselves. We shall not need to look abroad for instances, having so many nearer home.

IN the reign of Herod, my grandfather, your grandfather Marcus Agrippa pass'd the compliment upon him of a visit into Judea, where he coasted along the sea-side up to Jerusalem. Upon the view of the temple, he was so transported with the glories of the fabrick, the solemnities of the sacerdotal rites and ceremonies, the simplicity of the people's manners, and, in fine, with the delight of so curious and wonderful a spectacle, that he was continually saying something or other to the honour of that illustrious structure; insomuch, that for the time he staid there, he never miss'd so much as one day's attendance, but still paid his constant visits, entertaining himself all the while in the contemplation of holy vests, the order of the sacrifices, and the awful majesty of the high-priest, in his rich pontifical robes, as he sat mounted above the rest. In fine, when he had presented his donatives to the holy temple, and shew'd himself as indulgent to the citizens as was possible, saving only an exemption from taxes, Herod accompany'd Agrippa to the sea-side, upon his return, where they exchange'd mutual acknowledgments of the high obligations they had the one to the other; the people strewing the passage all the way he went with boughs and flowers, in token of the veneration they had for his piety and bounty.

AND so, sir, for your great uncle Tiberius; was not he manifestly of the same principle and judgment? did not our religion, and our temple stand firm and safe, through the whole three and twenty years of Tiberius's reign, without any sort of innovation? nay, there is something that I both can and must say to Tiberius's honour, tho' I myself had very hard measure from him. But truth is truth, and I am sure you will have the patience to hear it.

WHEN Pilate was governor of Judea, he dedicated to Tiberius certain gilt bucklers; not so much out of respect to the emperor, as in pure spite to the Jews; and they were erected in the palace of Herod in Jerusalem. They had no sort of figure upon them, nor any thing that was prohibited, but barely the two names of the dedicator, and the person to whom they were dedicated. When the story came to be nois'd among the people, they made applica-

tion presently to the king's four sons, with some branches of the royal family, and several other persons of eminent condition, to employ their interest with Pilate to have these bucklers remov'd, as a violation of the laws and religion of their country, which former kings and emperors had ever reputed sacred. Pilate, who was of a perverse and ill-natured temper, made the mediators so rude and churlish a reply to the motion, that it put the multitude into wild and disorderly exclamations.

LET people be quiet, they cry'd, that would be quiet, without inflaming men to war and sedition, and to the imbroiling the publick peace, as if the honour of the emperor depended upon the violation of the law; never thinking of covering an injustice with so weak a pretext. If you have any thing to shew in your justification from Tiberius, whether edict, letter, or any thing like it, do but shew us the warrant, and we have no more to do, save only to address ourselves, with humble petitions and remonstrances, to our lord and master, for redress, without taking any farther notice of Pilate; for Tiberius, we are sure, will never approve of this oppression.

THIS notion of applying themselves to Cesar, by remonstrance or deputation, startled Pilate more than any thing else, for fear of laying him open to the world in the history of his other iniquities; as corruption, justice expos'd to sale, rapine, violence, ruin, torments, the spilling of innocent blood, and the most barbarous of cruelties. This cholerick angry man was yet so divided within himself, that as he had no mind to gratify the subject, so he had not the confidence neither to withdraw any thing that was made sacred by a dedication, being well acquainted with the humour of Tiberius in such cases over and above. When the great men found matters in this state, and that Pilate repented himself of what he had done, however he dissembled it, they represented the case to Tiberius by way of letter, in the most tender dutiful manner that could be devis'd. Tiberius had no sooner notice of Pilate's language and behaviour, but he broke out into a violent passion, though a man not easily mov'd neither. But this will do better in the story itself, than in a bare description.

THE first thing he did was, without any delay, to write to Pilate about it, with a severe rebuke for his impudence, and a positive command immediately to remove the bucklers, and to have them transported into the temple that was built at Cesarea, (a sea-port) in honour of Augustus. This expedient was as good as a salvo to the honour of the emperor, and the ancient customs of the city. These bucklers, in those days, had no gravers work upon them; and the point now in question is the graven image. It was then only in the governor's palace, but it is now to be erected, as I am inform'd, in the sanctuary; a place so venerable and sacred, that only the high-priest is allow'd entrance, and that but upon one day in the year too, and after a solemn fast, to burn incense to the glory of God, and to offer up prayers to the Almighty, according to custom, for a happy year, and the common peace of mankind.

If any other of our own people, either priest or layman, shall presume to enter this

holy place contrary to the law, it is made death without mercy: as for example, if the high-priest shall dare to enter above one day in a year, or three or four times over, for the purpose, upon that day of his entrance, it will most certainly cost him his life: so tender was our lawgiver of preserving the reverence of that holy place sacred and inviolate. Now if the rigour was so strict and capital in these nice cases, you may easily imagine, sir, what an uproar it would create to have an image set up there, where the high-priest himself was not to be admitted but upon certain limitations. How many of our priests would sacrifice themselves, their wives and children in one common pile of carcases, rather than outlive the sight and sufferance of such an abomination.

THIS was the case in the days of Tiberius. And now for Augustus, the best and the greatest prince that ever sat upon the imperial throne; his very name being given him out of a deference to his conduct and virtue; a prince to whom the whole world was indebted for the blessing of an universal peace: this illustrious prince, upon some discourse he had concerning our temple, was given to understand, that no carved image was suffer'd to be brought into it, and for this very reason, that the invisible God was not to be represented by a visible figure. Upon which he was highly pleas'd with the reason, and the piety of the thing; and being a prince moreover of profound literature himself, he pass'd several reflections upon what had been said; partly recollecting what he had heard from the learned men he had constantly about him, and partly pondering and arguing the matter in his own thoughts. He was, in fine, so great a lover of letters, that his very table discourses were as good as philosophy lectures, and his festiual entertainments were accommodated to the relief and satisfaction both of body and mind. Not to multiply instances, in proof of this prince's generosity and good will toward our people, I shall make use only of two.

FIRST, upon notice that there was not such care taken for the return of our first-fruits as the matter requir'd, the emperor wrote to the governors of the provinces in Asia, not to give any sort of interruption to the Jews meeting in their synagogues, (but this liberty was not to be extended to any other) for the Jews meetings are not like the feasts of Bacchus, to encourage drunkenness, tumults, riots, and sedition, but schools rather of piety and common justice. And so for their yearly first-fruits, they were only intended for sacrifices to be offer'd up to God in the temple. This was followed with an express command, not to give the Jews any disturbance about their meetings or collections after the manner of their country. I may mistake the words of the order, but the substance of it I am sure of, as your majesty will find in a letter from Norbanus, whereof this is a true copy.

C. Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of Ephesus, greeting.

"CESAR has signify'd unto me by letter, that whereas the Jews continue their old way of religious meetings, and of collecting monies to be sent to Jerusalem, under the

"the name of first-fruits, it is his imperial
"majesty's will and pleasure, that they be all
"left at liberty so to do. Of this you are to
"take notice, and to pay your obedience ac-
"cordingly.

WHAT clearer evidence, under favour, can there be in the world of Cesar's opinion of our temple, than the indulging of the Jews in the publick exercise of their worship, the freedom of their collections for holy uses, and the countenancing of them in other offices of piety?

AND there is yet another argument of the good-will that Augustus bare us: that is to say, he order'd the daily sacrifice of a bull and two lambs, out of his own revenue, to be offer'd up to the honour of our God: and the practice of it hath been kept up ever since to this very day, without any discontinuance. This oblation Cesar design'd for the altar, and yet he very well understood that there was no image in the case, either within or without. But this wise and learned prince was nevertheless convinc'd of the necessity of having some glorious temple upon earth, dedicated in a peculiar manner to the invisible God; where men might offer up their devotions in hope of having their prayers heard and granted, and without any visible figure.

AND now, with your majesty's leave, yet once again, what did your great grandmother the empress Julia, but write after the copy of her great master and husband, Augustus, in the profusion of her royal bounties upon this temple; as vessels of gold and silver, with other ornaments and presents to an inestimable value? But to what end was all this without image-work? For women's minds are commonly weak, and hard to be wrought upon, save only by sensible objects. But for this princess however, that was as much beyond other women in a masculine vigour of perspicacity and judgment as in all other excellencies, she supply'd the defects of the sex by study and meditation, and gave herself up so entirely to thought and speculation, that she looked upon sensible objects to be no more than a shadow of the spiritual.

AND now, great sir, after so many glorious instances of tenderness and clemency out of your own family, and those of your ancestors in particular from whom you have received both your life and government, be but so gracious towards our people as your predecessors have been, every man of them before you. Here are emperors interceding for our laws to an emperor, several august princes to one, grand-fathers and great grand-fathers, to a grand-child many to a single person, &c. and what's the request at last, but this? They do all humbly beg of you, not to make void those laws and customs, that from their first establishment have been kept sacred to this very day. These acts, 'tis true, may be vacated, and these innovations wrought perhaps, without any judicial vengeance subsequent to the transgression: but whoever considers the uncertainty of the future, and that divine justice is nevertheless sure for being sometimes slow, he will make his heart ache to think of the consequences, if at the same time he believes there is a God.

If I should take upon myself now to enumerate the infinite obligations I have to your majesty, my time would not serve me to recount them; neither would it become me to handle so sacred a subject as by the bye. But the thing speaks itself without telling the story. It is no secret, sir, that I was in irons, and that I stand indebted to yourself for my liberty; but I hope you did not ease me of those chains, to load me with heavier instead of them. In that case, my suffering was only in one part of my body; but in this, my very soul sinks under the burthen. You did first deliver me from the dread of death, and you received me afterwards out of death itself, so that Agrippa desires no more now than that Cesar would preserve the life he has restor'd: for otherwise, I have only out-lived a less calamity to perish by a greater.

It is to your royal bounty that I am a debtor for the gift and dignity of a crown; and after that, for the addition of another and a greater command, in Trachonitis and Galilee. But after the multiplying of so many extraordinary favours upon me, do not deprive me, I beseech you, of things the most necessary of all others. I am not solicitous for fear of either losing my commission or of being degraded into my former station, but my request is, once for all, that the laws of my country may be protected and maintained. For what will the world say of me else, either Jews or others? Now one of these two things must necessarily follow: either I shall be looked upon as a betrayer of my country; or as a person utterly lost to the honour of your friendship; and what could make me more miserable than either of them? For supposing myself to be still in the number of your confidants, and at the same time to suffer my country to go to wreck, I must certainly incur the character of a false man, for employing my interest no better, upon a presumption that emperors and princes deny no such boons to their favourites. Or if I should be so unhappy now, as to have lost the blessing of your tenderness and good graces, do not lay me in chains I beseech you, as Tiberius did; but instead of my liberty, pray take away my life this very moment, and that's all I ask. For what signifies life to me after the loss of your friendship; which is the only hope and comfort I had in this world?

C H A P. XVII.

Caius, upon Agrippa's letter, orders Petronius to make no alteration in the temple of Jerusalem. He repents of it, and countermands his own order. He goes to Alexandria, and claims divine worship. The inhuman cruelties of this prince.

AGRIPPA seals up and sends away his letter to Caius; and after that keeps close in his own house, expecting in great pain the issue of that paper, and under an anxious apprehension for fear the importunity might be unreasonable; for the liberty and safety not only of Judea, but of all the Jews over the face of the earth, were at stake upon it. Upon the reading of this letter, Caius dis-

cover'd in his countenance several motions and changes of thought and humour: one while he was vexed that he had not gone through with his work; another while he seemed to be moved with the justice of the pretence, and the modesty of the application. And then again, he would be reflecting by fits upon Agrippa's conduct; sometimes commending and sometimes blaming him. He did ill, he said, in being so zealous for his country-men, whom he knew to be the greatest enemies in nature to the consecration that was then in question: but then it was frank and generous, he said, to own his opinion and to act according to his judgment. These deliberations brought Caius into a better temper, and drew this answer from him: "That upon the instance of Agrippa, he was prevailed upon to countermand the dedication." Writing at the same time to Petronius the governor of Syria, not to suffer any innovations in the Jews temple. But lest the prohibition should be more effectual than he intended it, he subjoin'd a menace with it in the same letter to qualify the obligation: and it ran in these words: "Always provided that if any person whatsoever shall presume to obstruct or oppose the dedication of any altars, temples, or images, to the honour of our royal self or family, in any town, city, or other place whatsoever, the metropolis of Jerusalem only excepted, every such person so offending, shall be either punish'd upon the place, in the very act of his insolence, or otherwise remitted to our imperial will and pleasure to be dealt withal according to justice."

THIS clause was effectually an abrogating of the grant, and no other than the doing and undoing of a thing, obliquely, in the same breath: beside that it tended naturally to the drawing on of a civil war; for every body expected that the enemies of the Jews would fill the whole country with their sacrilegious abominations, not so much out of respect to Caius as out of malice to us: and then the Jews themselves, they thought on the other hand, would never have the patience to endure the sight of these prophanations: so that upon the least provocation of a tumult, the image would have been commanded up again. But divine providence had so ordered it, that the people were all quiet beyond expectation; and without giving the least occasion for such a broil. They were quiet, 'tis true; and little the better for it, so long as Caius continued as busy and troublesome as ever he was, repenting himself of his very charity and compliance, and reviving the violence of his former rigour. There was now no longer any talk of the statue at Sidon, for fear of inflaming the multitude: but there was another appointed to be made at Rome, of copper gilded; and care taken for sending it away by sea so privately, that it should be set up in the temple before people were aware. But this was to be done as by chance upon the occasion of Caius's voyage into Egypt.

NOW Caius's heart being mightily set upon a visit to Alexandria, he spared for no cost for the convenience of his passage; imagining that this was the properest place in the world for the advancing of his ridiculous design of consecration; in respect both of the authority and

example of that leading city, and likewise in regard of the situation of it, for an universal commerce: for 'tis commonly with towns, as it is with men, the less take their measures from the greater: besides that he was in his own nature fickle and malicious over and above; always repenting whenever he chanc'd to do any good, and endeavouring to cancel it again by a contrary act of mischief. To instance in some particulars:

HE set some prisoners at liberty once, and soon after clapt them up again; without the least colour of any other reason for it, than to make their condition twenty times more miserable and hopeless than it was before.

OTHERS, that expected to die, were only banished, and they took it for so much clear gain to come off so; not that they were conscious of any even the least crime to deserve it, but they found themselves in the hands of an unjust and an unmerciful judge. These people, in fine, went into banishment with as good a will as others commonly return out of it, and behaved themselves with as much honour and bravery in their exile, as if they had been at freedom in their own houses. But it was not long yet, before Caius cut them off every man of them by a military execution, without so much as assigning any cause of offence; which put all the noble families in Rome into mourning, for the loss of their friends and relations by so surprising an assassination.

AND if he parted with money at any time, he would neither own it as a gift, nor as a loan, upon consideration of interest, but still find some way or other to recover it, as a fraud, or as a theft, to the utter undoing of him that received it; for it was not enough to force back what he had given, unless the whole estate hereditary and acquired went along with it.

BUT for those more particularly that valued themselves upon the honour and reputation of his favour, he found out ways to undo them with compliments and fair words, under the very pretext and countenance of that friendship. And this was done by putting them upon vast expence in treats and entertainments, and squandering away their fortunes in luxury and riot, to the degree sometimes of devouring a considerable estate at a meal, and a desperate debt at the end on it never to be repaid. This way of proceeding made all his plausible appearances of generosity look more like baits and snares than obligations, and people were so far from courting his good graces, that they were directly afraid of them.

THIS was his temper and conduct, variable and violent; toward the Jews especially, who of all mortals were the most his aversion. He began his caprice at Alexandria, with the seizure of their oratories, where he erected statues and images to his own honour instead of the other, no body daring to dispute the authority and the violence of the action. The temple of the holy city was now the only remaining sanctuary the Jews had left them; and Caius had the confidence to attempt the appropriating even of that also to his own use and service under the title of, The temple of the new Jupiter, the illustrious Caius.

Was

Was there ever such a piece of non sensical arrogance? Here is, in the first place, a man setting up for god: and a man, in the next place, that has the world at his feet already, and is not yet satisfied, unless he may be master of the heavens too. Is the Almighty to have no part then in a world of his own creation? not so much as a field, a city, or a temple? not the least print or foot-step of any place set apart for the service of the true God. Well Caius! little do you think what miseries you are now drawing upon yourself and your empire, in this execrable project of yours: a thing impious and impracticable, in the very nature of it, and not to be so much as thought of without horror.

C H A P. XVIII.

Caius's barbarous treatment of Philo, and the other ambassadors of the Alexandrian Jews.

WE shall come now to some particulars that we both saw and heard, about the subject of the embassy, when we first entered upon this commission. We were no sooner entered the presence, but Caius gave us to understand, in the fierceness of his looks, words, and actions, what we were to expect; and that he was not there as a judge, but as an accuser rather than a party. For a fair and an impartial judge would have examin'd the matter in counsel, sifted it from point to point, heard both sides indifferently in their turns, and upon advice with the commissioners, have passed sentence in open court: all this and more would have been done in form, especially in a case of this consequence, where the lives and liberties of so many thousand Alexandrian Jews were all at stake; and the matter so clear, that for four hundred years it had never been so much as called in question. But so far was this unmerciful tyrant from complying with the ordinary methods of law and justice, that on the contrary he treated us with a passionate brutality of insolence and contempt, below the basest of slaves.

MECENAS and LAMIAS had two gardens betwixt the palace and the town, which for three or four days had now been Caius's retreat. This was the place it seems that Caius had design'd for the tragedy of the Jews, and we ourselves to be the spectators. Caius sends for the gardeners, and bids them set all the doors open, for he had a mind to take the air, and entertain himself with the curiosities of the place; ordering them likewise at the same time to take us along with them. Upon this we were introduced, and casting ourselves upon our faces at the emperor's feet, we made our humble address to him in the stile of emperor and Augustus. Caius returned the respect in such a manner, as gave us to understand, that not only our cause, but our lives also were in danger. "Well, says Caius, with a grin, and have you the impudence to dispute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to set up a nameless god against Caius, like an execrable race of wretches as you are!" With that word, he brake out into a blasphemous exclamation, and stretching out his hands into the air, uttered such words as ought not so much as to be heard, much less repeated,

by any creature that believes there is a God. But these outrageous indignities were looked upon by the other side as the prognosticks of a certain victory, and there was not one attribute so peculiar to God himself, but they ascribed indifferently to Caius.

THERE was one Isidore standing by then, a crafty insinuating fellow, and an inveterate enemy to us. This Isidore, finding Caius so well pleased with these execrable and unnatural flatteries, put in a word here to his purpose. "If you did but know, sir, says he, the mortal hatred that these people, and the whole race of them, have for your imperial majesty, you would abhor them ten times more than you do. When the whole world was offering up their vows and prayers for the safety of your person, and the prosperity of your government, these were the only men stood out. When I say these, I mean all the Jews without exception." Upon the hearing of this calumny, we all cried out unanimously to Caius. "Sir, we are slandered and belyed. We have had our hecatombs and our sacrifices in form, for the happiness of Caius and the empire, and after the sprinkling of the altar with the blood of the victims, we did not carry the flesh home with us and make a feast of it among ourselves, as many other people do, but committed the sacrifice whole to the sacred fire. And this we have done upon three remarkable occasions. First, upon your majesty's accession to the imperial throne: secondly, upon your recovery out of that desperate fit of sickness when all the nations of the world were in tears and mourning for you: and thirdly, when we offered up our vows and prayers for the success of your armies in Germany."

"Tis true, says Caius, like a hair-brain'd madman, you did sacrifice, but it was to another, not to me; and what am I the better for your sacrificing to another?" This blasphemous outrage struck us with a trembling all over, and chill'd the very blood in our veins; but Caius went on however in the meantime, in a formal way of taking a view of all the apartments from the common offices to the treating rooms, and so from top to bottom, taking notice all the while where he found any thing amiss, and how he would have it mended. And still as Caius went sauntering up and down, we follow'd him, only to make sport for the company, by the raillery and contempts they put upon us, to furnish matter for a farce: as the whole contrivance was in truth but a scene upon the stage, where the judge personated the accusers, and the accusers represented an unjust judge: and it was all but faction and malice, without any semblance of truth. But being now at the mercy of such a judge, and such an enemy, both in one, we had no defence left us but silence; especially when we had nothing to say we could be the better for on the one side, beside the endangering of the main cause on the other.

WHEN Caius had now given some necessary orders about the buildings, he put it to us in a grave formal way: "Pray ye, says he, how come you to make such a conscience about the eating of swine's flesh?" This question put our enemies into another fit of laughing, partly as they were pleas'd with the mockery, partly as they were tickled with the conceit;

I N D E X.

A.

AARON meets Moses, 85. is declared high-priest, 101. has four sons, *ib.* the priesthood settled upon him for ever, 114. his death, 115.
Abdon succeeds *Elon*, 148.
Abel, see *Cain*.
Abias king of Arabia tempted by treachery to make war upon *Izates*, 489. routed, and his army cut to pieces, *ib.* kills himself, *ib.*
Abias king of Judah gets a great victory over *Jeroboam* king of Israel, 228. dies, and is succeeded by his son *Afa*, *ib.*
Abiathar escapes *Saul*, 173. deposed from the priesthood, 211.
Abimelech falls in love with *Sarah*, 60. caution'd against it in a dream, *ib.* excuses himself, *ib.*
Abimelech kills all his brothers but *Jotham*, who makes his escape, 145. seizes the government, and makes his will his law, *ib.* mortally wounded with a piece of a mill-stone by a woman, and kill'd by his armour-bearer, 146.
Abishag David's bedfellow, 206.
Abishai kills 18000 Idumeans, and lays them under contributions, 189. kills *Achmon*, 202.
Abner finds out *Ishbosheth*, and sets him up king, 183. marches against *David*, and is defeated by *Joab*, *ib.* kills *Hazael*, *ib.* goes over to *David*, 184. basely murder'd by *Joab*, 185.
Abraham, his genealogy, 55. adopts *Lot*, quits *Chaldea*, and takes up his abode in *Canaan*, *ib.* piety, resolution, and wisdom, *ib.* goes into *Egypt* with *Sarah* his wife, *ib.* studies the laws and customs of the country, 57. he and *Lot* part lands between them, *ib.* routs the *Assyrians*, *ib.* rescues *Lot*, 58. presents *Melchizedeck* with the spoils, *ib.* God promises him a son, *ib.* offers up a sacrifice, *ib.* entertains three angels, who confirm God's promise to him of a son, 59. withdraws with *Sarah* to *Gerar*, 60. God tries him, and demands *Isaac* for a sacrifice, 61. his faith and obedience, *ib.* discourse to *Isaac* at the altar, *ib.* a voice from heaven bids him hold his hand, *ib.* children by *Keturah*, and their offspring, 62. propounds a match for his son *Isaac* with *Rebekah* daughter of *Nachor*, *ib.* what passed between his servant and *Rebekah*, *ib.* death, 63.
Abshalom lays a plot to kill *Amnon* at a sheep-shearing, and at length brings his design to effect, 194. flies to *Geshur*, *ib.* puts *Joab* upon getting leave for him to come into the king's presence, 195. goes to *Hebron* upon a pretended vow, and inveigles the people to declare him king, *ib.* commits a horrid wickedness at the instance of *Achitophel*, 197. makes *Amasa* his general, fights a battle with his father, and loses the day, 198. a bough takes him up by the hair of his head, and *Joab* runs him thro' with a javelin, *ib.*
Abshan succeeds *Jephtha*, 148.
Abnar's transgression, 132. stoned to death, 133.
Achish entertains *David*, gives him *Zicklag*, and engages him in his war with the *Philistines*, 177.
Achitophel goes over to *Abshalom*, 196. his counsel for destroying of *David*, but oppos'd by *Hushai*, 197. hangs himself, 198.
Achmon strikes *David* to the ground, and is slain by *Abishai*, 202.
Acme a Jew, *Julia's* servant, and in pension to *Antipater*, 430. put to death, 432.
Adad stirs up sedition against *Solomon*, 222, 223.
Adad king of *Syria* and *Damascus*, overthrown, 189. besieges *Ahab* in *Samaria*, and is worsted, 233, 234. flies to *Ahab* for mercy, *ib.* lays siege to *Samaria*, and brings it to great extremity, 241. falls sick, and is strangled by *Hazael*, 243.
Adam and *Eve* formed, and whence so called, 49. *Adam* gives names to all living creatures, *ib.* their fall, 50. *Adam* hides himself, *ib.* God expostulates with him, *ib.* *Adam* and *Eve* cursed, *ib.* turned out of the garden, *ib.* *Adam's* age, 51.
Adonibezek defeated and taken prisoner, 138.
Adonijah sets up for king, but lets fall his pretence upon the people's opposing him, 206. flies for sanctuary to the altar, and begs pardon, 207. makes an interest with *Bathsheba*, for marrying *Abishag*, 210. put to death, 211.
Adrazar king of the *Sophenians* overthrown, 189.
Egyptians pursue the children of *Israel* and are drowned, 89. overthrown and carry'd away captive to *Babylon*, 265. partial and prepossess'd, 509.
Egyptians, &c. a people of antiquity and credit, 499.
Aeneas, see *Aeneas*.
Agag taken prisoner, and kept alive, 164. put to death in *Gilgal*, 165.
Agatharchides reflects upon the Jews, 509.
Agrippa gives *Herod* a visit, 399. gives the Jews of *Ionia* a hearing, and assigns them counsel, 400. declares for the Jews, confirming their claims, and assuring them of protection, 401. his rise, 451. vast profusions, *ib.* retires to *Malatha*, *ib.* goes abroad at *Anthedon*, and gives his creditors the slip, 452. takes up money upon his wife's credit, *ib.* goes to *Tiberius* at *Caprea*, *ib.* charg'd with defrauding the emperor, and forbid to depart till he pays the debt, *ib.* tells *Antonia* the case, and she lends him the money, *ib.* pays the arrear, and sets himself right with the emperor,

ib. made governor to *Cesar's* grand-child, *Tiberius Nero*, *ib.* *Caius's* favourite, 453. put in chains, and dragg'd to prison in his robes, 454. discharg'd, 456. crown'd, and other marks of honour conferr'd upon him, *ib.* presents *Cesar* with a splendid treat, for which he is promis'd a large requital, 459. contents himself with the blessing of *Cesar's* favour, 460. begs *Cesar* to recal his order for setting up his statue in *Judea*, and obtains the request, *ib.* gives it out that *Caius* is not dead, 477. keeps up *Claudius's* heart, *ib.* his opinion on the present state of affairs, *ib.* sends to *Claudius*, to lay down his claim, *ib.* gives *Claudius* private instructions what to do, *ib.* gives *Claudius* good counsel, 479. sent away to his government, 480. dedicates his golden chain to God, *ib.* complains to *Petronius* of the statue dedicated to *Cesar* in the Jews synagogue, *ib.* takes away *Silas's* commission, 482. fortifies *Jerusalem*, and *Claudius* puts a stop to the work, *ib.* generosity, *ib.* passes from *Berytus* to *Tiberias*, where he receives several royal visits, *ib.* compliments *Marcus* governor of *Syria*, and what was the consequence thereof, *ib.* takes the pontificate from *Matthias*, and gives it to *Elioneus*, 483. falls into gripes and torments, reproves his flatterers, and confesses his own frailty, *ib.* death, *ib.* revenue, *ib.* children, *ib.*
Agrippa engages *Agrippina* in the Jews favour, 492. he and his wife buried under *Vesuvius*, *ib.* gives the high-priesthood to *Ismael*, 494. builds a magnificent palace, at which the Jews grumble, 495. deposes *Ananus*, and gives the pontificate to *Jesus*, *ib.* enlarges *Cesarea-Philippi*, and calls it *Neronias*, 496. builds a glorious theatre at *Berytus*, *ib.* takes the high-priesthood from *Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, and gives it to *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, *ib.*
Agrippa complains of *Herod* to *Tiberius*, 591. dangerous expression of his to *Caius*, for which he is kept in prison to the death of *Tiberius*, *ib.* advanced by *Caius*, 592. in favour both with *Claudius* and the senate, 593. sides with *Claudius*, and sent with an embassy to the senate, *ib.* justifies *Claudius's* army, *ib.* vast wealth and power, 594. death, *ib.*
Agrippa succeeds *Herod* of *Chalcis*, 595.
Agrippa sends troops to *Jerusalem*, 607. propounds an alliance with the Romans, and sends *Borceus* and *Phebus* to manage the treaty, who were slain by the multitude, 613. treats *Vespasian* and his army twenty days at *Cesarea Philippi*, 639. hurt with a stone, 644. sends for *Philip* to court, and gives him honourable commissions, 34. falls into a swoon at the news of consecrating *Caius's* image, 767. writes to *Caius* about it, 768.
Agrippion built by *Herod* to the honour of *Agrippa*, 561, 562.
Ahab succeeds *Omri* king of *Israel*, 230. a wicked prince, *ib.* reproaches *Elias* as the occasion of famine, 231. hath a mind to *Naboth's* vineyard, 232. foretold his ruin and destruction, 233. besieged by *Adad*, *ib.* compleat victory over *Adad*, 234. treats *Adad* kindly, and dismisses him, *ib.* for which he is reproved by the prophet, 235. consults his prophets about the war with *Adad*, who promise him victory, *ib.* fights and receives his death's wound by a chance arrow, 236. sons and relations put to death, 245.
Ahaz succeeds *Jotham*, 252. an idolatrous and bloody prince, *ib.* overthrown by *Pekah*, with a prodigious slaughter, *ib.* gains *Tiglath-Pileser* over to him, 253. lays *Syria* waste, forces *Damascus*, puts *Rezin* to the sword, and transplants the inhabitants, *ib.* makes *Tiglath-Pileser* a great present, *ib.* heinous wickedness and death, *ib.*
Ahaziah succeeds *Ahab*, 236. wickedness, 238. dies without issue, and leaves his kingdom to his brother *Jehoram*, 239. slain by *Jehu*, 245.
Ahaziah succeeds *Jehoram* king of *Judah*, 245. relations put to death, *ib.* all his sons, except *Joash*, put to death, 246.
Abimelech the high-priest gives *David* a viaticum, and the sword of *Goliath*, 171. his defence to *Saul*, 172. he and his family put to the sword, 173.
Albinus's menacing letter to *Ananus*, 495. succeeds *Festus*, a corrupt tyrannical governor, *ib.* he and *Florus* compar'd, *ib.*
Alcimius, or *Jacimus*, made high priest after *Onias Menelaus*, 315. complains of *Judas* to *Demetrius*, *ib.* barbarous cruelties, 316. advises *Demetrius* to send *Nicanor* with an army against *Judas*, *ib.* cut off by a judicial vengeance, 317.
Alexander succeeds *Philip* of *Macedon*, 291. victory over *Darius* at *Granicus*, *ib.* marches into *Syria*, takes *Damascus*, and *Sidon*, and lays siege to *Tyre*, 292. takes *Tyre* by assault, and besieges *Gaza*, *ib.* advances against *Jerusalem*, *ib.* reverently salutes the high-priest, *ib.* calls to mind the figure of *Jaddus* in a vision he had at *Dion*, *ib.* conducted by the priests to the temple, where he sacrifices, *ib.* bounty and concessions of grace towards the Jews, *ib.*
Alexander Janneus succeeds his brother *Aristobolus*, 338. put one of his brothers to death, and provides for the other, *ib.* besieges *Prolemais*, *ib.* quits the siege, and plays a politick game, betwixt the interest of *Cleopatra* and *Prolemy*, 339.
Alexander Janneus affronted by his own people, and how he reveng'd himself, 341. defeated by *Demetrius*, *ib.* being declared king, he rules very tyrannously, and is therefore nick-nam'd *Thracidas*, *ib.* fortifies all the avenues from *Capharsaba* to *Joppa*, 342. subdues the *Galaadites* and *Moabites*, raises *Amathus* to the ground, 339. routed by *Obodas*, 342. wars, exploits, sickness and death, 340. leaves the regency to his wife *Alexandra*, and two sons *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobolus*, 341, 340.

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Alexander the son of Aristobulus, worsted by Antipater, 544. withdraws to Alexandrion, where he is besieged and routed, 352, 544. submits and delivers up the castles he had in his hand, 352. beheaded, 354, 545.

Alexander and Ammonius contrive the death of Ptolemy, 329.

Alexander and Aristobulus, the Sons of Herod, their tender and generous behaviour, 403.

Alexander's address and defence, 403. made Prisoner, 412, 567. his friends tortur'd, ib. bravery and constancy, ib. feigns a plot, and pretends to confess it, ib. makes Eurycles his confidant, 415, 569. clear'd, 404. accus'd, 416. bound and examin'd, ib. death, 420. children, 422.

Alexander Balles seizes Ptolemais in Syria, 321. endeavours to make Jonathan his friend, ib. creates him high-priest, ib. marries Cleopatra, 324. does all things highly to the honour of Jonathan, ib. pretends a detestation of Apollonius, and compliments Jonathan, 325.

Alexandra, state of Judea under her, 343. consults the Pharisees about her husband's body, and the government, ib. governs the people, and the Pharisees govern Alexandra, ib. death and character, 335, 541.

Alexandra governs Herod, 365. puts Cleopatra upon begging the pontificate of Anthony for her son, 376. sends Anthony the pictures of Aristobulus and Mariamne, ib. vindicates her self, ib. writes to Cleopatra for advice, 377. she and her son convey'd into Egypt, ib. keeps her affliction to herself upon the death of her son, ib. sends Cleopatra the story of the murder of her son, 378. of a turbulent high spirit, 383. Heart fails her to a most scandalous Degree, 387. contrives the getting some forts into her hands, but is discovered, and executed, 388.

Alexandrians, their implacable rage, 611, 758.

Alliance between the senate of Rome and the Jews, 355.

Altar of incense, 99. to be erected between mount Garizim and Gebal, 128. of stones, 131. erected in memory of the league between the borderers on both sides the river Jordan, 136.

Amalekite dispatches Saul, and takes away his crown and bracelets, 180. casts himself at David's feet, 182. ordered to be put to death, ib.

Amalekites pillage and burn Ziclag, 180. pursued and cut in pieces by David, ib. routed by Josuah, 94.

Amasa comes over to the interest of David, 200. stabb'd by Joab, 201.

Amaziah succeeds Joash, 248. defeats the Amalekites, Idumeans and Gabaens, 249. apostatizeth, ib. delivers up Jerusalem to save his life, 250. kill'd by his own people, and succeeded by Uzziah, ib.

Ammonites and Philistines break in upon the Israelites, 146. fall into Gilead with an army, 147.

Ammonius his infamous death, 325.

Amnon ravishes *Thamar*, and her brother Absalom lays a plot to take away his life, 193, 194. kill'd, 194.

Amon succeeds Manasseh king of Judah, 259. A libertine prince, and cut off in the second year of his reign, ib.

Ananel advanced to the pontificate and deposed, 375, 376.

Ananias and Ananus sent bound to Rome, 492. Ananias and Hezekias their death, 608.

Ananus remov'd from being high-priest, and Ismael succeeds him, after whom comes Eleazar, Simon after Eleazar, and from Simon to Joseph, 445. put in Joseph's place, 495. fierce, bloody, and a Sadducee, ib. calls a council, and cites James the brother of Jesus to appear before him upon a charge of blasphemy, &c. and they are sentenc'd to be ston'd, ib.

Ananus the high-priest reasons the case with the zealots, and makes a party against them, 650, 651.

Ananus the high-priest, and Jesus the son of Simon tamper'd against Joseph, 34. Ananus and Jesus put to death, 657. persons of exemplary piety and virtue, ib.

Andromachus and Gamellus banish'd, 411.

Annius Rufus succeeds Ambivius, 445.

Anthony publishes several edicts in favour of the Jews, 362. encounters with Cleopatra, 363. advises with Hyrcanus, ib. receives Herod with infinite honour and respect, 370. leaves his army to Sosius, and goes himself to Egypt, ib. orders Antigonus to be put to death, 373. writes to Herod how glad he should be to see Aristobulus, &c. 376. sends for Herod to answer for himself, 378. subdues Armenia, and compliments Cleopatra with prisoners and presents, 380. bids Herod fall upon the Arabians, ib. defeated at Actium, 383, 559. makes Phasaël and Herod tetrarchs of Judea, 550. Anthony and Cleopatra their death, 38.

Antigonus put to death, and his death exactly foretold by one Judas a prophet, 337.

Antigonus complains to Cesar of Hyrcanus and Antipater, and what was the issue, 355. raiseth an army, 361. defeated, 362. contracts with the Parthians to depose Hyrcanus, and put Herod and his brothers to death, 364. declared king, and put in possession of the government, 366, 551. bites off Hyrcanus's ear, 551. besiegeth Masada, and Joseph defends it, 367, 553. strikes off Joseph's head, 555. carry'd in chains to Anthony, 373. a mean pitiful wretch, 557. forty five of his men put to death, and himself beheaded, 374, 557.

Antioch burnt by means of Antiochus the son of a Jew, 720. overjoy'd at the coming of Titus, 722. people press the banishing the Jews out of Antioch, but not heeded by Titus, ib.

Antiochus his treachery and sacrilege, 519. fantastical encounter between him and a Grecian, 520.

Antiochus Cyzicenus presseth to relieve Samaria, 335. ravages Hyrcanus's country, ib. committeth the war to Callimander and Epicrates, ib.

Antiochus king of Commagene, an unfortunate prince, 726. his two sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, gave the Romans battle, ib. retires into Cilicia, and his two sons shift for themselves, ib. he and his two sons sent to Rome, and set at liberty, and highly entertain'd by Vespasian, ib. dies, and a dispute ariseth about the form of government, 446.

Antiochus Dionysius surprized by Alexander, slain, and his army routed, 342.

Antiochus Epiphanes succeeds Seleucus, 307. makes a furious inroad into Egypt, but forced back again by the Romans, ib. enters Judea, takes Jerusalem, sacks it, and lays it waste, ib. 535. Letters to Nicanor in favour of the Zidonians, 308. Preparations against the Jews, 310. besieges Elymais, but forced to draw off, 313. acknowledges God's judgment upon him, 314. dies and leaves the government to his son Antiochus Eupator, ib. 536.

Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy, competitors, 535.

Antiochus Eupator succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes, 314. lays siege to Bethsura, ib. engages with Judas, ib. takes Bethsura upon terms, but breaks his articles, 315. takes the temple upon conditions, but breaks his covenants, 315. overthrows Philip, ib. put to death, ib.

Antiochus king of Syria, his severity towards the Jews, 735. advice to Eleazar, 738. commands several to be brought before him, and to sacrifice to idols, 741. exhortation to seven brethren and their mother, ib. orders his instruments of torture to be brought before them, but all in vain, ib. orders them all to be severely punished, and put to death, 742.

Antiochus the Great, makes himself master of Judea, 301. favourable to the Jews, ib. marries Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, 302.

Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus perpetually in war, 335.

Antiochus Gryphus slain, 340.

Antiochus the son of a Jew, the ruin of Antioch, 720.

Antiochus Soter makes war upon Tryphon, overthrows him, chafes him out of Syria, and besieges him in Dora, 332. makes a league with Simon the high-priest, who assists him in the siege, ib. treachery against Simon, who gets the better of him, ib. besieges Hyrcanus in the fort at Jerusalem, 333. grants the Jews a seven days truce, ib. raises the siege, 334. defeated and slain, ib.

Antipas goes to Rome, and sets up for himself against Archelaus, 435, 611.

Antipater makes an interest for Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, 347. mediates with Aretas toward the restoring Hyrcanus, ib. does Cesar eminent service in his war with Egypt, 355. assists Mithridates, and takes Pelusium, ib. 545. rescues Mithridates, and routs the Egyptians, 355, 546. exhortation to the people, 556. his reputation draws envy upon him, ib. made governor of Judea, 546. rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem, ib. prefers Phasaël and Herod, ib. poisoned in his drink, 548.

Antipater, son of Herod the Great, endeavours to supplant his brother, 402. waits upon Agrippa to Rome, which is much to his advantage, 402, 403. universally hated, 421. sticks at nothing to advance his interest, though to no purpose, ib. pretends to Salome, and she countermines him, 422. he and his mother forbid to come together, 424. gets himself to be sent to Rome, ib. in a plot to destroy the king, 425, 572. goes to Sebaste, where he is received with curses instead of acclamations, 426. comes to the palace gates in his robes, and admitted, but his followers shut out, 427. trial, ib. 577. charg'd with dealing with wizards, 429. defence, 427. hypocrisy, 529. made a prisoner, ib. names Antiphilus for a conspirator, 430. left to Herod's discretion, 432. gives Herod for dead, and treats with the keeper about his escape, ib. ordered to be put to death, ib. 580. expelled, 563. craft, 564. character, 565. close and artificial way of management by spies and informers, ib. his mother orders the plot against Herod, 566. occasion of Herod's cruelty, 567. a great dealer in forgery and false intelligence, 576. in a plot with Acme against Salome, 578.

Antipatris built by Herod in honour of Antipater, 562.

Antonia presses Tiberius to give Eutychus a hearing, 453. prevails with Macro to make Agrippa's condition easy to him, 455.

Antonia built, 561. taken, 607.

Apion accuses the Jews for refusing to pay divine honours to Caius, 457.

Apion a dark, a coarse, and a fabulous writer, 515. celebrates the last Cleopatra, though the fewest of women, ib. his objections answer'd, 518. imputes all the state-factions to the divisions among the Jews, ib. reflections upon his fooleries, ib. forgeth an oath, and chargeth it upon the Jews, 521. his calumnies laid open, 522. vanity and self-conceit, ib. miserable death, ib.

Apollonius, governor of Syria, sends Jonathan a contemptuous challenge, 324.

Arabians in miserable distress for want of water, 383. deliver themselves to Herod's protection, ib. burn Arus, and rifle and burn Sampho, 438. render themselves at discretion, and petition Herod to take them into his protection, 559.

Archelaus comes into Judea, and moves Herod to be friends with Alexander, who palliates the matter with an artificial mediation, 412, 568. brings Alexander to his father, 569. set up in the place of Herod, 433, 508. receiv'd as successor to Herod with acclamations, ib. gracious declaration in favour of the people, 581. sacrifices, and treats his friends, ib. cuts off the factious Jews, 434. goes to Rome, and leaves Philip to administer in his absence, ib. and 482. satisfaction demanded of him for Herod's misdemeanors, 435. meets Sabinus at Cesarea in his way to Judea, 435. informed against, and the issue of the business, 435, 582. casts himself at Cesar's feet, 436. history in his ethnarchy, 441. banished, and his goods confiscated, ib. and 588. his foreboding dream expounded by Simon an Essene, 442.

Aretas enters Judea with 5000 men, gives Aristobulus an overthrow, forces him into Jerusalem, and besieges him there, 347, 541. resents the indignity done to his daughter, 450.

Aretas, or Eneas, succeeds Obodas, 414.

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